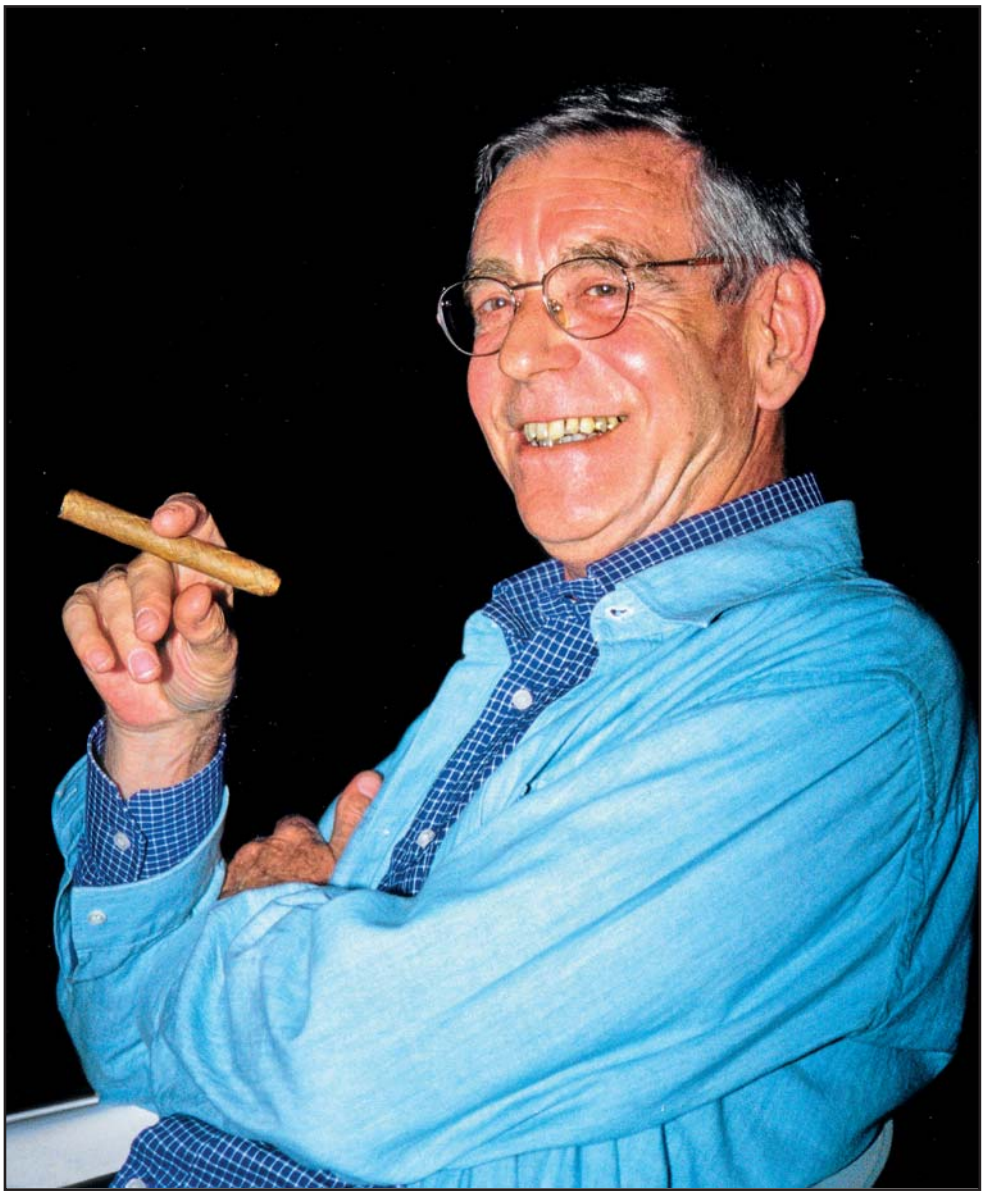

Herman Geertman in Pompeii, 1999 (photo Hans Knikman).

IN MEMORIAM
Herman Geertman

(Boxtel 28 January 1935 - Amsterdam 30 June 2015)

With the death of Herman Geertman in the early summer of 2015, the world of archaeological scholarship lost one of its leading Dutch personalities. The merits of this distinguished scholar and teacher will be remembered by many readers of this journal, the present profile and quality of which he helped to create.

Herman Anton Alphons Paul Geertman was born in the heart of the province of Noord-Brabant, the son of parents who were both teachers. At the Augustinian gymnasium in Eindhoven his interest for classical antiquity developed to such an extent that he decided to study classical philology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen. Here, one of the authoritative professors was Christine Mohrmann, an internationally renowned expert on Early Christian Latin. His interest for the classical languages was, however, soon surpassed by a passion for archaeology. After switching to the University of Utrecht in 1960, he studied Classical Archaeology under the guidance of Jan Hendrik Jongkees, whose growing interest in Late Antiquity left an imprint on the student Geertman. As a consequence, he spent a year as 'uditore' at the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana in Rome (1962-1963). He returned to his old gymnasium to teach Greek and Latin, but in 1967 his career took a decisive turn when he received funding for archaeological research in Rome. He had in the meantime married the Italian archaeologist Maria Beatrice Annis, whom he first met during his year at the Pontificio Istituto. Together with her, he undertook an excavation project in the Early Christian basilica of San Sisto Vecchio.

After two prolific years in Rome, Herman Geertman started his career in the Universities of the Netherlands. His first period in the Classical department of Groningen University was marked by studies of the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, which resulted in a doctorate from the University of Utrecht in 1975 (supervisor: Jan Willem Salomonson). In Groningen, he worked as an associate professor in classical archaeology in fruitful collaboration with Annie Zadoks-Josephus Jitta. His growing professional prominence led to a full professorship at Leiden University in 1978. In 1997 Geertman became the director of the Netherlands Institute in Rome (now: Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome), a position he held until his retirement in 2002. With this Roman directorship, his career came to a happy conclusion, symbolically enough in the city where it had once begun.

From 1962 onwards the city of Rome set the tone for his professional and private life like a *basso continuo*. The excavations of S. Sisto Vecchio were decisive in several ways for Herman's scholarly profile. His enduring interest in Late Antiquity and Early Christianity, his passion for architecture, and the development of a rigorous methodological approach, in which physical evidence is connected to written sources, came to the fore here for the first time. And maybe still more important: it was the first professional collaborative project between Herman and Maria Beatrice: he focussed on architecture, she deployed her expertise of ceramics. Many other moments of scholarly and human synergy between the spouses would characterize Herman's career. S. Sisto Vecchio stimulated Herman's curiosity in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the compilation of lives of the popes, full of archaeological data on Late Antique and Early Medieval Rome. He soon discovered that this complex source was far richer in information than the usual quotations in secondary literature of 'illustrative' texts regarding Roman churches. For his PhD-thesis, he developed a model of analysing the structure and systematics of entries in the lives of the popes of the Carolingian period. This approach, which departed from the internal taxonomy, opened up a new way of reading the entire *Liber Pontificalis*. His dissertation, like most of his later bibliography published in Italian, was appreciated by an international circle of experts. In later articles, and in an ambitious conference on the *Liber Pontificalis* organized at the Netherlands Institute in Rome in 2002, Herman was able to refine his method of 'smontaggio e rimon-

taggio' of the source, and to share his knowledge in an increasingly intense exchange with other scholars.

Considered by some of his colleagues in the late 1970s to be an 'Early Medievalist', Herman Geertman's appointment at the prestigious chair of Leiden University confirmed his identity as a classical archaeologist. As such, his rather exceptional characteristic was his indifference towards an artificial dividing line between the 'classical' era and Late Antiquity, which - in Rome at least - continued far into the Middle Ages. For him, Christianity was an expression of continuity. His studies and projects on, for example, the metopes of Olympia, Vitruvius and the design principles of Hellenistic and Roman architecture (his inaugural lecture in Leiden focussed on the Pantheon) and on Roman urbanism, particularly in Pompeii, show him to have been a versatile scholar. At the same time, he loved to give his wife substantial assistance in her ethnographic research in Sardinia. His need for wide horizons prevented him from becoming a 'Roman' in the local sense of the word.

All his scientific work is characterized by the same strict methodological approach, by transparent reasoning and by a writing style that excels in conciseness. Geertman's bibliography demonstrates his aversion to quantity alone, aiming instead to produce clearly focussed, innovatory contributions to his preferred research areas. Some of his results and conclusions have not achieved general acceptance by others, for example aspects of his reconstruction of Vitruvius' design principles, and his dating of the Basilica maior of S. Lorenzo in Rome. Important conferences organized by him and the resulting proceedings published by him, witness his openness to a wider perspective and to debate, even if in his heart he remained convinced of the correctness of his findings. His strong scholarly presence has greatly influenced and inspired the most ambitious of his students.

Herman Geertman was one of the leading personalities in the academic world of classical archaeology in the Netherlands during the last quarter of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. He was convinced that the discipline had to innovate itself by leaving behind the traditional focus on social elites and moving on to explore the field of material culture in its entirety. He was in 1978 a founding father of ARCHON, the national research school of archaeology and in which he remained involved. At Leiden University, his mission was the fusion of the departments of historical archaeologies. The formation of the Archaeological Centre in 1984 was at least in part his personal success. He became the first director of this broad department, in which the particularly rich range of archaeological traditions that was typical for Leiden (Mediterranean, Egyptian, Near Eastern, American and Far Eastern including China) collaborated with and strengthened each other. More complicated was the integration of the Archaeological Centre and the Interfaculty of Prehistory, but to this process Herman also gave of his best, so that Leiden University now has the only independent Faculty of Archaeology in the Netherlands.

Another significant mission was the re-establishment of this journal. Due to a disastrous financial situation, the survival of the *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* had, in the early 1970s, become extremely doubtful. As a member of the board of the BABesch Foudation, Geertman took the lead in a rescue operation with the substantial support of Zadoks-Josephus Jitta. Thanks to a solid financial reorganisation and private funding *BABesch* (nowadays *BABESCH*) was in 1975 to appear in a new form. Not only were its title and typographical design modernized, the quality of its contents also came up to international scientific standards. The relationship with Peeters in Leuven/Louvain (Belgium), publishers of *BABesch* from 1977 onwards, secured an optimal international diffusion. Additionally, Geertman expanded the scope of the organization from a strictly Leiden-based affair into a broadly based foundation, with members from The Netherlands and Flanders. Lastly, he was the initiator of the series of *BABesch*-supplementa (nowadays *BABESCH* supplements). Following on from the publication of a few irregularly edited volumes which ended the late 1980s, Geertman installed an international editorial board, formulated the instructions to authors, detailing the required standard for manuscripts, and sketched a clear profile of the editorial principles for the series. For the rest of his life, Herman felt closely connected to *BABESCH* and was editor of the Supplements together with Marc Waelkens until 2010.

He saw his directorship at the Institute in Rome as the pinnacle of his career and also as an opportunity to deepen and to broaden his professional work. He made important steps to anchor the institute more securely in the academic world of the Netherlands, among other things by extending its teaching programmes. He sharpened its scientific profile in the international community of research institutes in Rome, not only by his own scholarly work and reputation, but above all by stimulating

others in their scholarly talents and ambitions. Furthermore, he modernized the cultural programme of the institute, notably by creating a platform for contemporary classical music. The latter was certainly inspired by a personal passion, but at the same time he saw that in this way, the institute could complement cultural life in Rome. He also devoted his best forces to the loving renewal of the building and its garden.

After the publication of the proceedings of the 2002 conference in 2003 Herman considered his studies of the *Liber Pontificalis* essentially completed. He later offered a retrospective reflection on his approach and contributions in the Epilogue of a volume of collected articles on the early *Liber Pontificalis*, published in 2004 (*Hic fecit basilicam*). He brought his work to a close with a new presentation of the text itself (until 535 AD) in 'an anatomical' reconstruction of its genesis (2009). The archaeologist Geertman always remained a philologist! His trust that the younger generation of scholars would continue to study the topic allowed him to close the Book of Popes with contentment. His work on Vitruvius has also found its way into several publications and, yet, he continued working on the subject and did his utmost to finish a contribution that is now pending. Unfortunately, the urbanistic and architectural surveys in Pompeii, carried out by his team, lack comprehensive publication. However, it gave Herman particular satisfaction that the results of this teamwork are included in several doctoral dissertations of his PhD students. Moreover, it has been decided by the Pompeii team that the research data will be integrated into a geographical information system map of Pompeii. This is being developed in the Pompeii Quadriporticus Project at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Finally, his later Roman years offered the opportunity to issue a conclusive publication of his earliest project: the excavations of S. Sisto Vecchio. This extensive article appeared in 2004.

Many students and colleagues will remember Herman as a learned, rational, formal, demanding, focussed and – sometimes – rigorous person. With this first impression, he gained a lot of respect, but he could lso draw forth irritation or lack of understanding. He was demanding of others, but no less of himself. In circumstances where these demands failed to be understood, a certain degree of tension and inflexibility could get hold of him. However those who had the privilege to know him slightly better saw a charming, humorous and generous teacher, supervisor, team leader and colleague.

Herman supervised 17 PhD-candidates who accomplished their doctoral dissertation. They have learned a lot from their 'master' (a word he would never have used himself), but above all they admired his academic and human attitude: nobody was forced into his system, but in critical and analytical discussions, everybody was called upon to reflect on his or her own approach. Herman judged people purely on their merits, notably of intelligence, dedication and reliability. He was principled in everything he did. And he was fundamentally progressive in social and cultural terms. Herman believed in the power of human reason. Intellectual autonomy was crucial to him; it determined his scientific independence and originality, and maybe also his personal life. Certainly, his spirit was dynamically stimulated by the enduring intellectual and emotional partnership with Maria Beatrice Annis.

After his retirement, he and Maria Beatrice moved into a beautiful apartment on one of the canals of Amsterdam, the only city in the Netherlands that might be a serious rival to Rome. Here, even when increasingly troubled by Parkinsonism, he continued to work on his beloved subjects: the *Liber Pontificalis*, Vitruvius and Pompeii. Herman died at the age of 80, after having finished his last contribution to the studies of Vitruvius.

The farewell ceremony in Amsterdam on July 6 2015 was much in Herman's style: no laudatory, academic or religious commonplaces, but a loyal group of persons from his closest private and professional circles, united in listening to a quartet of talented young musicians.

Sible de Blaauw

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Big Debates over Small Fruits
Wine and Oil production in Protohistoric Southern Italy (ca 1350-750 BC)

Daphne Lentjes & Giulia Saltini Semerari

Abstract

In southern Italy, the period between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age saw profound changes, including increasing social complexity, economic and demographic growth, and the process of Greek colonisation. Some of these changes can be associated with new developments in the scale and organization of agricultural production. In this paper, we aim to investigate the connection between agricultural production and social organisation by focusing on grape and olive cultivation. Archaeological and archaeobotanical datasets are integrated to investigate whether and how changes in food production and consumption relate to changes in the social organisation of ancient communities.[1]

Introduction

The period that spans the Late Bronze Age (henceforth LBA) and Early Iron Age (henceforth EIA)[2] saw profound changes in the territorial and social organisation of communities in Southern Italy. The end of the Bronze Age was a time of great development and widespread connectivity, where a number of settlements became regional centres of storage, production and exchange with the Mediterranean, in particular with the Aegean (most notably along the Ionian Gulf: Broglio di Trebisacce, Termitito, Scoglio del Tonno, Roca Vecchia). Contacts with the Aegean were interrupted by the end of this period, and a short crisis is identifiable in the archaeological record during the transition to the EIA. Nevertheless, the EIA was, after this initial crisis, a period of increasing social complexity and territorial reorganisation. This process culminated in the reintegration of Greek exchanges within the local material culture and the establishment of small nuclei of Greek settlers along the coasts of Southern Italy and Sicily, some of which eventually developed into Greek 'colonies'. Within these wide-ranging developments, archaeobotanical evidence has repeatedly been used to draw inferences on the social organisation of LBA – EIA communities. First, the presence of large vessels for the storage of oil or wine in LBA settlements has been taken as key evidence for growing social complexity.[3] Second, to explain the development towards economic and demographic growth evident throughout the EIA, some authors hypothesised changes in agricultural traditions.[4] Finally, the traditional narrative of the Greek colonisation saw the Greeks as responsible for introducing oleo-and viticulture into Italic societies.[5] In this paper, we test these hypotheses by investigating the relationship between agricultural practices and changes in social organisation. To do so, we review (bio)archaeological evidence from the regions around the Ionian coast including the Salento Isthmus in the southern part of Apulia, the Basilicata region, the southernmost tip of Campania and Calabria (*fig. 1*).

We focus on grape and olive cultivation because they have the most potential for investigating the connection between agricultural production and social organisation. There are several reasons for this. First, wine and oil consumption were central to the social organization of Mediterranean communities. Wine drinking has often been associated with the emergence of elites, for whom it played an important part in hospitality and feasting.[6] Even today, olive oil remains a valuable commodity in Mediterranean societies, which is used for cooking, personal hygiene and as fuel.[7] In addition, since both fruits can be converted into storable commodities (wine, raisins, olive oil, pickled olives), vine and olive trees provided additional security to subsistence farmers.[8] What is more, according to Gilman,[9] olive- and viticulture were also a key factor in the emergence of Bronze Age elites in yet another way. Compared to the traditional cereal crops in prehistoric Europe, tree crops constitute a capital-intensification of subsistence ('cash crops'), with consequences both in the organisation of labour and the capacity for accumulation. Grapes and olives are demanding crops,

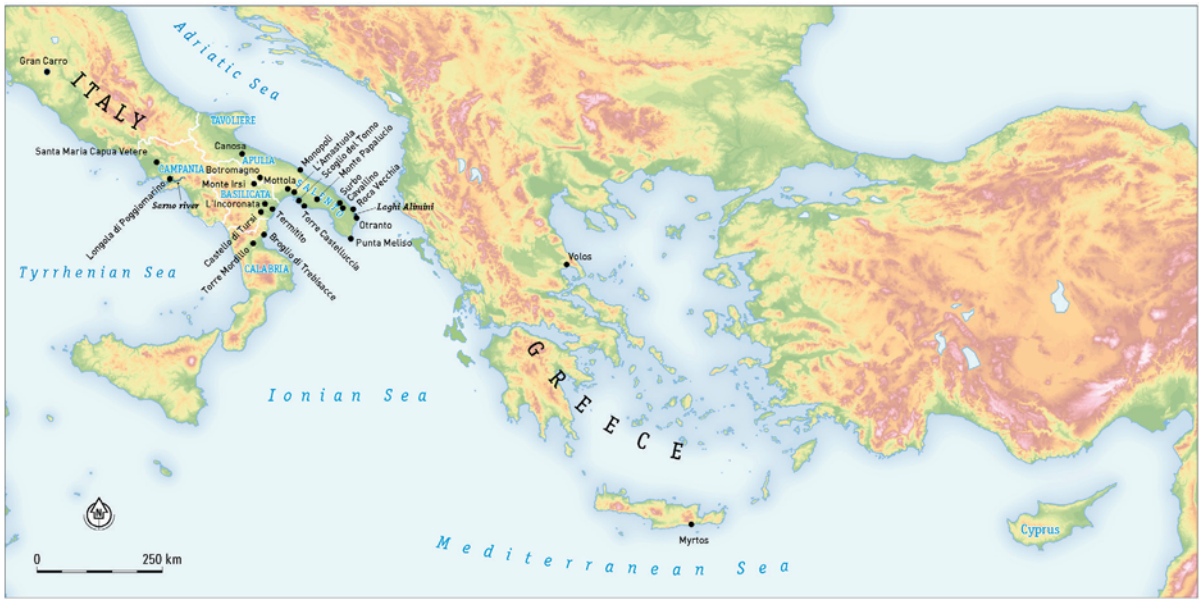

Fig. 1. The research area of this study, with sites mentioned in the text (map by Bert Brouwenstijn).

requiring year-round monitoring, controlling pests and diseases, fertilizing, irrigation, deciding when to harvest, and pruning. Apart from that, they are also slow-growing and do not immediately yield any usable fruit. Grapevines need at least three years of careful nurturing before they do, and olive trees at least fifteen to twenty years. These characteristics not only tied people to the land, but also rendered them more vulnerable to controlling power, since they were unable to move to other areas without losing their precious crops.

Materials and Methods

This paper integrates the archaeological and the archaeobotanical datasets in order to investigate whether and how changes in food production and consumption relate to changes in the social organisation of ancient communities.

Archaeological evidence

The archaeological evidence belongs to two categories. First, a review of settlement, funerary and landscape evidence dating from the Recent Bronze Age to the end of the Early Iron Age is provided. Markers of social change are discussed based on current scholarship. Second, artefacts directly linked to wine or oil production, storage and consumption are discussed. Since little evidence is preserved concerning *in situ* processing of grapes or olives, this evidence mostly consists of pottery. This includes storage containers such as *amphorae* and *pithoi* (or *dolia*), drinking and pouring vessels, and small containers for scented oils.

Archaeobotanical evidence

Archaeobotany, the study of plant remains in archaeological contexts, was only rarely an integral part of archaeological investigations in southern Italy until recently.[10] There are several explanations for this, including the unfavourable environmental circumstances for plant preservation (indeed, the majority of archaeobotanical assemblages discussed in this paper consists of carbonised plant remains, as waterlogged conditions are extremely rare in these parts). However, in the last few decades archaeobotany has gradually come of age and developed into an independent discipline in Italy, making way for synthesizing, regional studies. The research presented in this study fits into this trend, providing a review of archaeobotanical remains of grapes and olives dating from the Recent Bronze Age to the end of the Early Iron Age. This overview is based on the current state of archaeobotanical research in southern Italy, including published evidence, as well as one of the author's own research data.[11] For reasons of clarity, the data are also summarized in table 2.

The Recent Bronze Age (ca 1350-1200 BC)

Archaeological evidence

The Recent Bronze Age in southern Italy is characterized by the emergence of important centres for the production, storage and exchange of goods along the Ionian coast, set within a context of growing long-distance connectivity in a wide region that included central Europe and the Mediterranean. The latter took the shape of widespread diffusion of metal types (the so-called *metallurgical koinè*)[12] and exchanges of (mostly) luxury goods of different kinds and provenances.[13] In addition, relations between Italic communities and the Mycenaean Aegean intensified considerably. In southern Italy, evidence of these relations includes reciprocal exchanges of metallurgical know-how and finished objects,[14] imports of Mycenaean pottery and local production of the same (the so-called Italo-Mycenaean pottery),[15] and local production of wares combining Aegean and local indigenous traits (grey ware and cordoned *dolia*).[16]

The distribution of such finds was by no means homogeneous. Local regional centres for the production of different wares have been hypothesized based on both typological and archaeometric analyses of Italo-Mycenaean pottery, *dolia* and grey ware.[17] Similarly, only a small number of coastal settlements appear to have been especially involved in direct overseas exchanges. For example, the sites of Roca Vecchia and Scoglio del Tonno attracted a substantially greater proportion of Mycenaean pottery imports than any other site along the Ionian coast. At the same time, they functioned as centres for the production of valuable goods such as metal objects and, in the case of Roca, also bone and ivory artefacts.[18] Evidence of change within the organisation of the settlements themselves includes the construction of monumental buildings and the construction or extension of fortifications, which point to an increase in the capacity of garnering labour for large-scale works.[19] The Recent Bronze Age in southern Italy was therefore a period of considerable economic and political development, which entailed an increase of specialized productions and interregional exchanges and the centralisation of power, especially within a series of prominent coastal settlements involved in overseas contacts.

Within this broader context, the first indication of large-scale oil and/or wine production and storage is given by the appearance of cordoned *dolia* (*dolii cordonati*), a type of large container made of fine clay inspired in its shape and decoration by Aegean productions.[20] The distribution of this shape covers, in the Recent Bronze Age, the Ionian coast.[21] Although in theory they could have contained any product, the appearance of the *dolia* has been connected to an increased capacity of the dominant élites to direct, control and to a certain extent centralized agricultural production, with particular emphasis on cash crops such as wine and oil.[22] Borgna and Càssola Guida more recently suggested that the latter process may have been spurred by Mycenaean needs. More specifically, they proposed that 'sub-elitist components' within the Mycenaean world could have acquired in Italy products that were under direct palatial control in Greece, in order to emulate and compete with palatial elites, thus inspiring and encouraging the local organisation of production.[23]

We lack any direct evidence for this period of what kind of product was indeed held in the *dolia*. Residue analyses performed on later samples dating to the Final Bronze Age from the sites of Broglio di Trebisacce and Roca Vecchia both indicate that the *dolia* contained oil, but not wine.[24] Given their enormous storage capacity (one of them could contain over 5,000 liters), it can be hypothesized that these *dolia* were used in regional storage complexes and potential re-distribution centers of locally produced olive oil.[25] However, in the site of Roca Vecchia coarse stirrup jars used for transporting liquids (presumably Cretan oil) were also present.[26]

With regard to wine, the widespread presence of drinking and pouring vessels has long been considered as indirect evidence of its consumption in Recent Bronze Age southern Italy. The classes of pottery that have been especially associated with this activity are Mycenaean painted pottery imports, Italo-Mycenaean pottery, and grey ware. Within the latter ware, drinking shapes like cups and bowls were especially frequent, while Mycenaean wares and their locally produced counterparts included both drinking vessels such as *skyphoi*, cups, bowls and craters, and pouring vessels such as stirrup jars. Moreover, larger closed vessels which may have been used to transport liquids such as wine were also uncovered in numerous sites, including Scoglio del Tonno, Broglio di Trebisacce and Roca Vecchia.[27]

Archaeobotany

Stones of cultivated[28] olives from this period have only been found at two sites, namely Broglio di

Trebisacce and Monopoli/Piazza Palmieri.[29] The olive remains from Broglio di Trebisacce have been studied particularly well because of their association with the *pithoi* at this site. Olive stones were found here in contexts of the Recent Bronze as well as Final Bronze Age/Early Iron Age. Furthermore, the olive wood in the charcoal assemblage has been interpreted as evidence of olive tree pruning.[30] Pruned olive branches are still widely used as fuel in modern Italy, and can be seen in heaped-up piles lining the streets during the winter months (*fig. 2*). Vallino and Ventura state that the olive stones from Broglio show 'a significant spectrum of biometric variability that may lead to the hypothesis that they derived from the cultivated variety.'[31] The length/breadth ratio of the stones is around 1.83 which, according to these authors, is similar to the dimensions of cultivated olive stones from Myrtos, Volos and Cyprus.[32] In wild olives, the length/breadth ratio is supposedly lower (the stones are less elongated).[33] Whether this claim can be substantiated or not, in light of the *pithos* finds at this site it seems likely that the olive stones from Broglio belong to cultivated fruits.

Fig. 2. Pruned olive wood in San Pancrazio Salentino and Mesagne, province of Brindisi, Italy, winter 2010 (photo Daphne Lentjes).

It is perhaps surprising that no archaeobotanical remains of olives were found in Recent Bronze Age levels from other sites with olive oil storage complexes, such as Torre Mordillo, but this hiatus can easily be explained by sampling problems. Especially at Torre Mordillo, where the charcoal assemblage contained olive wood, and olive stones were found in Final Bronze Age/Early Iron Age strata, the exploitation of olive trees can certainly not be excluded.[34] In addition, there is some palynological evidence of an increase in olive pollen in this period. The pollen core from the Laghi Alimini in southern Salento show a remarkable *Olea* peak between 3600 and 3100 cal. BP (i.e. in the Middle, Recent and Final Bronze Age).[35] The Alimini lakes are located at a distance of less than 10 kilometers from Roca Vecchia.[36] It is tempting to associate the *Olea* peak from the Laghi Alimini with large-scale olive cultivation in the area, although Di Rita and Magri have proposed an alternative explanation. A general late-Holocene increase of evergreen vegetation has been largely recognized in the Mediterranean basin, and ascribed to either human activity or climatic trends.[37]

The olive stones from Monopoli/Piazza Palmieri are another story altogether. The olives from this site were part of the assemblage studied by a group of scholars advocating an alternative model of diffusion for olive cultivation, based on the analysis of olive stones from various Mediterranean regions. Patterns of morphological variation in wild and archaeological olive stones were compared in order to conclude that olive stones with a 'cultivated shape' occurred in the Chalcolithic in Spain, and in Recent Bronze Age Italy-i.e. at Monopoli.[38] In fact, it is argued that the allocation of the Monopoli stones 'gives rise to the problem of an early introduction in Italy of cultivars from eastern Mediterranean areas and/or from North Africa.'

Interestingly, this model is remarkably similar to another one, proposed on the basis of olive DNA.[39] For this study, genetic material from 121 cultivated olive trees and 300 oleasters (sampled in 27 populations from all around the Mediterranean) was collected to create a geographical distribution map of Mediterranean olive mitotypes (i.e. combinations of DNA sequences). Quite surprisingly, this map revealed two different centers of origin for the domesticated olive, one in the eastern and one in the western Mediterranean. In

the oleasters, two distinct genetic groups were distinguished: an eastern group (occurring from Turkey to the Near East) and a western group (from Libya to the Maghreb and Spain).

In contrast, cultivated grape remains or other indications of viticulture have never been found at all in Recent Bronze Age contexts in southern Italy.[40] Grape remains were also absent at Broglio di Trebisacce, which is striking, since drinking services and wine pouring vessels abounded among the pottery finds. In light of this evidence, Peroni's view was that wine was not only consumed, but also produced *in loco*,[41] although archaeobotanical evidence for this is lacking.

The Final Bronze Age (ca 1200-1000 BC)

Archaeology

The Final Bronze Age saw diversified developments across southern Italy. In general, the Final Bronze Age saw a continuation and intensification of Recent Bronze Age trends, whith local élites consolidating their power and expanding their productive activities. Evidence of this includes an increase in specialised productions and long-distance exchanges.[42] Large-scale building activities concerning fortifications and public structures also continued. This is particularly evident in the sites of Broglio di Trebisacce and Roca Vecchia. The fortification system of Broglio appears to have been enhanced especially around the acropolis, while a number of important buildings were concentrated within the acropolis itself. These include three or four large dwelling huts, a forge for the production of iron, and, most importantly for this paper, two storage buildings where a concentration of *dolia* were found.[43] In the best preserved of these two 'magazzini' 5 *dolia* were uncovered, while other concentrations of fragments were scattered across the site.[44]

In Roca Vecchia two large structures were built alongside the fortification wall. The structure to the north measured ca 40 x 15 m, and was the last and largest of a series of superimposed structures dating back to the end of the Recent Bronze Age.[45] This building was destroyed by fire at the end of the Final Bronze Age 2 (roughly the LH IIIC Late - Sub-Mycenaean period in Aegean chronology),[46] and it appears to have had a public and religious function.[47] The rich assemblage of this structure, which included two (mostly metal) hoards and a wide array of pottery finds, strongly suggest close contacts with the Aegean and the Adriatic.[48] The presence of bronze ingots and scrap metal in the hoards points to the local production of metal objects, confirmed by the find of twelve stone moulds for the production of tools and weapons and of a billow nozzle elsewhere in the site.[49] The building to the south measured more than 20 m in length and contained, in association with four *dolia*, large numbers of *impasto* pottery (the locally made, handmade ware), Italo-Mycenaean pottery and South-Italian Protogeometric vessels.[50] The latter constituted a new development in the local pottery production of southern Italy.[51] Other *dolia* were found across the site, though not in such concentrations. Peroni interpreted the evidence from Broglio as the sign that local élites had strengthened their political dominance over the local communities, and had acquired control over cash-crop production cycles, from land ownership to labour control, accumulation and redistribution.[52] Bietti Sestieri has taken a more cautious stance, explaining that while the *dolia* may not be proof enough of redistribution, they still indicate complex processes of storage.[53]

The Final Bronze Age also saw considerable shifts in long-distance exchanges. Contacts with the Mycenaean world gradually decreased, but this process was complex and occurred over a long period of time. It happened earlier in the western part of the Ionian gulf (as in Broglio), and later to the East. In southern Salento, in Roca Vecchia and possibly Punta Meliso, contacts lingered until the end of the Final Bronze Age (the LH IIIC Late and the Sub-Mycenaean period in Aegean chronology), although Mycenaean imports had by that time substantially decreased.[54] Moreover, as Mycenaean pottery imports and grey wares dwindled, the production of Italo-Mycenaean pottery and *dolia* increased in the course of the Final Bronze Age. Long-distance exchanges based on metal goods also continued throughout this period, showing links with the Adriatic, the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. These are recognisable in a number of important metal assemblages found along the Ionian gulf and especially in Salento, including one hoard from Surbo,[55] the two aforementioned hoards from Roca Vecchia[56], the settlement and cemetery of Torre Castelluccia,[57] and the - possibly Sub-Mycenaean - hoard of Mottola[58]. Several authors have suggested that exchanges between local and post-palatial Mycenaean elites would have occurred on a more equal basis than in the previous period (possibly taking the shape of guest friendships and gift exchange). Thus access to foreign goods and the display of such privileged links would have been mutually beneficial.[59] This would explain

why when Aegean contacts disappeared at the end of the Final Bronze Age a crisis was felt especially in those areas that had most benefitted from them, like Salento, where a number of settlements show evidence of destruction or contraction.[60]

Archaeobotany

In this period, evidence of grape cultivation finally makes its first appearance in the archaeobotanical record in southern Italy. At Santa Maria Capua Vetere in Campania, a large number of pruned vines from Final Bronze Age layers were found in a rubbish pit.[61]

Olive stones are found in Final Bronze Age layers at Broglio di Trebisacce and Torre Mordillo, coinciding with the continuing use of the olive oil storage vessels at these sites. Finds of carbonized olive stones, which may have belonged to cultivated olives, are also reported at Castello di Tursi (Basilicata).[62]

The Early Iron Age (ca 1000-750 BC)

Archaeology

As seen above, especially sites with strong Aegean links were likely affected by the end of Aegean contacts, and suffered from a crisis during the transition from the Final Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. Unfortunately archaeological evidence for this period is scarce, making a more detailed understanding of this transition difficult. In general, local developments in Early Iron Age southern Italy show a considerable degree of continuity with the previous period. Major sites of the Bronze Age continued to be occupied (or re-occupied after a short break, like Roca Vecchia), and local manufacturing of *impasto,* matt-painted pottery and metal artefacts continued to develop from Bronze Age traditions. Nevertheless, important changes are also identifiable, such as a shift with regard to burial rites,[63] and a re-orientation of medium and long distance exchanges.[64]

In general, the Early Iron Age was a period of growth towards increasing social complexity and economic development. This is true for all of Italy, where local communities attained varying degrees of urbanisation, territorial re-organisation and social hierarchisation by the end of the 8th century BC.[65] In southern Italy, this process was less pronounced than in areas like Etruria and the Po Valley.[66] Nevertheless, changes in material culture and territorial organisation point to the gradual development of separate, wider territorial units dominated by major sites and reflected in discrete pottery styles.[67] Indeed, while the production of *dolia* waned, that of fine matt-painted pottery flourished, developing increasingly distinctive, regionalized styles.[68] The funerary record shows a slow change from kin-based organisation where gender and age tend to determine status to more complex social structures with an established élite class able to tap into Mediterranean-wide networks of exchange.[69] This process was likely the result of multiple factors feeding back into each other, including changes in land use (as discussed in the introduction), demographic increase, the renewed possibility of long-distance contacts (see below), and thus the capacity to access foreign objects and materials, and new ways of displaying and expressing status.[70] These changes must have produced considerable tension within indigenous communities, often leading to their fission and the founding of new settlements in previously uninhabited areas.[71]

In the course of the 8th century, this long-term, dynamic indigenous process intersected with the re-establishment of long-distance contacts with Greeks and Phoenicians, and most importantly with the settlement of groups of Greeks along the coasts of southern Italy from the end of the 8th century onwards. The modes of interaction between Greek newcomers and indigenous communities have been the object of prolonged debate, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that one key characteristic of contacts was their variability through time and space, likely occurring on a spectrum that went from co-existence and collaboration to hostile confrontation.[72] It is important to note, however, that a central aspect of this interaction was the exchange of pottery from the very onset of contacts. The earliest Greek pottery imports to reach Italy after the end of the Bronze Age dated to the Middle Geometric period (in Greek relative chronology, the second half of the 9th century - beginning of the 8th in traditional absolute chronology). Single examples of pendent semicircle *skyphoi* reached the Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts, while a concentration of Corinthian wares was found in Otranto, at the south-eastern tip of the Salentine peninsula.[73] In the course of the Late Geometric period, imports of Greek, and especially Corinthian pottery increased and made their way across southern Italy. Most of these early imports are drinking vessels such as cups and *skyphoi*. As Greek newcomers settled along the Ionian Gulf's coast, local production of Greek pottery (and hybrid Greek-indigenous types) was also taken up.[74] The end of the Late

Geometric and the following Orientalizing period (roughly the end of the 8th and 7th centuries BC) see a substantial increase in the presence of Greek pottery, whether locally produced or imported, in a wide variety of shapes. Some served to contain oil, either in bulk form like the large Attic SOS and Corinthian type A amphorae, or as valuable perfumed oil in small - mostly Protocorinthian and Corinthian *aryballoi*.[75] Other vessels were traditionally associated with wine drinking, such as cups, kraters and *oinochoai*.[76] This process was accompanied by the imitation of the latter shapes in local matt-painted pottery.[77] Interestingly, some of these shapes, believed to constitute evidence of wine-drinking, were also found in areas that lack evidence of wine import, such as the Tavoliere and the area of Canosa in northern Apulia.[78] This may indicate local production of wine. Gradually, in the course of the 7th and most drastically in the 6th century BC Greek-style drinking sets are deposited in outstanding indigenous burials, pointing to the possible adoption (and adaptation) by indigenous élites of the *symposion* ritual.[79]

Archaeobotany

Archaeobotanical evidence of local oleiculture is completely absent in the Early Iron Age. This is surprising, especially since olive finds are not uncommon in excavation levels from the Archaic period, for example at Monte Papalucio,[80] Cavallino[81] and l'Amastuola (see *fig. 3*).[82] We will discuss this peculiarity below. First, we wish to concentrate on the archaeobotanical evidence of wine production. As we have seen, grape pips are absent from the archaeobotanical record in southern Italy throughout the period under study. Indeed, the earliest carbonized grape pips that were found in this area date to the late 8th and early 7th century BC. These finds were made in the mixed Greek/indigenous settlements of l'Incoronata and l'Amastuola, located in Basilicata and Apulia, respectively. In both cases, the sample consisted of only a few pips, and the question remains whether these belonged to wild or cultivated fruits.[83] There is a distinct possibility that grapes were not cultivated at all in Iron Age southern Italy, as with the exception of Campania there is no evidence for that from this or any of the preceding periods. The grape finds at l'Incoronata and l'Amastuola stand out, as grape or olive remains are conspicuously lacking in the archaeobotanical samples from other sites from this period, including Monte Irsi[84] and Botromagno.[85] Interestingly, imported pottery vessels that can be associated with wine consumption have been found in the wealthy tombs at the latter site. This suggests that the inhabitants, or at least a privileged few of them, were familiar with wine consumption. However, in light of current evidence it is likely that this wine was mostly imported, rather than produced locally.

Fig. 3. Olive stones from Archaic excavation levels at l'Amastuola (photo Daphne Lentjes).

The question arises where these imports came from. Was all the imported wine in Early Iron Age southern Italy Greek, or can Italian production centres be hypothesised as well? A particularly interesting case in this respect is provided by Longola di Poggiomarino in Campania, a site with habitation traces from the Early Iron Age until the early 6th century BC.[86] The settlement was located along the Sarno river and has been completely immersed since the 4th century BC. Here, numerous grape pips, pruned grapevines and grape pressings were found that unmistakably point at viticulture and winemaking, datable between the late 10th and early 9th century BC.[87] Unfortunately, the Longola finds basically stand on their own. The only comparable assemblage was found in Early Iron Age levels (9th century BC) at the Villanovan site of Gran Carro (Lake Bolsena, Lazio).[88] In short, it cannot be excluded that wine production took place in certain areas in Early Iron Age Campania and Lazio. Unfortunately we do not know whether this production took place on a large enough scale to be able to export some of the surplus southwards.

Discussion

There is an increasing body of evidence indicating that the cultivation of olives in southern Italy started as early as the Recent Bronze Age. Bronze

Age oleiculture is especially well attested in the regional centres that were part of larger exchange networks, such as Broglio di Trebisacce, Torre Mordillo and Roca Vecchia. It is mainly due to this large-scale production that the cultivation of olives is particularly evident. Indeed, as Foxhall has convincingly argued with regard to the absence of olive crushers in ancient Greek contexts, remains of olive oil production is notoriously hard to find, unless it is practiced on a considerable scale.[89] Olive oil production may have taken place at some of the smaller Bronze Age settlements too, but the lack of large scale storage and/or production facilities makes it difficult to find archaeological evidence to substantiate this hypothesis. Subsequently, there is a gap in evidence related to oil production during the Early Iron Age, but archaeobotanical remains and transport containers (both imported and locally produced)[90] dating to the Archaic period point to renewed large-scale oil production in this later period. It is possible that oil production continued at an (archaeologically undetectable) subsistence level during the Early Iron Age. Alternatively, a loss of technical knowledge and its recovery thanks to intensified cross-Mediterranean contacts should be hypothesised. However, the former hypothesis appears to be the most economical, as it would not require to find an explanation for this loss of knowledge, while at the same time correlating well with the shift towards simpler forms of social organisation identifiable at the end of the FBA and discussed above. In our view, the most convincing scenario for oleiculture entails an intensification of production in the Recent and Final Bronze Ages, coinciding with centralised forms of political control at least in a number of pre-eminent coastal settlements. This is not in contrast with Borgna and Càssola Guida's hypothesis of cash crop (in the light of existing evidence, most likely limited to oil) production directed at least in part towards overseas exchanges.[91] The disruption of these exchanges and the momentary crisis of these important centres may have caused a reduction in the region's oil production. This may however have continued at a subsistence level, until it intensified again along with the changes in social, political and territorial organisation that characterised the end of the Early Iron Age (see above).

In contrast, we lack any firm evidence of viticulture or wine-production in southern Italy dating to the Recent Bronze Age. Nevertheless, it is likely that at least some wine reached southern Italy from the Aegean, as testified by the pottery evidence. This consumption would have been limited to elite members in pre-eminent coastal centres such as Roca Vecchia and Scoglio del Tonno. Subsequently, evidence of viticulture in the Final Bronze and Early Iron Age southern Italy is limited to the sites of Santa Maria Capua Vetere and Longola di Poggiomarino in Campania. The evidence from the latter site at least constitutes a solid proof of wine-production in southern Italy from the Early Iron Age. Whether wine from Campania reached the southernmost regions of Italy, i.e. Calabria, Basilicata and Apulia, is still an open question. There, evidence of viticulture is currently absent. Based on the available evidence, it seems that viticulture was only introduced in the course of the Archaic period. Thus it is debatable whether the earlier imports of Greek cups and *skyphoi* should be taken as evidence of local wine-drinking behaviour.

We set out at the beginning of this paper with the aim of understanding the relation between shifts in social organisation and agricultural practices in Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age southern Italy. Although these links are by no means direct, we have highlighted some points of connection. Olive cultivation and oil production, in particular, likely represented one of the activities that shaped the economic prominence of sites like Roca Vecchia and Broglio, along with other production and exchange activities (e.g. metal). Archaeological evidence for the Early Iron Age shows a process of growth, both in terms of specialised production and territorial expansion, ultimately leading to increasing social complexity. But from an archaeobotanical perspective, no clear evidence is available to link these changes to any meaningful shift in agricultural practices. On the contrary, it is likely that the changes were more a matter of quantity than of quality, with a gradual increase of cultivated land surface associated to the foundation of new settlements. The first visible shift in agricultural practices appears to come towards the end of this process, with the renewed intensification of oil production and the introduction of viticulture.[92] Rather than a cause, these changes thus appear to come as a consequence of the wide-ranging developments that characterised the advent of the Archaic period.

Conclusion

One point that emerges from this review is that when reconstructing past agricultural practices we should be wary of applying models from better-known areas or periods without testing them. In particular, we have shown that two kinds of assumptions should be avoided, one concerning the contemporaneous transmission of crops, the other

the association of shapes with liquids. First, we should be careful not to assume that wine and olive oil production always travelled together. The introduction of wine and olive oil production in southern Italy clearly, for example, followed different trajectories. The grouping of olive oil and wine into a single category of 'cash crops' partly stems from Colin Renfrew's hypothesis concerning the origin of Mediterranean polyculture (the combined cultivation of olive, vine and wheat), i.e. that the systematic exploitation of olive trees and vines transformed the traditional Neolithic subsistence economy in Greece.[93] As we have shown for southern Italy, however, matters may have encountered considerable regional and chronological variation. This variation constitutes a warning against any facile assumptions regarding past agricultural practices.

A second assumption that should be reconsidered in the light of the evidence discussed above is the link between pottery shapes and the liquid they contained (e.g. cordoned *dolia* = oil and wine containers, *skyphos* = wine drinking cup). While these links can be more safely made for the Greek pottery of later periods, supported as they are by abundant iconographic and literary evidence, the same cannot be said when chronological and cultural boundaries are crossed. Three main issues hinder such easy associations. First, to hypothesise that sets of shapes were associated with specific functions does not necessarily exclude their use in different ways. In other words, even if certain shapes where commonly used for wine consumption, this does not mean that such use remained unique and constant during their whole uselife. Second, the formalisation of shapes as symposium drinking sets post-dates much of the evidence discussed in this paper.[94] To push the same kind of shape-function equivalences back in time, even when considering evidence from the Aegean, would be methodologically hazardous. Third, and most importantly, once a pot crossed into a different cultural contexts any ideas about its 'proper' function or any cultural association with specific liquids may have been lost, adapted or subverted according to the local needs. Thus especially when it comes to interpreting indigenous pottery or early Greek imports found in indigenous contexts it is very important not to take later (Greek) associations between shape and liquid as valid without testing them. One methodological solution to this problem would be to integrate hypotheses about shapes and functions with archaeobotanical evidence and, whenever possible, residue analysis. Thus on the basis of our current knowledge, we can for the time being affirm that although wine-consumption may have been possible for a small number of elite individuals in the latter part of the Bronze Age, we have currently no evidence for its production in southern Italy (outside Campania) until the Archaic period. Its consumption during the Early Iron Ages, at a time when long-distance exchanges were at a minimum, is not detectable from the archaeological evidence and should therefore not be assumed until new data become available.

This leaves us with a number of unanswered questions. First of all, if wine was only consumed by a limited number of elite individuals until the end of the Early Iron Age, does that mean that the rest of the population in southern Italy did not have access to alcoholic beverages at all, or were they perhaps drinking something else? There is plenty of pottery evidence of pouring and drinking vessels for this period, including some peculiar shapes like the strainer-jugs that are found among the grave goods of particularly wealthy female burials.[95] More information from residue analysis and a greater attention to archaeobotanical finds in settlement excavations would be greatly helpful in this context.

A final issue that should be addressed concerns the balance between cash crops, other agricultural productions, and animal husbandry. There has been some discussion on how sheep-husbandry and textile production in particular would have constituted an important resource for the indigenous populations occupying the hilly and mountainous hinterland and trading with the Greek colonists, but we still know little concerning how shifts in the occupation of the landscape would have affected the different subsistence activities and cash crop productions.[96] Food in its multiple aspects is a central element for the subsistence and for the social and symbolic organisation of every community and we are still far from reconstructing its role and shape for protohistoric societies in the Mediterranean. Beyond its immediate conclusions, which we hope may change as more data and materials are produced, this paper is first and foremost a call for care and attention to this often neglected but crucial aspect of the past.

Table 1: Chronology

Early Bronze Age	2300-1700 BC
Middle Bronze Age	1700-1350 BC
Recent Bronze Age	1350-1200 BC
Final Bronze Age	1200-1000 BC
Early Iron Age	1000-600 BC
Archaic Period	600-480 BC
Classical Period	480-325 BC

Table 2: Early archaeobotanical evidence of grape and olive cultivation in southern Italy

period	**grape**	**olive**
Neolithic	Grotta dell'Uzzo (8th millennium BC)	Grotta dell'Uzzo (8th millennium BC)
	Torre Canne (6th millennium BC)	
Early Bronze Age	Filo Braccio	
Middle Bronze Age	Vivara	
	Portella	
Recent Bronze Age		Monopoli/Piazza Palmieri (14th century BC)
		Broglio di Trebisacce (12th century BC)
Final Bronze Age	S. Maria Capua Vetere	Castello di Tursi (12th century BC)
		Broglio di Trebisacce 2 (1200-700 BC)
		Torre Mordillo 3 (1200-700 BC)
Early Iron Age	Longola di Poggiomarino (late 10th and early 9th century)	
	l'Incoronata (late 8th-early 7th century BC)	
	l'Amastuola (late 8th-end 7th century BC)	
	Cavalino (750-480/450 BC)	
Archaic/Classical Period	l'Amastuola (early 6th-first half 7th century BC)	Cavalino (750-480/450 BC)
	Monte Papalucio 1 (mid 6th-early 5th century BC)	l'Amastuola (early 6th-first half of 5th century BC)
	Roccagloriosa (6th/5th century BC)	Monte Papalucio 1 (mid 6th-early 5th century BC)
	Pizzica Pantanello 1 (4th century BC)	Pizzica Pantanello 1 (4th century BC)

Notes

[1] We would like to express our gratitude to Girolamo Fiorentino and the research group at the Laboratorio di Archeobotanica e Paleoecologia (LAP) of the Università del Salento in Lecce, Italy, where a large part of these research data were collected. Furthermore, we thank Bert Brouwenstijn for producing the map in this text.

[2] Great variation can be noticed in the dating and exact time frame of protohistoric periods in Southern Italy and Greece. For Southern Italy, this paper will largely follow the chronological scheme proposed by Attema, Burgers and Van Leusen 2010 (see *table 1*). Note that in this scheme, the Late Bronze Age is subdivided into the Recent Bronze Age (1350-1200 BC) and the Final Bronze Age (1200-1000 BC).

[3] Peroni 1994; Vanzetti 2002.

[4] Bianco 1996, 31, 1998, 16; Burgers 1998, 190.

[5] E.g. Vallet 1962, 1554: 'Il est certain que l'olivier, en tant qu'arbre cultivé, fut acclimaté en Italie par les colons grecs'. Cf. Boardman 1976, 190; Zohary/Hopf 2000, 150-151; Renfrew 1973, 127; Helbaek 1956, 292-293.

[6] See for instance Gilman 1981; Milano 1994; Dietler 1990, 2006; and more recently Margaritis/Renfrew/Jones 2009.

[7] Foxhall 2007, 85-97.

[8] It has been argued that the cultivation of olives and grapes was fundamental to the emergence of state-level complex societies and the development of Minoan and Mycenaean palace economies from the Middle Bronze Age onwards. See debate in Barrett/Halstead 2004.

[9] Gilman 1981, 6.

[10] Hopf 1991, 243; Rottoli 1993, 305; Carter/Costantini 1994, 104.

[11] Lentjes 2011; 2016.

[12] Carancini/Peroni 1997.

[13] For a comprehensive overview see Cocchi Genick 2006.

[14] Bietti Sestieri 1973; Bettelli 1999; Jung 2009; Jung et al. 2011; Jung/Mehofer 2013.

[15] Jones 1993; Vagnetti 1999; Bettelli et al. 2001-2002; Levi/Sonnino/Jones 2006.
[16] Bettelli 2002, 95-110; Bettelli/Levi 2003; Guglielmino 2009, 198.
[17] Levi/Jones 1999, 108-13; Bettelli/Levi 2003, 449; Levi 2004, 234.
[18] Scoglio del Tonno: Quagliati 1900; Taylour 1958; Biancofiore 1967; Gorgoglione et al. 2006; Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010. Roca Vecchia: Guglielmino 2002, 2004-2006, 2005, 2009; Pagliara 2005.
[19] Monumental buildings: Guglielmino 2009, 186; Peroni 1996, 258, 263. Fortifications: Quagliati 1900, 432-435; Lo Porto 1963, 320-328; Guglielmino 2003, 107; Pagliara 2005, 630-635; Peroni 1994, 851-852.
[20] Peroni 1994, 847; Vagnetti 2000; Forni 2002, 85, 116; Bettelli/Levi 2003, 437-40; Levi 2004, 234.
[21] Bettelli/Levi 2004, 439; Levi 2004, 236.
[22] Peroni 1994, 845-46.
[23] Borgna/Càssola Guida 2005.
[24] Peroni 1994, 855-856; Guglielmino 1998, 482.
[25] Peroni 1994, 856.
[26] Guglielmino 2009, 194.
[27] Bettelli 2002, 51-64; Bietti Sestieri 2008, 28; Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, 459; Guglielmino 2009, 194.
[28] There is no straightforward method to distinguish between archaeobotanical remains of wild and cultivated grapes. Traditionally, this is done by measuring the pips and calculating the so-called Stummer index. By calculating the breadth (B) and length (L) index and dividing the two, Stummer (1911) stated that indices between 44 to 53 characterize wild vines and indices between 76 to 83 cultivated ones. Seeds with indices from 54 to 75 could belong to either subspecies. However, the problem is that the ratios differ between regions, and the extent of overlap between cultivated and spontaneous Vitis can be considerable. Furthermore, in the archaeological record seed dimensions can be deformed by different processes of preservation, such as carbonization or mineralization. To overcome these problems, Mangafa/Kotsakis (1996) started an investigation of modern populations of wild and cultivated vines and their carbonization under differing charring conditions. Their experiments resulted in a new series of formulae. However, some of the same problems that apply to the Stummer Index also affect Mangafa and Kotsakis' method, which was only tested against seeds of (northeast) Greek origin (the Stummer Index was developed in the Austrian Danube area). The growing circumstances for Greek vines are, however, very different from those in southern Italy, possibly resulting in morphological differences. Moreover, it is not unlikely that the grapes from southern Italy belong to a different variety, and contain characteristics that do not fit the formulae. Cf. Smith/Jones 1990, 322; Rivera et al. 2007; Orrù et al. 2012.
[29] For Broglio di Trebisacce, see Nisbet/Ventura 1994. Monopoli/Piazza Palmieri: Fiorentino 1995; Terral et al. 2004, 72. Vallino/Ventura (1984, 274) refer to the site of Tufariello di Buccino (Salerno) in Campania as another Bronze Age context where domesticated olive stones were found. Unfortunately, in the publication of the archaeobotanical remains from Tufariello (Lacroix Phippen 1975, 79), no such statements are made. Lacroix Phippen mentions numerous olive stones and also reports that 'All olive pits belong to a single species', but not whether this 'single species' was domesticated or wild.
[30] Nisbet/Ventura (1994, 577-578) and Peroni (1994, 845).
[31] Vallino/Ventura 1984, 274.
[32] This is debatable, however. Renfrew 1973, 133, reports length/breadth ratios of supposedly cultivated olive stones from EBA Myrtos (2.13), BA Lachish (1.96), BA Apliki (1.65), IA Lachish (1.77), RBA Volos (between 1.92 and 2.3) and IA Salamis (1.82).
[33] Cf. Kislev 1995.
[34] Cf. Coubray 2001, 430; Brun 2010, 425.
[35] Harding 1999; Di Rita/Magri 2009.
[36] Gugliemino 2002, 184.
[37] Di Rita/Magri 2009, 303, with further references.
[38] Terral et al. 2004, 72.
[39] Besnard/Bervillé 2000.
[40] The earliest finds of grape pips in Italy were probably made in the Grotta dell'Uzzo on Sicily (8th millennium BC, Costantini 1981, 1989) and, subsequently, at Torre Canne in Apulia (6th millennium BC, Brun 2004, 81). The archaeobotanical assemblage at the latter site also contained olive stones. All of these fruits, however, probably belonged to the wild form. There are a few possible exceptions, including the grape finds from the Early Bronze Age hut settlement of Filo Braccio (Filicudi, Aeolian islands, Sicily, Martinelli et al. 2010, 297-298) and the Middle Bronze Age site of Portella (Salina, also one of the Aeolian Islands, Fiorentino 2005; Fiorentino et al. 2011).
[41] Peroni 1994, 845.
[42] Bietti Sestieri 2008.
[43] Peroni 1994, 856, 859, 865; Bietti Sestieri 2008, 23.
[44] Peroni 1994, 856; Bietti Sestieri 2008, 23.
[45] Guglielmino 2004-2006, 96.
[46] Jung 2006.
[47] Bietti Sestieri 2008, 19; Maggiulli 2009, 214.
[48] Maggiulli 2009, 331; Guglielmino 2003, 103, 2004-2006, 97-101, 2005, 644-645; Bietti Sestieri 2008, 29-30; Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, 458.
[49] Maggiulli 2009, 314, 326, 331; Guglielmino 2004-2006, 97-101; Guglielmino 2005, 644-645.
[50] Guglielmino 1998, 475.
[51] Yntema 1990. This pottery combined certain Mycenaean stylistic and technological innovations with shapes and decoration which were largely inspired by the local *impasto* tradition.
[52] Peroni 1994, 856.
[53] Bietti Sestieri 2008, 26.
[54] Guglielmino 2009, 198. The site of Punta Meliso shows close links with Mycenaean pottery production but little in terms of imports, and has been interpreted as hosting Mycenaean refugees escaping the turmoil of the post-palatial period (Benzi/Graziadio 1996).
[55] Bietti Sestieri 1973, 388.
[56] Maggiulli 2009.
[57] Bietti Sestieri 1973, 385; Gorgoglione et al. 1993, table 56.
[58] Quagliati 1903, 116-119; Müller Karpe 1959, Taf. 12B; Bietti Sestieri 1973.
[59] Borgna/Càssola Guida 2005, 504; Eder 2006; Bietti Sestieri 2008, 23; Jung et al. 2008, Jung/Mehofer 2013, 187.
[60] Sites that show evidence of destruction include Termitito in Basilicata (De Siena 1986a, 1986b) and Roca Vecchia in Salento (Guglielmino 2009, 198). The site of Egnazia and Punta Meliso were abandoned (Donvito 1988; Benzi/Graziadio 1996, 96), while other sites in Salento show evidence of contraction, including Scoglio del Tonno (Quagliati 1900) and Saturo (Lo Porto 1963, 2001).
[61] Castiglioni/Rottoli 1996.

[62] Brun 2004, 81. Unfortunately, these finds have never been published. Brun reports that this information appeared in a poster presentation by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata on the Taranto Conference in 2002.
[63] In Late Bronze Age southern Italy these included cremation in urn fields and, in southern Salento, inhumation in large tumuli (*specchie*). In the Early Iron Age cemeteries with inhumations in pit graves make their appearance, often lined with stones and covered by small tumuli. With the exception of Salento, southern Italy has a rich record of Early Iron Age cemeteries, and it is also due to this that changes in the social organisation of communities can be tracked.
[64] Bietti Sestieri 2003; Saltini Semerari 2010, 234-238.
[65] For an overview of the period, see Peroni 1996; Bietti Sestieri 2010. On the role of pottery: Herring 1998.
[66] Bietti Sestieri 1997, 2003.
[67] Peroni 1994; Burgers 1998.
[68] Herring 1998; Yntema 1990.
[69] Bottini/Tagliente 1984; Bianco/Tagliente 1985; Bianco 1991a, 1991b; Ferranti/Quondam in press.
[70] Saltini Semerari 2008, 2010 with bibliography, 241-253.
[71] Burgers 1998, 2004a, 2004b.
[72] For a recent overview of the debate see Tsetskhladze 2006; Bettelli et al. 2009; Nizzo/Donnelan in press.
[73] D'Agostino 2006, 201-203; D'Andria 1982, 102.
[74] Adamesteanu/Dilthey 1978, 517-510; Berlingò 1993; Carter 2006, 68-71; Denti 2009; De Siena 1986a, 29; 1986b, 147-149; Orlandini 1999, 200-102.
[75] Brun 2004, 86; Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 104; D'Andria 1995, 466-67, Fig. 2; Forni 2002, 116-117.
[76] Castoldi 1986, Carter 2006, 68-73.
[77] Yntema 1979; 1990. Examples are Daunian strainers (late 8th-early 7th centuries BC onwards), *askoi* (rare among Geometric matt-painted ceramics, but increasingly common in later periods, especially in the Bari district), craters and local imitations of Greek *oinochoai* and drinking cups.
[78] Yntema 1979.
[79] Bottini/Tagliente 1984; Tagliente 1986; Bianco 1991, 1991b.
[80] Ciaraldi 1997, 214, 1999, 84 ('The record of olive cultivation in the Eraclea tablets as well as the mention of the exportation of oil from Apulia in the Late Republican period (Varro RR 2.6.5) suggests that the finds at MP belong to the domesticated form').
[81] Fiorentino/Colaianni 2005, 98.
[82] Lentjes 2011.
[83] Only two pips from l'Amastuola could be measured, resulting in a 58 and 64 score on the Stummer Index-indicating that they could belong to either wild or cultivated vines. According to the Mangafa and Kotsakis formulas, the pips belong to wild fruits (Lentjes in press). It is not known what the grape pips from l'Incoronata looked like and whether the fruits from this site were cultivated or wild. The sample from this site was quite small, which may explain why several other crops, such as olives, but also bread wheat, are absent (Carter 2006, 78).
[84] Hjelmqvist 1977.
[85] Colledge 2000, 60.
[86] Cicirelli /Albore-Livadie 2008, 475.
[87] Cicirelli et al. 2008, 574. These dates are based on dendrochronology. The wooden objects that were found in the same stratigraphic level as the grape pips can be dated to 905/864 BC.
[88] Costantini/Costantini Biasini 1995, 330-331, 333; Hopf 1995, 337.
[89] Foxhall 1993.
[90] See above. Barra Bagnasco et al. 2001; Barone et al. 2011.
[91] Borgna/Càssola Guida 2005.
[92] Cf. Lentjes 2013, 112.
[93] Renfrew 1972. Since its first publication, Renfrew's subsistence/redistribution model has been widely criticized (see particularly Barrett/Halstead 2004).
[94] Ridgway 1984, 154-165; 1997; Amann 2000, 44-49, 54-46; Herring 1991, 121-122; Whitehouse/Wilkins 1989, 110-114.
[95] Saltini Semerari 2008.
[96] Whitehouse/Wilkins 1989, 115; Herring 1991, 122-123.

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Two Minoan moulds for small cult objects reconsidered

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Abstract

*In 1899, nearby the modern village of Palaikastro in eastern Crete, two remarkable stone moulds were found by chance. These moulds, which were mainly intended for the manufacture of small cult objects, are considered by many as products of the Late Minoan III period (ca 1420/10-1075/50 BC). This is due to the resemblance between the female figures who are holding up attributes on both moulds and the large well-known terracotta figures from Late Minoan III shrines at Knossos, Gazi, Karphi, etc. For stylistic and iconographical reasons, it is argued in this paper that these moulds should be dated much earlier, to Middle Minoan II or III (ca 1875/50-1700/1675 BC).**

Introduction

In October 1899 an inhabitant of Karydi Siteias, in eastern Crete, found by chance two stone moulds while ploughing a field 150 m NW of the modern village of Palaikastro.[1] These moulds – here called Pa 1 and Pa 2 after their find-place – show a strong artistic and technical relationship. Most likely they were cut by the same hand. The moulds are distinguished from other recovered Minoan moulds in that their main purpose was not the production of implements[2] or relief beads.[3] The purpose of almost all matrices in the two moulds was the manufacture of small metal cult objects.

The Palaikastro moulds are considered by many as products of the Late Minoan III period[4] (ca. 1420/10-1075/50 BC).[5] This is due to the resemblance between the female figures who are holding up attributes on both moulds and the large well-known terracotta figures from Late Minoan III shrines at Knossos, Gazi, Karphi, etc. According to the author, the dating of these moulds should, however, be revised. Below, a new date is proposed on stylistic and iconographic grounds. The relation of these moulds to other Minoan moulds will also be considered.

Description of the moulds[6]

Pa 1

Palaikastro-mould 1 (*figs 1-2*)
Whereabouts: Herakleion, Archaeological Museum (inventory number unknown)
Provenance: Palaikastro[7]
Material: schist (?), greenish, argillic, rather soft and friable[8]
Dimensions: L. 22,5 cm; W. 10 cm; Th. 2 cm[9]

The mould is a thin, rectangular slab of which one of the corners is missing. On the front are at least three matrices. The back, which shows one completed matrix, is largely unused and a large part of it seems to be damaged. Most matrices have a pouring funnel. One has ventilation channels as well. In one of the corners there may be a registering hole, i.e. a pin-hole for aligning a counter-mould. S. Xanthoudides observed a trace of bronze wire, from which he inferred that it was a two-piece mould.[10]

Mould designs, side A

1 *Woman (?) with disc*
A human figure in frontal view holds a round disc or shield behind which the body is largely hidden. Above it, a human head, neck, arms and, perhaps, breasts are visible; beneath it is a more or less conical base on which the disc rests. The base is decorated by horizontal curving lines. On the disc, along the edge, run a dotted circle and a similar inner circle. At the bottom, between these circles, a horizontal crescent moon is depicted. The centre of the disc shows a small cross with spherical ends.

Dimensions: L. more than 5 cm.

2 *Woman with raised arms and poppyheads/flowers*
The woman wears a skirt decorated with curved lines. She is bare-chested and has small breasts. Both her arms are raised. In one hand she holds two opium poppyheads[11] or flowers. What she holds in the other hand can no longer be deter-

1. 2. 3. 4.

Fig. 1. Cast of Palaikastro-mould 1 (front), Xanthoudides 1900, pl. 3, top.

5. 6.

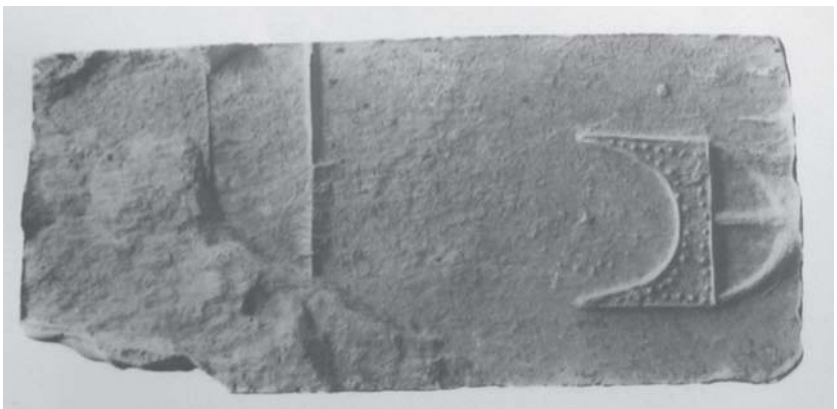

Fig. 2. Cast of Palaikastro-mould 1 (back), Xanthoudides 1900, pl. 3, bottom.

mined. Her flat cap is embellished with transverse lines and topped with a sprig of three opium poppyheads (?). Her elongated face is characterized by a long straight nose, plump cheeks and eyes set close together. Around each upper arm and wrist she wears a bracelet (unless these lines belong to the depiction of her top garment).

Below the skirt there is a vertically grooved pouring funnel.

Dimensions: L. ca 8 cm.[12]

3 *Solar disc (?)*

The edge is composed of two concentric line circles with, between them, a series of drilled points and, on the outer edge, 25 triangular projections which are aligned with drilled points on the groove itself. In the middle part of the matrix there is one more concentric circle, this time consisting of transverse grooves. This circle is intersected by a cross, which, like the spokes of a wheel, runs to the inside of the edge. The upright of the cross consists of two lines, the cross-beam of three. Between each pair of lines is a series of drilled points. A large dot represents the centre of the cross. Along the upper half of the matrix, parts of the circular sketch line are visible within which the design was cut. On the left side of the matrix some wide grooves run to the edge of the mould. The bottom one makes contact with the solar disc and is possibly a pouring channel.

Dimensions: diameter ca 7.7 cm.

4 *Rod-like forms*

Next to the solar disc some wide grooves are located, each of them ending in a pouring funnel. The top two are straight. The two underneath them appear to bend toward each other as the arms of a pair of tweezers.[13] More likely, however,

is that they are representing one straight shape. For the bottom groove, see design 3.

Dimensions: max. L. ca 7 cm.

Mould designs, side B

5 Running across approximately two thirds of the width of the back of the mould is a long straight groove, the lower half of which (the half away from the edge of the mould) is cut across by a series of about ten transverse grooves. The whole recalls one of the axe shafts of design 1 on Palaikastro-mould 2. Possibly it is a wrong start, or a test cutting. The position on the mould surface is also similar.

6 *'Horns of consecration'*
A sharply delineated form, consisting of three straight sides like a rectangle, and a concave semicircle as the top. On the inside the outline is decorated with a series of drilled points. Between the edge of the mould and the matrix three wide grooves have been cut, of which the middle one is a pouring channel and the other two are probably ventilation channels for the release of gas.

Between the horns a circle composed of dots, with a dot at its centre, is faintly visible. Possibly it is a test cutting.

Dimensions: W. (length of base) ca 4.2 or ca 4.7 cm; H. ca 3.4 or ca 3.8 cm.[14]

Bibliography:
Xanthoudides 1900, 25-50, pl. 3; Bosanquet 1901-1902, 299-300; Evans 1902-1903, 92-93; Dawkins 1905-1906, 1; Dussaud 1914, 392, fig. 289; Evans 1921, 479, 514-515, fig. 371; Karo 1925, 8, fig. 50; Nilsson 1950², 167, 282, 413, 419-420, fig. 141; Zervos 1956, 450, fig. 744; Alexiou 1958, 213-214; Tzedakis 1967, 204-205; Buchholz/Karageorghis 1973², 50, no 464; Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1973, 377; Goodison 1989, 74-76, 79, fig. 132; MacGillivray/Driessen 1990, 407; Marinatos 1993, 225, 228, fig. 232; Evely 2000, 413-415, no 10, pl. 91.5; Cunningham/Sackett 2009, 95.

Pa 2

Palaikastro-mould 2 (*figs 3-4*)
Whereabouts: Herakleion, Archaeological Museum (inventory number unknown)
Provenance: Palaikastro
Material: schist (?), greenish, argillic, rather soft and friable[15]
Dimensions: L. 22.5 cm; W. 10 cm; Th. 2 cm; L. double axes 5.9 and 12 cm

The mould is a thin, rectangular slab of which one of the corners is missing. On the front are two matrices. On the back, which is largely unused, are positioned one matrix and the beginning of another one. Completed matrices have a pouring funnel. Probably there is a dowel-hole for a counter-mould in one of the corners. In the broken-off corner, diagonally opposite, there may have been a second one.

Mould designs, side A

1 *Double axe*
The blades have rounded cutting edges and a lobed upper and lower contour.[16] The entire surface is decorated with lines and dots (incisions and drilled points). The lines form strip-shaped and triangular friezes which are filled with dots. On the lobes only dots are rendered. The double shaft, which extends in both directions to the edge of the mould, is provided with transverse grooves along the portion where the blades meet. Perpendicular to the centre of the cutting edge of the right-hand blade (reproduced here as left-hand blade) is a pouring funnel.

Dimensions: W. ca 12.0 cm.[17]

2 *Double Axe*
Same as design 1, but of much smaller size and with only a single shaft, which runs to the edge of the mould. The decoration is simpler, with fewer lines and dots than that of design 1. The pouring funnel is located again on the longitudinal axis of one of the blades.

Dimensions: L. ca 7 cm; W. ca 5.9 cm.[18]

Mould designs, side B

3 *Woman with raised arms and double axes*
The woman is wearing a possibly flounced skirt, decorated with horizontal bands, zigzag lines and rows of dots. She is bare-chested and has small breasts. Both her raised arms are bent upwards in the shape of a V. In each hand she holds a double axe decorated with dots and curved lines. Her flat cap is embellished with transverse lines. Her rather fat face is characterized by a long straight nose, eyes close together and high set ears.

A pouring funnel runs from the edge of the mould to the bottom of the skirt.

Dimensions: L. ca 8.5 cm.[19]

Bibliography:
Xanthoudides 1900, 25-50, pl. 4; Bosanquet 1901-1902, 299-300; Evans 1902-1903, 92-93; Dawkins

1. 2.

Fig. 3. Cast of Palaikastro-mould 2 (front), Xanthoudides 1900, pl. 4, top.

3.

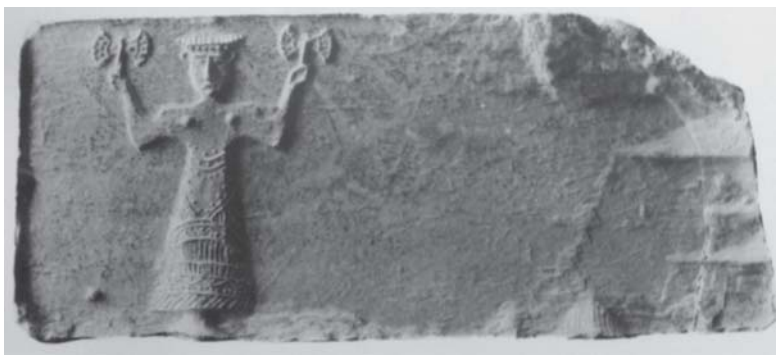

Fig. 4. Cast of Palaikastro-mould 2 (back), Xanthoudides 1900, pl. 4, bottom.

1905-1906, 1; Evans 1921, 479, 514; 1928, 724; Karo 1925, 8, figs 47-48; Nilsson 1950², 225-226, fig. 112; Zervos 1956, 451, figs 745-746; Alexiou 1958, 213-214; Buchholz 1959, 12, 54, no 4, pl. 13f; Tzedakis 1967, 204-205; Buchholz/Karageorghis 1973², 49, no 463; Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1973, 377; MacGillivray/Driessen 1990, 407; Marinatos 1993, 5; Evely 2000, 413-415, no 9; Cunningham/Sackett 2009, 95.

FUNCTION OF THE MOULDS

Pa 1

This mould contains several pouring matrices (designs 2, 4 and 5, and possibly 3) and at least one matrix without a pouring channel (design 1 and possibly design 3). It is not perfectly clear if a pin-hole is located in one of the corners and therefore it is not entirely certain whether the pouring matrices were designed for a single-sided or a double-sided object, but Xanthoudides inferred the latter from the trace of bronze wire he noticed. (The related Palaikastro 2 mould, however, probably does have a pin-hole.) Shallow channels for thread-holes are missing.[20]

In the pouring matrices metal, possibly gold, was poured. The matrix without a pouring channel, a figure holding a disc, is shallow and suitable for stamping (embossing) gold or bronze sheet. The other matrices are shallow too and likewise suitable for embossing.

The external characteristics of this mould show that the matrices were intended for making various types of object by employing different techniques. Pa 1 therefore can be seen as a combination mould.[21]

Pa 2

This mould contains three matrices, each of which is fitted with a pouring channel. It is likely that in one corner a pin-hole can be seen. Diagonally opposite it in the missing corner a second pin-hole may have existed.

Miniature double axes (designs 1 and 2) are found on Crete in bronze, copper, lead, silver, gold and gold-plated bronze, both solid and sheet specimens (see section 4).[22] A woman with arms raised (design 3) is a design that is represented in faience (in the round; see next section).

The mould was intended for casting metal ornaments, double- or single-sided. The matrices are shallow and therefore also suitable for stamping gold or bronze sheet.

Dating

Xanthoudides thought that moulds Pa 1 and 2 dated no later than the end of the 'Mycenaean period'.[23] Other archaeologists mentioned LM III as date.[24] A similar date is given by H.-G. Buchholz, who, in his book on the origin of the Cretan double axe, paid attention to the style of the double axe designs on mould Pa 2.[25]

In 1967 Y. Tzedakis observed that the women with upraised arms on both moulds do not have the bell-shaped base which he considered characteristic for the LM IIIB-C terracotta idols-type 'goddess with uplifted hands'. On this basis he dated the women on these moulds 'to LM IIIA at the latest'.[26] Nevertheless, later authors continued to date the moulds to the end of the Bronze Age.[27]

Buchholz' late dating of the moulds is based on his opinion that both double axe designs on Palaikastro-mould 2 (nos 1-2) are rendered in an exaggerated Baroque style.[28] The type of double axe to which these axes with their wavy outlines would belong is characterized by double cutting edges, as shown by a ca 2.5 cm long LM IIIB axe of steatite from Knossos (*fig. 5*)[29] and by much earlier pieces of stamped gold sheet in double axe form from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (LH I). According to Buchholz, this type was introduced in vase painting in LM I. He considers it possible that the type developed in MM III-LM I, and was inspired by wall and ceiling painting.[30]

Although it is possible that the tripartite wavy outline of both Palaikastro axes is an exaggeration of the outline of axes with a double cutting edge, this is difficult to prove; other double axes or double axe designs with a wavy shape are unknown. In any case, there is no good reason to place such a development late in the Late Bronze Age.

There is a stylistic similarity between the decoration of the blades of our two axes (Pa 2, designs 1-2) and that of painted axes with rounded cutting edges on LM I pottery from Knossos (*figs 6-8*). All of these axes are abundantly adorned

Fig. 5. Buchholz 1959, pl. IVk.

with a similar combination of lines and dots. The blade shape of the painted ones is different, but corresponds to the shape of the axes which are seen as parts of design 3 on the same mould (Pa 2). Moreover, these axes held by a woman are similarly decorated with points and lines.

At various places in Crete votive double axes were found.[31] In a cave at Arkalochori hundreds of specimens were recovered. Many are incomplete and broken into pieces. They were considered Early Minoan by J. Hazzidakis, but later authors successively dated them to MM III/LM I, LM I and LM I/II. Almost all specimens are made of bronze (mainly sheet bronze, for the rest solid cast specimens). The other votive double axes are of silver, gold and steatite (one specimen). The seven silver specimens are decorated with engraved lines. The gold specimens vary in length from 2 to 8.5 cm. Apart from fourteen specimens of solid cast

Fig. 6. Niemeier 1985, fig. 57, no 12.

Fig. 7. Niemeier 1985, fig. 57, no 15.

Fig. 8. Niemeier 1985, fig. 57, no 16.

gold, there are twelve double axes of sheet gold. The latter show no decoration.[32]

In a cave at Psychro a dozen double axes of bronze were found: two solid cast specimens and ten votive double axes of thin sheet metal (MM III-LM I).[33]

The appearance of the women with arms raised on Palaikastro moulds 1 (design 2) and 2 (design 3) recalls one of the 'snake goddesses' of faience from Knossos[34] ('Temple Repositories'; MM IIIB-LM IA). The bilateral symmetry of this figure, the posture of the arms (not identical but similar), the presence in both hands of the same attribute (in this case a snake), the object on the headgear, the long skirt and the bare breasts, as well as the absence of feet, are common features. Apart from the absence of outer garments, differences especially lie in the details.

As others have already observed, a later parallel is provided by the terracotta figures of 'goddesses' from Late Minoan III shrines in Gournia, Haghia Triada, Knossos, Gazi and Karphi.[35] They too provide a frontal view, are bilaterally symmetrical, have a similar posture of the arms, and a naked upper part of the body. Their headdress is also characterized by ornamentation (*fig. 9*). The lower part of the body, however, is a simple cylinder, and the hands do not carry attributes.

A woman with arms raised, dressed in a skirt (not flounced) and flat headdress, is also depicted on a seal from the vicinity of Herakleion (*fig. 10*). In the field are hieroglyphic signs. The proposed date is MM II.[36] The flat headgear is further to be seen in a 23 cm high MM IA clay figure of a standing woman from the oval building at Chamaizi in east Crete.[37] A hatless woman with upraised arms, holding up flowers as on Pa 1, appears between dancers on a pedestalled Kamares ware vase from MM II Phaistos.[38]

Although the headdresses are the same on the two moulds, the skirts are not. Their decorative schemes of diagonal and vertical bands, although akin in a general way to skirt patterns depicted on rings and seals, have no exact parallels. On Pa 1 the top of the skirt stands out stiffly away from the body. It has a thick, rolled-looking belt which dips down slightly from the waist and a central vertical line down the front (perhaps indicating the hanging part of the belt?). Cf. terracotta figurines from Piskokephalo and a bronze figurine of unknown provenance, perhaps dating to MM III-LM IA.[39]

On Pa 2 the skirt is different at the top, flowing down from the waist rather than standing out sideways. Here too there is a pair of lines around the waist but they dip more deeply than on Pa 1 and are outlined with dots. The diagonal lines below them have a dot outline too. Together these features may add up to an 'apron', like those seen on the faience figures from the Temple Repositories at Knossos.[40]

The skirt of the woman on Pa 2 shows a zigzag band with dots within the angles, similar to the one on the upper garment of the Dancing Lady fresco in the queen's apartments at Knossos. The latter is connected by S. Hiller with the garments of deities or cult personnel. He puts its *floruit* in LM I and suggests that it died out with the destruction of Knossos early in LM IIIA2.[41]

The solar disc (?) design (Pa 1, no 3) shows some resemblance to a gold ornament from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (LH I).[42] The similarity concerns the representation of a cross in a circle. However, the cross is shaped differently and is surrounded by a running spiral. The design on the mould seems especially related to designs on Middle Minoan seals and painted vases. In both media, there are many radial designs, including

Fig. 9. Marinatos 1993, fig. 229.

Fig. 10. Evans 1921, fig. 207k.

Fig. 11. Walberg 1986, fig. 62 a.

Fig. 12. Walberg 1986, fig. 62 b.

Fig. 13. Pendlebury 1939, fig. 16, no 18.

the star, a typical MM II seal design (*fig. 11*). On the base of an Early Kamares cup (MM IB/IIA) from Phaistos there is a painting of a radial star design with central cross (*fig. 12*).[43] Another pottery design consists of a cross surrounded by two dotted circles (MM IA; Knossos; *fig. 13*).

A silver diadem from Chalandriani on Syros (Early Bronze Age II?) represents an interesting scene (*fig. 14*). Besides parts of circular designs, it shows a dog wearing a collar, and a human figure with bird's head(?) and upraised arms. Although there is no cross within the circle, here we see, as on the mould, a concentric design with triangular projections around. According to L. Goodison, this design can be interpreted 'with greater or lesser certainty' as the sun.[44] Similar designs are depicted on Cycladic 'frying pans'. These vases of stone and terracotta date from EB I-II and are found throughout the Aegean, but especially in the Cyclades.[45]

The 'horns of consecration' design on the same mould (Pa 1, no 6) is a fairly basic design that seems to occur from the Middle Minoan period onwards.[46] As yet the taut variant with dots along the outline only occurs on the mould.

H. Hughes-Brock wonders if design 6, the faintly visible dot circle with central dot included, really shows 'horns of consecration'. The very sharp horns and the very neat regular curve between them remind her of the Egyptian design of 'the sun rising between mountains'.[47]

With regard to the woman (?) with the disc, carved in mould Pa 1 as well (no 1), it is possible to establish a *terminus ante quem* on the basis of one of the image elements: no examples later than MM II exist of the cross with spherical ends in the heart of the disc, which is repeatedly depicted in Minoan seals.[48] Moreover, this cross is a Minoan hieroglyph, a sign in the essentially Middle Minoan hieroglyphic script.[49] It was not carried over into Linear A. Two images, both on a seal, are especially interesting because they show similarities with the depiction on the disc. The one seal (*fig. 15*), unfortunately undated, shows several line circles, each with an inner circle of triangles (a kind of halo) surrounding a cross with thickened ends.[50] Regarding the other seal (*fig. 16*), a date in MM III has been proposed. It shows the *croix pommetée* together with one or two moon crescents (and other designs).[51]

Summarizing, the women on moulds Pa 1-2 have often been compared with the large terracotta figures with arms raised from LM III shrines in Crete. However, the lower part of the bodies of

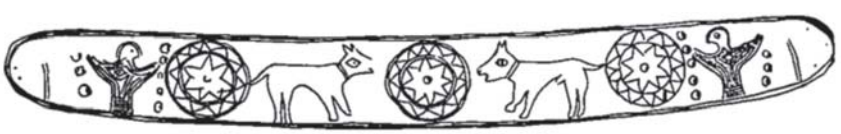

Fig. 14. Goodison 1989, fig. 27b.

Fig. 15. CMS XIII, Nordamerika II, no 1 D.

Fig. 16. CMS XII, no 101.

these figures lack a detailed design, and their hands do not carry attributes. As a matter of fact, the women on moulds Pa 1-2 show a greater resemblance to one of the 'snake goddesses' from the Temple Repositories at Knossos (MM IIIB-LM IA). Moreover, just like both 'snake goddesses', the woman on Po 2 (no 3) probably has been equipped with an apron. Furthermore, the flat headdress of the women on the moulds is to be seen in a MM IA clay figurine of a standing woman from Chamaizi in east Crete, and in a woman with arms raised on a seal from the vicinity of Herakleion, with a proposed date in MM II. A woman with upraised arms, holding up flowers as on Pa 1 (no 2), appears on a Kamares vase from MM II Phaistos. The belt or thickening on top of the skirt of the Pa 1 woman reminds one of the belts of terracotta figurines from Piskokephalo (east Crete) and a bronze figurine of unknown provenance, perhaps dating to MM III-LM IA. There is a stylistic similarity between the decoration of the double axes on Pa 2 (nos 1-2) and that of painted axes on LM I pottery from Knossos. The solar disc (?) motif (Pa 1, no 3) seems especially related to motifs on Middle Minoan seals and painted vases. No examples later than MM II are known of the cross with spherical ends in the centre of the disc held by a human being on Po 1 (no 1). Moreover, this cross is a Middle Minoan hieroghlyph, not carried over into Linear A.

The conclusion is that Palaikastro-moulds 1 and 2 do not date to LM III, as previously assumed, but to Middle Minoan times, possibly MM II or MM III.

Palaikastro-moulds 1 and 2 compared with other Minoan moulds

Palaikastro-moulds 1 and 2 date from a point of time, in the Middle Bronze Age in Crete (MM II or MM III), when using stone moulds was an important activity controlled by the palaces. A group of fifteen moulds for casting implements, largely recovered from Malia, attests to this.[52] Originally, about half of them were two-piece; the others may have been covered with a slab during the casting. It is striking that six specimens are intended for the manufacture of double axes.[53]

Two other stone moulds are possibly even older. One is an unpublished fragment from the Royal Road excavations at Knossos (MM IA).[54] The other one, a casting mould from Koumasa in the Mesara plain, dated to EM-MM, has a matrix for a double axe,[55] which according to D. Evely shows a resemblance in shape to the matrix in the oldest known mould of Crete: a casting mould of copper or bronze from Vasiliki (EM II).[56]

The moulds from Palaikastro have their casting characteristics in common with this group of moulds.[57] Palaikastro-mould 2 was probably a two-part mould, Palaikastro-mould 1 perhaps also. A remarkable thing about the Palaikastro-moulds is the purpose for which they were made. *Most* matrices in both moulds could not produce implements. They were meant for the manufacture of cult objects or votive offerings: decorated double axes with wavy outlines, a solar disc (?), 'horns of consecration', goddesses or priestesses holding up attributes, and a woman (?) with a cosmic disc. *Some* matrices, however, show affinities to the matrices in moulds for implements. In the Pa 1-mould some rod-like matrices have been cut (design 4), comparable to those on the moulds for implements. Mould Pa 2 includes two matrices for an ornamental double axe, the object carved most often as an implement by the first Cretan mould-cutters. A second speciality is of a technical nature: one of the matrices in Palaikastro-mould 1, the figure holding a disc, was probably intended for stamping sheet metal. This matrix (no 1), maybe the only one in this mould without a pouring funnel, is very shallow, like the other matrices in the mould.[58] Those matrices are also suitable for stamping sheet metal.

The objects produced by our moulds were thin and flat. Xanthoudides considered that they were intended as idols or ornaments and must have been sewn or glued onto something (presumably cloth or leather), but there are no indications for sewing or attachment.[59]

Conclusion

For stylistic and iconographical reasons Palaikastro-moulds 1 and 2, which were mainly intended for the manufacture of small cult objects, should be dated to the Middle Bronze Age, to MM II or MM III (ca 1875/50-1700/1675 BC).[60] These moulds are, in fact, related to Middle Minoan moulds for casting implements. This revised date confirms that the iconographical type of the 'goddess with uplifted hands' (nowadays mostly called 'goddess with upraised arms' or simply 'figure with upraised arms') was already depicted in the Middle Minoan period. Moreover, this redating has received an unexpected complement from a quite independent angle. At the very time that the present author was considering it, Minas Tsikritsis of the Department of Informatics and New Technologies in Herakleion had been examining mould Pa 1 in great detail (visible in high-definition photos) and had concluded that matrix 3 was meant for creating portable astronomic calculators to be used by travellers.[61] Minoan travelling for purposes such as trade and embassies was thriving and growing in MM II-III, not in LM IIIC. Rather than providing 'tantalizing evidence of religious importance continuing' until LM IIIC or later,[62] the moulds belong to a time when Minoan Crete was entering upon its highest flowering.

Notes

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1 Xanthoudides 1900, 25.

2 See Evely 2000, 356-361 for a catalogue and discussion of Minoan moulds for implements.

3 See Tournavitou 1997 for an overview of Mycenaean jewellery moulds. She connects them with workshops of jewellers and examines the technical processes in cutting them. See Evely 2000, 411-415 for a catalogue and discussion of Minoan jewellery moulds, emphasizing the tools and techniques used to cut these moulds.

4 Only Y. Tzedakis considered an earlier dating. See the section on dating p. 21.

5 Absolute chronology after Manning 2010, 23, table 2.2.

6 I have not been able to examine these objects in person. Museum inventory numbers are nowhere given, nor do I know of any recent examination and identification of the material.

7 For the British excavations which took place from 1901 onwards at Palaikastro, see especially MacGillivray/Sackett 1992.

8 The identification and nomenclature of schists (more than one kind), chlorite and serpentine is problematic, particularly for the study of Minoan glyptic and stone vases.

9 Xanthoudides 1900, 27 states that the two moulds are of the same size: 22.5 cm long, 10 cm wide, 2 cm thick. Zervos 1956, 450 no 744 gives a length of 22 cm, a width of 9 cm for this mould.

10 Xanthoudides 1900, 47.

11 Meaning the fruits of *Papaver somniferum*. See for example *www.britannica.com*, under 'opium poppy'.

12 Actually 7.65 or 8.5 cm, which figures are calculated from the width of the mould as given by Zervos (1956, 450) and Xanthoudides (1900, 27) respectively.

13 Xanthoudides 1900, 28 remarks that the grooves were probably made to connect with the big disc for technical reasons.

14 These dimensions are calculated from the width of the mould as given by Zervos (1956, 450) and Xanthoudides (1900, 27) respectively. In any case, the width of the design is slightly less than half of the width of the mould.

15 See n. 8.

16 Evely (2000, 413, no 9) notes that the lines on the larger axe were drawn with the aid of a ruler.

17 Xanthoudides 1900, 28.

18 See n. 17.

19 This dimension is derived from the mould width as given by Xanthoudides.

20 Holes for stringing are a feature of relief beads and relief pendants. The channels (grooves) for producing them were included on most of the known Late Minoan/Mycenaean moulds for relief ornaments.

21 For other combination moulds of the Aegean Bronze Age, see Evely 2000, 413-414, no 6, pl. 91.4 (mould from Poros); Buchholz/Karageorghis 1973², 49, no 462 (mould from Mycenae).

22 See e.g. Buchholz 1959, 33-34, 37, 40.

23 Xanthoudides 1900, 50. Bosanquet (1901-1902), Evans (1902-1903; 1921) and Nilsson (1950²) did not try to date these moulds and referred to Xanthoudides (1900).

24 Zervos 1956, 450-451; see also Alexiou 1958, 213.

25 Buchholz 1959, 12, 54, no 4.

26 Tzedakis 1967, 204-205. He thought that these female figures were based on terracotta idols of an earlier date, like a specimen from Sakhtouria on Crete, 'dating from a time before the type had been fully developed to provide a standardized shape and expression' (Tzedakis 1967, pls 41-43). The generally accepted view was that this type dated from the beginning of LM IIIB at the earliest. However, idols of the same type from a villa in Gortyna were assigned to LM I by D. Levi on the basis of the pottery recovered (Tzedakis 1967, 203 and n. 4).

27 See, for example, Goodison 1989, 74-76, 79; MacGillivray/Driessen 1990, 407; Marinatos 1993, 5, 225; Evely 2000, 413, nos 9-10; Cunningham/Sackett 2009, 95.

28 Buchholz 1959, 12, 54; see also Buchholz/Karageorghis 1973², 50, no 464.

29 Buchholz 1959, 8, 38, no 15f, pl. IVk.

30 Buchholz 1959, 8, 12. Karo (1930-33, 92, no 364) notes that probably almost all 48 gold sheet axes were originally located between the horns of bull's heads of flimsy sheet gold (nos 353-354, pl. XLIV).

31 Davaras 1992, 267-269.

32 Hazzidakis 1912-13, 45-46, fig. 9; Buchholz 1959, 33-34. Decorated specimens of solid gold are depicted in Buchholz 1983, fig. 6.

33 Buchholz/Karageorghis 1973², 59, nos 723-734. Nos 732-733 are solid cast specimens. For a discussion of both the Arkalochori and Psychro caves, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 12-14.

34 Foster 1979, 70, 72, pl. 7-8; see also Panagiotaki 1999, 96-103, 151, figs 25-27.

[35] Marinatos 1993, 222-228. Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, 489 reconsiders the figures with upraised arms, found in free-standing public buildings from LM IIIB-C, 'as symbolic representations of votaries within the context of elite competition, rather than as cult images or cult statues.'
[36] *CMS* VI, no 92.
[37] Marinatos/Hirmer 1973², 112, pl. 15.
[38] Goodison/Morris 1998, 120-123, fig. 54a-c.
[39] Zervos 1956, 279, fig. 397; see also Jones 2012, 222, pl. XLV: 3, 5; 224, pl. XLVIII: 1.
[40] Panagiotaki 1999, 96-103, 151, figs 25-27.
[41] Evans 1930, colour pl. XXV; see also Hiller 2009, 298-300, 302.
[42] Schliemann 1880, 203, fig. 316 recovered at Mycenae (Shaft Grave III; LH I) six wheel-shaped ornaments, of which he depicted one.
[43] Yule 1981, 150; see also Walberg 1986, 43, 45.
[44] Goodison 1989, 16, fig. 27.
[45] Coleman 1985; see also Goodison 1989, 3, 18-20, figs 38-39.
[46] A MM I ceramic 'teapot' from Arkhanes shows relief appliqués in the shape of 'horns of consecration' (Touchais 1982, 623, fig. 171). A pair of 'horns of consecration' is also depicted on a MM I seal from Malia (Rutkowski 1981, 80, fig. 25.2). Middle Minoan miniature 'horns of consecration' made of bronze plate were found in the North-West Building, an annexe of the Palace of Knossos, 'in the earlier deposit, overlaid by later floors in LM IA' (Evans 1928, 619). At Mokhlos, from a much earlier period, EM I, horns (of consecration?) were recovered of which it was not possible to establish if they had a sacral meaning (Rutkowski 1981, 80).
[47] 'A circle with central dot is a hieroglyph which occurs in notions to do with day and daytime (e.g. 'today', 'tomorrow') and is combined with other signs to compose the name of Re. The twin peak sign dw means 'mountain'. Is it possible, then, that we have here an Egyptian motif?' (personal communication, Helen Hughes-Brock).
[48] Yule 1981, 155.
[49] Olivier 1996, 17, no 70; see also Jasink 2005, 29-33; 2009, 96-97, 133.
[50] *CMS* XIII Nordamerika II, no 1 D; see also Anastasiadou 2011, 281, design 245, 491, cat. no 13.
[51] *CMS* XII, no 101 (for the date, see p. XIX). For the combination of this design with other hieroglyphs, see for instance *CMS* XII, nos 102 and 112c.
[52] Twelve of these moulds - originating from the NW Area of the Palace of Malia - were initially dated to MM I-II, and later to MM III (see Evely 2000, 356, 358, 360, nos 5-8, 13-14, 19-24). Three moulds were dated to MM II-III (idem, nos 9, 26, 33). Two of these originate from a workshop in 'Quartier Mu', one comes from Myrtos-Pyrgos.
[53] Only the moulds with a matrix for a double axe are two-piece, as well as a specimen with a matrix for a possible spearhead.
[54] Only the inventory number (RR/58/224) and the material (sandstone) are known. See Evely 2000, 360, no 31.
[55] Evely 2000, 358, no 18, 361.
[56] Evely 2000, 358, no 17, 361.
[57] However, this is unclear as regards the unpublished sandstone fragment from Knossos (Evely 2000, 360, no 31).
[58] It is unclear whether matrix 3 has a pouring funnel. A MM II-III mould from a workshop in Malia, meant for three chisels and a pointed instrument(?), also has no pouring funnels for at least two matrices for chisels (Evely 2000, 356, 358, no 9).
[59] Xanthoudides 1900, 43-48.
[60] See n. 5.
[61] Tsikritsis et al. 2013.
[62] MacGillivray/Driessen 1990, 407.

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Interpretations of the Chigi Vase

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Abstract

Only in recent years have there been attempts to view the various scenes on the Chigi vase as a unified whole. A major issue of interpretation concerns the scene with Paris, whether it is to be understood allegorically in an otherwise non-mythological programme, or whether it may be part of a broader mythological sequence.

The Chigi *olpe*, discovered in 1882 in an Etruscan tomb near Veii, belongs to a group of Protocorinthian vases of around the middle of the 7th century which Johansen characterised with the phrase 'style magnifique'.[1] Whether tiny flasks for oil and perfume, or larger cups and jugs, they are all painted in a brilliantly executed miniaturist style. The group has been divided among various painters by different scholars, while attributions to the Chigi Painter have also varied in number,[2] the core consisting of three vases including the Macmillan *aryballos* in London and the Berlin *aryballos* from Rhodes.[3] A fourth, which is a fragment of an *olpe* from Aegina, is often also added.[4] The most recent addition to the Chigi Group, a fragmentary *oinochoe* from a votive deposit excavated at a temple to Athena at Erythrai on the Ionian coast, is close to the Chigi Painter but may not be by him (*fig. 5*).[5] The Chigi *olpe* itself[6] marks the pinnacle of achievement of this output, indeed it 'has a claim to be the finest known product of any Corinthian workshop'[7] and is widely regarded as a major landmark of Greek painting. Even the miniaturist figures of the Athenian vase-painter Kleitias of two generations later appear somewhat wooden by comparison.

The imagery of the Chigi vase, has been variously elucidated. According to an interpretation proposed by Hurwit in 2002 and substantially accepted by Torelli a few years later,[8] its three registers with human figures illustrate the progression and training of a Corinthian youth - or youths - from boyhood (hare-hunting on the lowest frieze), to maturity (participation in warfare on the upper). This reading forms the backbone both of a collection of papers edited by E. Mugione that appeared in 2012,[9] the outcome of a conference held in Salerno; and of a monograph by M. D'Acunto published in 2013.[10] In what follows, these two works, which form a notable contribution to the whole subject of early Corinthian painting, will be referred to, in abbreviated form, as *Salerno* and *Mondo*.

Recently I argued, against Hurwit, for a mythological interpretation of the Chigi friezes,[11] in a paper that was written before publication of the two books just mentioned. I do not repeat here all of my previous argument, but - to anticipate the conclusions of the present discussion - it will be proposed that the new material presented and discussed in the two volumes may actually strengthen rather than weaken a non-generic, mythological reading.

Prior to Hurwit no commentator had attempted to analyse all three friezes in terms of a unitary theme. The problem had always been the enigmatic second register. Here is the one undisputed scene of myth, showing the Judgment of Paris (*fig. 2*), and the only one on the vase where figures are captioned. Alongside it are scenes of lion-hunting, four horsemen and a chariot, and a double-bodied sphinx. Humfry Payne saw no connection between these various elements, nor later did Robertson ('a series of disconnected scenes') and Amyx ('a curious medley of subjects').[12] That was also my opinion back in 1991, although I did concede that it was just possible that there might be 'a connecting thread running through all the major scenes'.[13]

Both *Salerno* and *Mondo* throw much new light on various aspects of the *olpe*, as well as (especially the latter) providing brilliant colour illustrations of all three Chigi Painter works.[14] It is possible now, for example, to discern beyond doubt that the very fragmentary object that Aphrodite carries in the Judgment procession must have been a crown or garland, symbolic of her own victory. As well as author of *Mondo* D'Acunto is a major contributor to *Salerno*, and he follows Hurwit in most particulars (as do all the relevant authors of the latter volume) but expands his argument concerning the hunters of the middle frieze: not only do they also take part in the fighting above, they are to be identified with the front rank (*promachoi*) of the army on the left (*Salerno*, 67). (Whether or not the

huntsman who is mauled by the lion recovers to fight with his comrades we are not told; the depiction can accommodate either eventuality as the *promachoi* may number either four or five according to whether you count the heads or legs of the figures.) In a 'continuous' narrative sequence, then, the young men are/have been transported to the hunt (on horses and chariot); they confront the lion; and they fight a battle.

Before going any further some brief comments are needed on the new facts about the *olpe*'s archaeological context which emerge from the discussion by G. Bartoloni and others in *Salerno* concerning the Chigi tumulus at Monte Aguzzo and its contents.[15] Fragmentary skeletal remains from the tomb are still kept in the Palazzo Chigi at Ariccia, and they *may* be of a young adult male. Although any metalwork had been robbed, ceramic material was considerable and among the local products featured a well-known bucchero amphora with inscriptions that include one of gift-giving. A re-reading of them reveals that the amphora was given by 'mother' Anaia to her son Venel. Venel is likely to be the chief occupant of the tomb and final owner of the *olpe*, which *may* have been chosen for him for its visual emphasis on youthful male (and élite) activities. To try to make these narrative links is almost irresistible, but the italics are there to show their hypothetical nature.

The *olpe*, dated to Middle or Late Protocorinthian of ca 650-640, and no later than 630 (D'Acunto), is one of the earliest objects - along with the (slightly later) bucchero amphora - deposited in the tomb (a side chamber of which is rebuilt in the grounds of Florence Archaeological Museum), which makes it an important fixed point in Etruscan 7th century chronology. Its significance can, however, be overstated. A. Snodgrass (*Salerno*, 15), reviewing the evidence for the dating of Protocorinthian pottery, sees the *olpe*'s discovery in a chamber tomb of the later 7th century together with 'much Italic material dating to the same period' as a key context and as giving 'the best chronological *ante quem* for the Protocorinthian style'. But, firstly, this is actually a circular argument as the dating of the 'Italic' material is derived from Greek chronology, not the other way round. Secondly, the assemblage does little to confirm the *olpe*'s date, as it is not quite clear where in the tomb the fragments of it were found. There seem to have been two depositions in the 7th century, in the middle and the last third of the century (and another in the early 6th century).[16]

The date of the *olpe* (given above) has long been accepted (apart from Mingazzini's aberrant downdating)[17] but here has extra historical significance, for D'Acunto is eager to show how the contemporary political situation at Corinth may be reflected in the imagery of the vase. What makes this approach problematic is that no Greek vase of this period can be dated closer than to within ten years, or even longer; while the key political event of this time at Corinth - the overthrow of oligarchic Bacchiad rule by Cypselus - is not easy to pin down with precision.[18] However, let us go with D'Acunto's dates of 655 for the tyrant's coup and 640 for the *olpe*. It would be difficult then to maintain that it is the aristocratic world of the Bacchiad era that is being celebrated in the *olpe*'s friezes, although they might perhaps illustrate, in Snodgrass' words, 'a gesture of resistance in the twilight of Bacchiad supremacy' (*Salerno*, 13).

But D'Acunto goes further. The lion that is being hunted may symbolise Cypselus himself, for he is so described in an oracle concerning his birth recorded by Herodotus (5.92).[19] The beast may then be viewed either in a positive light (bringing in a new and welcome regime to Corinth) or a negative one (the lion/tyrant needs to be destroyed). In the first case, it is a tyrannical value system that the vase is asserting, in the second an oligarchic Bacchiad one. From the written sources the actual differences in constitutional terms between the two regimes are very difficult to discern,[20] and how one might tell the difference in visual terms on a vase such as this is quite unclear, but D'Acunto finally decides in favour of the latter (*viz*. the lion/tyranny as a threat) as most convincing. However, with the chronology so slippery and with opposite interpretations vying with one another so readily, one wonders whether this line of enquiry was ever likely to be a fruitful one. To shore up the argument that Cypselus is signified by the lion one might find support in the presence of Paris, who may be a pointer to him; for just as the Trojan prince was rescued as an infant, taken to Ida, and then returns to his family, so (according to Nicolaus of Damascus) was the tyrant rescued as a baby, taken to Olympia, and returns to Corinth (*Mondo*, 149). But as an intended correlation this seems hardly convincing.

Lion Hunt (*fig. 1*)

Following L. Cerchiai et al. (in *Salerno*) D'Acunto presses for an equation between hunting and *eros*, not in the usual metaphorical terms of pursuit but more in terms of danger and deadliness. Lions can kill, as the *olpe* shows, and as for *eros* - in Paris' case it led to the destruction of his whole

Figs 1-4. Chigi olpe. *Villa Giulia inv. 22679 (photos Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale).*

family. Mythology is not short of other examples too - one thinks of Agamemnon, Tereus, and the like - where lust after women could ruin lives. But where does this fit into Hurwit's scheme of the growing experience of Greek youths: in particular, how many Corinthian males would have viewed Paris' judgment as something that was applicable to their own lives, especially in a society famed for women being readily available as *hetairai* and *pornai*?[21] And if the equation is between hunting and marriage (*eros* and *gamos* are often elided in this argument), then that too seems equally strained. For most Greek men, marriage took place in their maturity[22] well after adolescence - unlike for girls in their mid teens; nor often does desire and lust seem to have played much part in the choice of marriage partner.

To what extent lions were available for hunting in the Greek countryside is aired once again by D'Acunto,[23] for whom the hunt depicted on the *olpe* is to be viewed not as a 'pratica reale' but metaphorically as symbolic of aristocratic *aretē*. (*Mondo*, 59). This contrasts with the hare hunt frieze, which with its shrubby vegetation must be

situated on the outskirts of a real city (*Mondo*, 50). So, looking at the vase as a whole, we move from actual terrain (lowest frieze), to the realm of the heroic past (Paris), to a symbolic arena (lion hunt), and finally to a scene of actual (i.e. contemporary) fighting (on the shoulder). Conceptually it would, however, be more economical if we were able to place all the different scenes on one single level of reality.

It is worth acknowledging here that, whatever narrative flow there may exist between the various parts of the olpe, there are some figural elements that may simply be decorative. It is difficult to explain in any other way an additional band of coursing animals - dogs, deer, goats - painted in white (which has mostly worn off) against a dark background on the narrow horizontal band that is enclosed between the middle and upper registers.[24] Another decorative feature may be the double sphinx in the middle register (*fig. 1*). A single-bodied sphinx is seen in a similar position on the Erythrai *oinochoe*, and it is just possible that the figure is present as a kind of workshop logo or signature. Although the creature has numerous connotations in early Greek art and culture, in plenty of later Corinthian animal friezes it would seem to have no obvious meaning. But we will need to come back to the sphinx later.

Riders and Charioteer (*fig. 3*)

D'Acunto develops further Hurwit's observation that five men may be missing from the scene of the horses and chariot, and may have dismounted from the four riderless horses and from the chariot (which contains only the charioteer without passenger) in order to engage the lion on foot.[25] Moreover, the dress of three of the hunters is identical to that of the riders, while the supposed passenger of the chariot, in itself a high status mode of transport, is marked out as the leader of the hunting group by virtue of the 'halo' around him created by the lion's encircling tail, and by the belt around his waist (another élite symbol).

These details are all well observed, though they need not lead to the conclusion proposed. If the chariot were to be for racing, then only one occupant is needed and the symmetry of five hunters and five 'missing' personnel from the equestrian scene is lost. Moreover, commentators pay little attention to the naked young man leading the chariot horse (*fig. 4*), though D'Acunto is surely right in seeing him as a 'stalliere' - a groom or stable lad and presumably of lesser status. Yet the hunter who is mauled by the lion (*fig. 1*) is shown in similar nudity (and hairstyle), and like his companions should be of high status, so there seems to be no precise equivalence - at least where dress is concerned - between the personnel of the hunting and equestrian scenes. It seems clear, too, that the riders and chariot, rather than standing by and waiting for the hunters to finish their task, are in purposeful motion as if in a parade or ma--noeuvre, led by the walking groom at the front. That the hunt and the 'parade' are separate scenes is made apparent by the sphinx that comes between them.

Another juxtaposition of riders and a lion-hunt is seen on the Erythrai oinochoe (*fig. 5*). Here the horsemen wield spears above their heads,[26] and their hairstyle is the same as the hunters', but they are on a smaller scale and appear to be naked, unlike the latter who have tunics with a tasseled lower hem. As on the olpe the lion's victim is also shown naked. Beyond the sphinx more hunting seems to be taking place: a kneeling archer and, immediately beyond, a quadruped turning round, perhaps a deer or a dog.[27] The frieze above is even more tantalizingly fragmentary, where a bull comes up behind a group of soldiers moving to the left.[28] This does not appear to be a combination of unrelated scenes as the animal's horn actually pierces the raised arm of the hindmost soldier; rather it brings to mind mythological stories of cattle rustling.[29]

Judgment of Paris

Most of the scenes on the *olpe* are to a lesser or greater extent self-explanatory - one can sense what is going on, whether one chooses to view it in generic or heroic terms. But for Paris and the goddesses figure labels are needed, not in order to show that it is the only myth scene on the vase[30] but because the iconography of the Judgment was being worked out now perhaps for the first time.[31] Once formulated it would persist - with Hermes leading the three goddesses - throughout the archaic period both in Greece and Etruria; it would also be included in this form on two famous works long since lost but described by Pausanias: the chest of Cypselus (Paus. 5.19.5) and the Amyklai throne (3.18.12).

A variant composition, in Athenian black-figure of the first half of the 6th century, shows Paris apparently attempting to flee the scene. This version of the story, it has been suggested,[32] may already have been in the *Kypria*, but it is just as likely that it was a twist thought up by vase-painters. For D'Acunto (*Mondo,* 120), who follows Cerchiai et al.

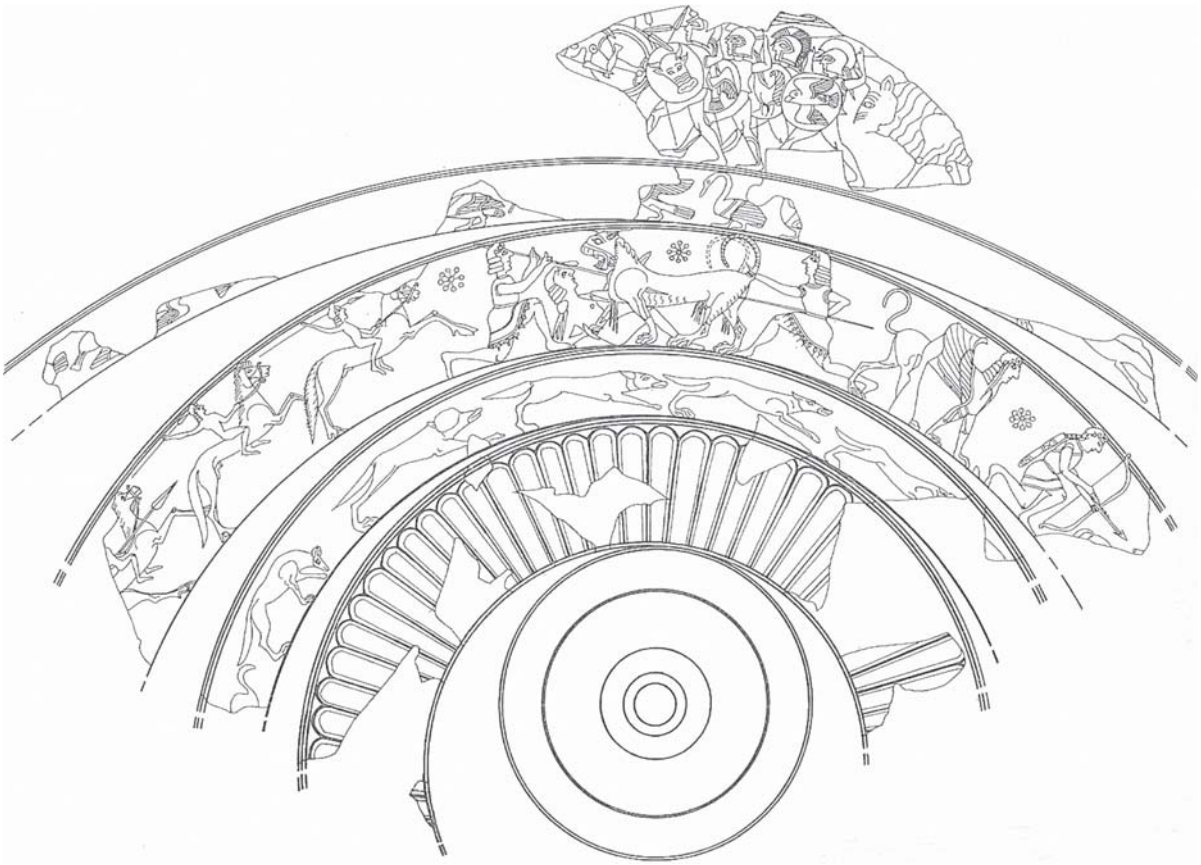

Fig. 5. Oinochoe fragments from Erythrai (drawing, adapted from Akurgal 1992, fig. 1).

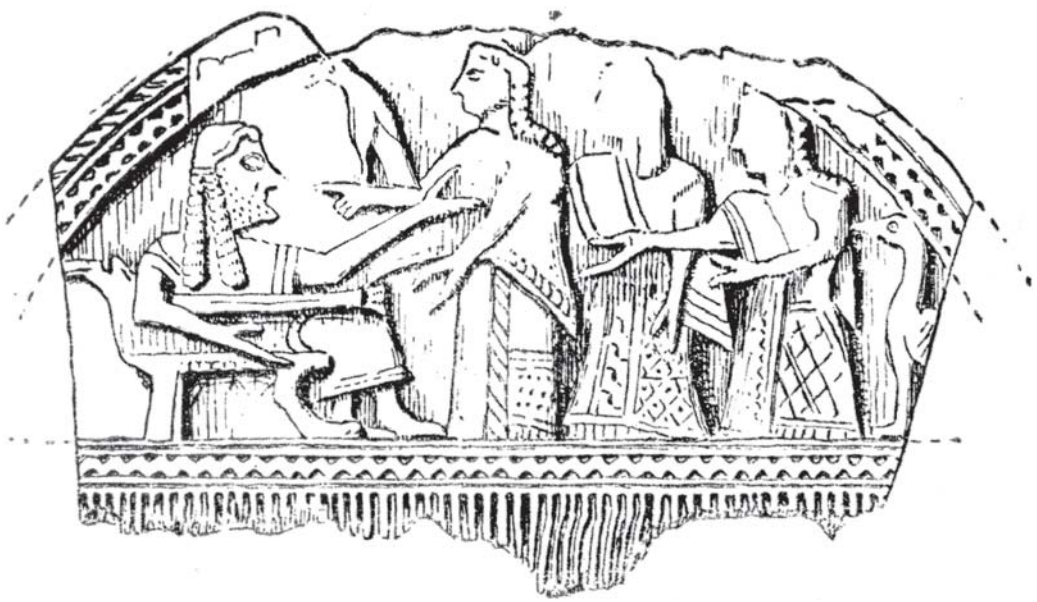

Fig. 6. Ivory comb from Sparta (drawing, after Hampe 1954, pl. 11.1).

(in *Salerno*), it is illustrative of the perils of love and seduction that a young Greek may encounter and may wish to escape from. Judgment scenes of this type, which are only in evidence from two or three generations later than the *olpe*, might also have been intended to be taken humorously, especially where Paris is making huge strides to get away.[33]

In addition to procession scenes there are those where a seated Paris is actually in mid judgment, and Hermes may or may not be present. They are mainly of the classical period and later, but begin shortly after the Chigi olpe with a small-scale relief from Sparta (*fig. 6*).[34] Here the emphasis is on the hero as supreme arbiter of female beauty, an appropriate enough subject for a luxury item of the female toilette such as an ivory comb. It is this aspect of Paris that would be prominent later, especially on engraved bronze Etruscan and Praenestine mirrors, the earliest of them from the mid 5th century.[35] In Italy, Paris (Etruscan: 'Elacsantre', 'Elcsntre') seems to have been viewed entirely positively and seriously, with the exception of a small group of mirrors where, in a seemingly burlesque reversal, it is he who exposes his nakedness to the surrounding goddesses who are themselves clothed.[36]

Paris: Wider Considerations

Homer's characterization of Paris is for the most part negative. Typical are the assessment of his judgment as 'blindness' (*atē*) (*Iliad* 24.28), and Hector's wish that he should never have been born and certainly never married (*Iliad* 3.39-42). Yet when Paris finally closes with Menelaus in combat (in *Iliad*, Book 3) he does so fearlessly, and when Aphrodite whisks him away at the last moment the rescue is unrequested. In similar manner, even the doughty Aeneas has to be rescued in battle twice by the gods.[37] Moreover, one upshot of the scholarship of the last generation is a realization that Homer's versions of stories, and his characterizations, were not necessarily widespread in Greece before the later 6th century, and visual artists more often follow divergent paths.[38] Among writers, even in the 5th century Herodotus at the beginning of his *Histories* (1.4), recording a Persian point of view but giving it the full weight of his characteristic impartiality, can point to the abduction of Helen as a major source of the enmity between Greeks and Persians, without heaping opprobrium on Paris but reserving criticism for Helen and her complicity instead. In Euripides' plays the Trojan War is regarded as a great evil, but Paris is not always singled out as the cause but rather as a victim - he too - of the gods' machinations.[39] Ultimately, of course, it is the gods who are to blame for the war, as Priam knew (*Iliad* 3.164-5).

The Battle Zone

Ever since Payne,[40] the view has been held by many that the battle scene on the shoulder must in some way owe its inspiration to, or even be adapted from, larger-scale painting; perhaps a somewhat careless adaptation, as the numbers of legs, heads, and shields of the soldiers do not match exactly. A recent and important piece of evidence is the finds at Kalapodi in Phokis, from an apsidal temple in the oracular sanctuary of Apollo at ancient Abai. Fragments of painted wall plaster show confronted spear-wielding soldiers (detail: *fig. 7*) so close in style and format that the *olpe* could be used to help

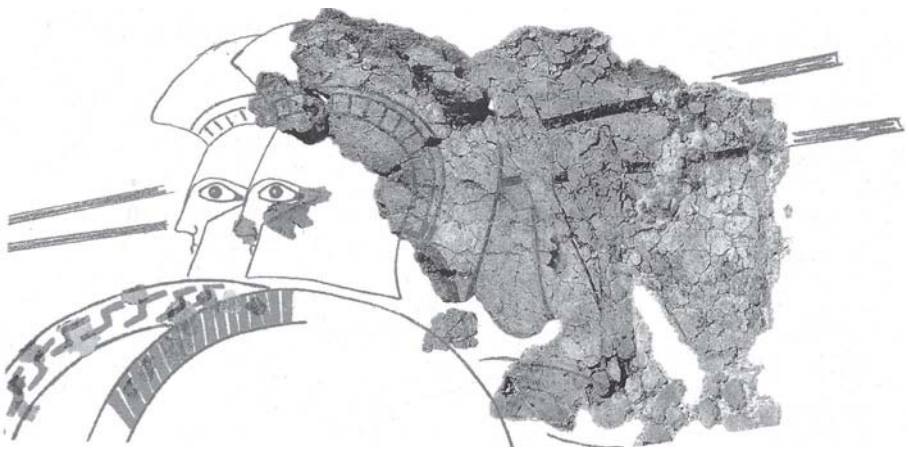

Fig. 7. Wall-painting from Kalapodi (drawing of detail; adapted from Niemeier et al. 2012, pl. 14).

Fig. 8. 'Euphorbos plate' from Rhodes (photo British Museum).

with certain aspects of their reconstruction (Niemeier et al. in *Salerno*, 83-84). Some details too, such as the decorative patterns on shield rims, are so similar that Hurwit (*Salerno*, 108-109) can even suggest that the *olpe* and the Kalapodi mural might be by one and the same artist. If vase-painters of the mid-7th century could also turn their hand to large-scale painting, as now seems very plausible, then an entirely new light is shed on the issue of the inspiration behind the *olpe*'s battle frieze.

The mural fragments, with figures one third lifesize, were from the inner face of the wall of the temple. What sort of battle might this have been? There are three possibilities: it might be either generic, contemporary (commemorating a victory of the recent past), or heroic. For a temple interior it is unlikely to be either of the first two. In sanctuaries of this era, celebration of contemporary battles took the form, most often, of the dedication of armour and weapons, rather than the depiction of the fighting. The representation of a heroic battle, on the other hand, would be a suitable honouring of the god in itself, and it might in addition allude to contemporary military achievements through analogy or through connections of genealogy.

On the whole, archaic Greek artists thought in specific - and heroic - rather than generic terms. Pausanias (5.18.6-8), many centuries later, was aware of this when examining the long, uninscribed frieze of the chest of Cypselus with its marching infantry and chariot teams, which he could construe only in terms of the heroic past (as did his guides, though in different ways to him).

We may draw two tentative conclusions. First, the Kalapodi evidence only strengthens the likelihood that the olpe's war zone is heroic/epic. Secondly, inaccuracies of the battle zone, in terms of

heads, legs, and shields that do not match in number, are something of a red-herring: the Chigi Painter is likely to have been skilled at painting on both large and miniaturist scales, and for the *olpe* was presumably aiming for a pleasing overall effect rather than accuracy in every detail.

The battle zone is the most frequently discussed and illustrated part of the *olpe*. 'The most successful portrayal of hoplite tactics that has survived'[41] it may be, though another view sees the formations represented as reasonably consonant with earlier Homeric military practice.[42] The problem is that a painter may represent a battle that is intended to be contemporary but dress it up with heroic details; conversely, he may paint a heroic battle but modernise it with up-to-date equipment, and it is inevitably difficult, where inscriptions are lacking, to distinguish between the two. An example of the latter is the 'Euphorbos plate' from Rhodes of the late 7th century (*fig. 8*) which shows Hektor dueling with Menelaus over the fallen Euphorbos (in a scene that departs somewhat from the account in the *Iliad*), with the heroes kitted out with greaves, helmet, corslet, and round double-grip shield - all standard hoplite gear. On the *olpe*, the armour is equally modern and the presence of the piper, too, shows an awareness of 7th-century realities - though, as pointed out by van Wees, his role is not necessarily to sound out a marching rhythm. There is no sign of stabbing swords, and D'Acunto sees the two spears carried by each soldier as a retention from the Homeric past and as marking an intermediate stage in the development of hoplite forces (*Mondo*, 99). But as it is, forms of arms and armour have little bearing on whether or not a scene is heroic, and so it is with battle formation: for Greek artists of the period of proper hoplite phalanxes (and it is a matter of dispute that the *olpe* shows them) it would have been easy to think that this was how many heroic battles were also fought, and to represent them accordingly. So too, from an earlier heroic era, the gigantomachy sculpted on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi is fought by giants with hoplite weaponry and in loose phalanx order.[43]

The Chigi Vase as Mythological Narrative

We may start with the premise that very few Greek painted pots have survived compared with the numbers that were originally made, the survival rate being in the region of a quarter to a half of one percent.[44] However easy it is to slip into thinking that the Chigi *olpe* is a lone masterpiece unmatched in size and complexity by anything else that may have been produced by this painter, it is very probably the case that he painted many dozens of vessels of this kind with complex figurative friezes, perhaps producing his pieces in quick succession. Judging by his surviving output he worked with a limited number of themes: mainly hunting (especially hares), soldiers fighting, horsemen. The *olpe* differs from his London and Berlin *aryballoi* in being more ambitious; whether or not it shows, in D'Acunto's words, 'un vero e proprio programma iconografico' (*Mondo*, 143) the scenes on it (and on any Greek multi-frieze vase) are unlikely to have been chosen at random, at least at the subconscious level.

On the other hand, taken individually, all the scenes (excepting the Judgment) are of a generic kind, and all conform to what L. Giuliani calls 'standard pictorial models' or, in different words, 'descriptive representations of a standard situation',[45] which he contrasts with true narrative scenes showing the actions and stories of nameable people. But here the *olpe* is more than the sum of its parts: these are not particular stories,[46] hence they do not require named protagonists, but they are given added meaning and context in two ways. They are juxtaposed with a specific mythological narrative (the Judgment); secondly, they are the least 'standardized' of the many contemporary and later friezes with similar subjects: the battle is on an especially grand scale, and the hare hunt is given intricate landscape detail with the unusual presence of human participants.

The Judgment scene is key here, not just for its inclusion but for where and how it is included. The episode took place, according to the *Kypria*, on Mount Ida; and that Paris was a herdsman is already implied in *Iliad* 24.25-30 where the goddesses are described as arriving at his *messaulon*, a term often translated as 'courtyard' but more likely from other contexts to mean 'cattle-yard'.[47] This much seems to have been known to the Etruscan Paris Painter, after the middle of the 6th century, who portrays the herdsman with his cattle.[48] A little later, in Attic black figure, Paris is sometimes shown seated against the mountain itself.[49] On the *olpe* the judgment scene is immediately adjacent to the lion hunt, in fact so close up against it that the raised spear of the huntsman furthest to the right overlaps the figure of Paris himself (*fig. 2*). Such a close juxtaposition might suggest that the hunt is also taking place on Ida, which in mythology was known as a haunt of lions. So when, before Paris' time, Aphrodite arrived on the mountain for her seduction of Anchises we

are told that on the hero's bed 'lay skins of bears and deep-throated lions which he had killed on the high peaks himself'.[50] Of Paris' own hunting proclivities we learn from his first love, the nymph Oenone:

> Who revealed for you the woodlands fine for hunting
> and the rocky crags where the wild beast hid her cubs?
> Often I was with you to stretch the wide-meshed hunting net,
> often I led the swift hounds over the long passes.[51]

The Latin for cub here, *catulus*, may refer to the young of various beasts, but most often means lion cub.[52]

Poetic writing of this kind is of course many centuries later than 7th-century Protocorinthian pottery. It is true that Ovid was using sources from centuries earlier than when he wrote, and the traditions behind them extend back further still, but we have to acknowledge that we are often very much in the dark concerning what tales were current in early archaic times.[53] Similarly Nicolaus of Damascus (*floruit*: later 1st century BC) was using earlier sources, but probably no earlier than the 4th century, yet he too is used by some to throw light on what may have been known about historical characters centuries before then (see above). Where mythology is concerned it has to be borne in mind that - in addition to the pictorial evidence - we may have to rely on late poets and mythographers for knowledge of early myths, and often it is impossible to move back beyond the tragedians and poets of the 5th century.

So we learn that Paris, rescued by the herdsman from infanticide, spent his early years on Ida. How he spent his boyhood we don't know, but hunting small animals with his companions is more than likely.[54] He may, then, be among the boys on the *olpe*'s lower register, as well as participating in the lion hunt. It is even possible that he is to be picked out as the left-hand lion hunter with the belt, an élite item of attire and here conceivably a 'proleptic' attribute that points to the future when he will have royal standing (similar in a way to the crown carried by Aphrodite which points forward to her victory in the beauty contest).[55] Later vase-painters at Athens also occasionally allude to his 'hidden' royal status by dressing him in a townsman's draperies and even giving him a sceptre.[56] Where social status is concerned, his clothing in the *olpe*'s Judgment scene is ambiguous, although the seemingly heavy cloak or himation may weigh in favour of a rustic lifestyle.

The first notice we have of Paris at Troy is when he competed in the games in his honour, a part of the story that goes back at least as far as Euripides.[57] What drew him to Troy in the first place was the seizure of his favourite bull to be a prize at the games, but the only mention of the episode is in Hyginus. The games featured a full complement of sports, and according to the surviving fragments of Euripides' *Alexandros* they included running, pentathlon and boxing.[58] Ovid has Paris boast to Helen at Sparta that he won in various contests ('vario certamine')[59] and one would expect horse- and chariot-racing too. This is where the scene on the middle frieze best fits: not as part of a generic games but a parading and manoeuvring before the start of the Trojan games.

How was one physically to view this vase? There are rather few figured Greek pots with multiple continuous encircling friezes and with a single vertical handle that provide no obvious viewpoint (no sides 'A' and 'B'). A somewhat similar problem is thrown up by an Etruscan pot of slightly later date (see below, 'Postscript'). The Chigi *olpe* was probably intended for the male symposium, although the earliest evidence for the reclining symposium comes a generation later; and as most Greek men were right handed (the sword- and spear-wielding hand), so the view with the handle to the right as in *figure 1* might have been the first to present itself. (It could of course be argued that the vessel would have been handled only by a servant, and that the opposite side would have been the first to be observed by a symposiast. But if a glimpse of the pot held by a servant was the only view ever intended, one wonders why anyone would have bothered with such intricate figure decoration.) In the *figure 1* position, at one glance one can see both hunt scenes clearly as well as the combined frontal faces of the sphinx and the gorgoneion shield emblem in the upper frieze. If the middle frieze can start with the lion hunt we can follow the vase round to the right (the direction the lion faces, as well as Paris, and the riders). The whole sequence may end with the sphinx with its 'magical frontality'.[60] Such staring faces have the power to transform, obvious in the case of the Gorgon, but here, coming after the 'parade' scene, perhaps suggestive of a life-changing situation.[61] At the games the victorious Paris was at first attacked by his family, then recognized for who he was, and so was reconciled to them. From

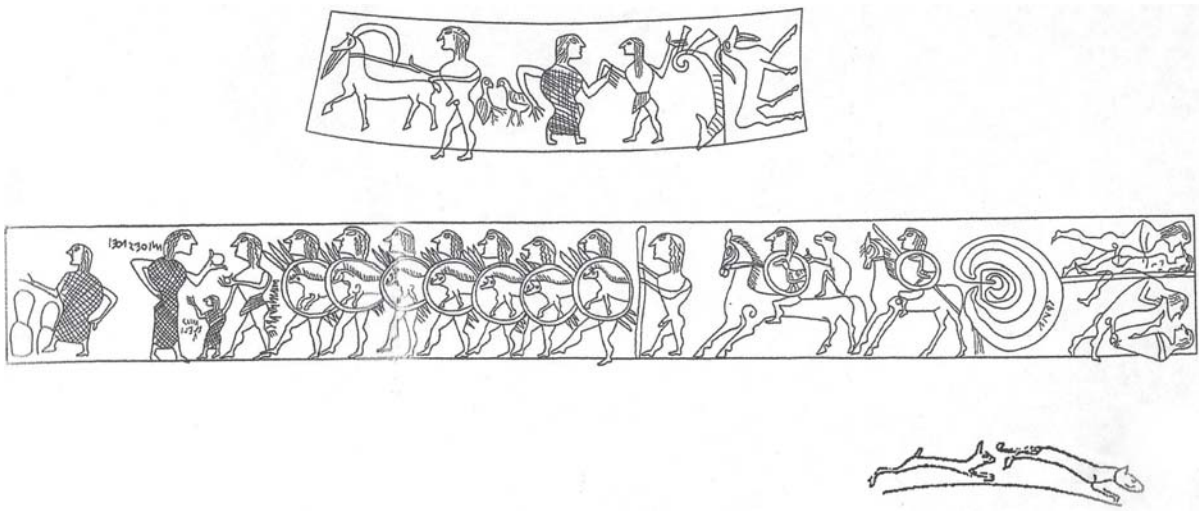

Fig. 9. Oinochoe *from Tragliatella near Cerveteri/Caere (drawing, adapted from Martelli 1987, fig. on pp. 270-271, and van der Meer 1986, fig. 1).*

this turning point he is no longer a private herdsman but part of the royal family of Troy, which he cannot escape his duty to help to protect. So inevitably he will play his part in fighting the Greeks, which is very likely what we see in the upper frieze.

'Interpretation is always provisional';[62] and it may also need to be tackled from different angles. In this case, there is, first of all, what may have been in the vase painter's mind; secondly in the mind of the Greek owner (if it was different and the decoration was not bespoke); thirdly in the mind of the élite Etruscan buried with it outside Veii. Of course there may not have been a Greek owner at all if the vessel was an immediate export (whether or not it was intended as such). All these parties may have viewed the decoration in a different way. The Etruscan may or may not have known much about Paris, but there was plenty enough here for him to identify with, in terms of male activities and heroic encounters. For the knowledgeable viewer, the idea of the possibility that the *olpe* is centred around the life of Paris is one that dawns gradually, and, perhaps surprisingly, that may also have been the case for the vase-painter as he planned out his decoration. It is clear from his *aryballoi* that he was was fond of, and very skilled in depicting, hare hunts, horse and chariot racing, battles and military manoeuvres - all of them youthful and manly pursuits, and most of them, too, with heroic undertones. The larger-scale *olpe* gives him space, within a miniaturist format, to expand on two of these themes in the lowest and upper friezes, making them especially elaborate, and by featuring the Judgment in the middle register he effectively establishes locations for the rest: the hunting of hares and lion on the slopes of Ida, the battle on the plain of Troy.

Postscript: The Tragliatella Oinochoe (*fig. 9*)

This Etruscan oinochoe, excavated from a tomb in the territory of Caere, has been known since 1878. Attempts to explain the human figure scenes on it have been numerous, with none being entirely convincing,[63] but it is generally agreed that the artist of the Etruscocorinthian polychrome vessel must have been very aware of Corinthian works such as the Chigi vase, which was produced only a generation before it.

With Etruscan inscriptions naming three figures which seem to be part of a family group, it has been pointed out that the vase must have been a special commission.[64] On the lowest register is an abbreviated hare hunt, without human participants as on the Erythrai *oinochoe*. The other scenes may include depictions of actual Etruscans in real-life situations. Part of the story may be of an Etruscan couple, on the neck meeting in their youth, shown with their daughter in the middle frieze, and at their deaths (for the funeral for which the vase was perhaps made) it is the daughter who mourns at the tomb-markers of her parents. Both father and mother hold what are probably eggs, which have well known funerary connotations. But many commentators have seen the bulk of

the decoration in terms of myth, with aspects of which the family may have identified. A further inscription (*truia*) has provided considerable food for thought. If it had not been added, the 'maze' which it appears to label would have been assumed almost certainly from the outset to be the labyrinth of Knossos, and the man and woman by the ship in the frieze above to be Theseus and Ariadne. However, given that in the 4th century *truials* means 'Trojan',[65] *truia* here has been thought by some to refer to Troy, either the city itself or the original version of the Troy Game described by Vergil. In *Aeneid* 5.545-603, these intricate circling manœuvres were staged by Aeneas in Sicily in honour of his dead father Anchises and involved horsemen only.[66] Others prefer *truia* to signify 'turning' or indeed, more concretely, a 'maze' itself and see it as a (very rare) kind of descriptive caption referring to the circling formations performed as part of a funeral games for the deceased Etruscan(s) for whom the vessel was made.[67] But such an interpretation in terms of funerary celebrations can hardly be extended to the upper frieze.

Yet it may be that Troy *is* represented here, from above. There being no precedent for the depiction of settlements from the air - except for the aerial views of camps and fortifications on Assyrian reliefs which Etruscan craftsmen are unlikely to have seen at first hand -[68] the artist may have intended his 'maze' as a bird's-eye vision of the fortified city and its interior streets.[69] A line of foot-soldiers (without greaves or helmet) and horsemen emerges to defend it. The large 'ape' riding on the back of the first horse, rather than fulfilling the role of a 'slightly comic space-filler'[70] or an imported pet being taken for the ride,[71] looks more like a monster of ill-omen perhaps signifying here the final Trojan defeat. The upper register may show Paris and Helen about to elope by sea, again with Paris' rustic background emphasized and with the hero in charge of goats rather than cattle. The love-making pairs would then not be Theseus and Ariadne,[72] nor are we seeing erotic scenes from the grandstands at the games[73] but minus the spectators, instead they are more likely again to be Paris and Helen shown twice so as possibly to record the seduction at Sparta as well as their cohabitation at Troy.

It is difficult to know how much awareness there was in 7th century Etruria of the story of Paris, Helen, and Menelaus. The latter two may figure on a painted krater from Caere of the first half of the century, though one cannot be sure;[74] while an Etruscocorinthian oinochoe in Paris of ca 600 BC very likely depicts the city of Troy under siege, but here again certain identification is impossible.[75] Moreover, Etruscan artists were quite capable of retelling Greek myths in new ways and even of utilizing motifs and characters from Greek mythology to illustrate stories of their own, stories of which we otherwise have no inkling.[76] For these reasons one suspects that the chances of the above interpretation of the Tragliatella vase being correct in all details are not great, but a more modest observation worth making is that here is a vessel, dated soon after the Chigi vase, that similarly combines a hunting scene at the bottom with, higher up, a military sequence that may be connected with Troy and the Trojans.

Abbreviations

Mondo see D'Acunto 2013
Salerno see Mugione 2012

Notes

1 Johansen 1923, 98. See Amyx 1988, 31-40 ("Chigi Group").
2 See D'Acunto 2013, Appendix: 248-250.
3 BM 1989-4-18.1 and Berlin 3773 (Amyx 1988, 31-2, nos 1 and 2).
4 Aegina K348: Payne 1931, no 40; Kraiker 1951, pl. 28; Amyx 1988, 32, no 4. Payne regarded it as 'probably' by the Chigi Painter.
5 Akurgal 1992, 84 fig. 1a; Hurwit 2002, fig. 4.
6 Rome, Villa Giulia inv. 22679. *Figs 1-4.*
7 Salmon 1984, 106.
8 Hurwit 2002; Torelli 2007.
9 Mugione 2012.
10 D'Acunto 2013.
11 Rasmussen 2013 (also online: www.mediterra.org → Cedrus → arşiv [archive]).
12 Payne 1933, 15; Robertson 1975, 52; Amyx 1988, 369.
13 Rasmussen 1991, 62.
14 Colour illustrations also in Michetti/van Kampen 2014, pls 1-4.
15 Further elaborated by Michetti/van Kampen 2014.
16 Michetti/van Kampen 2014, 155.
17 Mingazzini 1976.
18 Cornell 1995, 124; cf. Rasmussen 1997, 24.
19 For Cypselus, and oracles associated with him: Salmon 1984, 186-96.
20 Shanks 1999, 52-61.
21 According to Aristotle (Rose 1886, fr. 611.20), secular prostitution was so rife at Corinth that Periander, son of Cypselus, tried to suppress it. For commentary: Salmon 1984, 199, 399-400.
22 Reeder 1995, 27, 31, note 52; Blundell 1995, 119-120.
23 For another recent statement on this topic: Giuliani 2013, 27-29.
24 Johansen 1923, pl. 40.1e.
25 Hurwit 2002, 19.
26 Unlike the horseman approaching a lion-hunt on the Ajax Painter's *aryballos* in Berlin, who simply carries a goad (Amyx 1988, 23; Benson 1989, pl. 15.4).
27 Akurgal 1992, fig. 8, pl. 13.1.

[28] Akurgal 1992, fig. 3, pl. 10.2.
[29] For the importance of this theme in myth: Walcot 1979.
[30] As argued by both Torelli 2007 and D'Acunto 2013.
[31] It has been recently argued that the Judgment scene, with its inscriptions, may be a reproduction of a larger scale painting. See Maras 2014.
[32] Beazley 1986, 40.
[33] Walsh 2009, 137.
[34] Kossatz-Deissman 1994, 109, no 22. The composition, which is without inscriptions, has in the past also been construed as Zeus with the three goddesses prior to their journey to Ida: see Hampe 1954.
[35] Kossatz-Deissman 1994, no. 43.
[36] De Grummond 2006, 91-3, fig. 5.24.
[37] By his mother Aphrodite (*Iliad* 5.314-315) and by Poseidon (*Iliad* 20.321-325). The first episode is shown on the Etruscan black-figure amphora Würzburg 799 of ca 500 BC: Beazley 1947, 17; Brendel 1995, fig. 132.
[38] Cook 1983; Snodgrass 1998.
[39] Stinton 1965, esp. pp. 25-27 for discussion of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and p. 63 for his summation of Euripides' view of Paris.
[40] Payne 1931, 94-97.
[41] Murray 1993, 130.
[42] van Wees 2000, 139; Viggiano/van Wees 2013, 65-68.
[43] Stewart 1990, 128, pl. 195-196.
[44] Cook 1959; Johnston 1991, 208.
[45] Giuliani 2013, 246, 105.
[46] Only the 'parade', it is being suggested here, is a specific occasion.
[47] Hedreen 2001, 196.
[48] Hannestad 1974, no 1 pl. 1; Martelli 1987, no 102.
[49] Hedreen 2001, 183, fig. 44.
[50] *Homeric Hymn 5 (to Aphrodite)*, lines 158-160.
[51] Ovid, *Heroides* 5.19-22.
[52] The scene brings to mind a Caeretan hydria in Paris: Hemelrijk 1984, no 22, pl. 86a. Various beasts have been suggested for this animal guarding her young, but if it is a lion, as seems very probable, it must be of the hermaphrodite variety discussed by Hurwit 2006, 133-134.
[53] But for the view that the story of Oenone and Paris may go back to the archaic period: Gantz 1993, 639, 875 (note 67); cf. Hedreen 2001, 209.
[54] For an explanation of why Paris' rustic upbringing was always an essential element of the story of the Judgment and its outcome: Hedreen 2001, 208-211.
[55] But such an identification is not needed to argue for the kind of loose continuous narrative that the *olpe* appears to exhibit from the lowest to the upper frieze - looser than the narrative of the huntsman king seen on the outer register of the 7th-century Phoenician silver bowl from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste (Markoe 1985, no E2; for discussion of which see Froning 1988, 180-181).
[56] Hedreen 2001, 185.
[57] Karamonou 2013, 416.
[58] Coles 1974.
[59] Ovid, *Heroides* 16.361
[60] Korshak's term for this kind of frontality in the pre-6th century: Korshak 1987, 3.
[61] Should the vase always have been destined for the tomb then it is also possible that these frontal faces (especially the sphinx's) were to serve an apotropaic purpose: Rasmussen 2013, 61.
[62] Shanks 1999, 33.
[63] For recent discussion with bibliography: van der Meer 2011, 71-74.
[64] Szilágyi 1992, 86-87.
[65] Bonfante/Bonfante 2002, 207.
[66] For Aeneas as originator see also Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 39.
[67] Small 1986.
[68] But they may not be without significance here. Such encampments may be circular (King 1915, pls 1, 13, 19), oval, or rectangular. In some cases (pls 54, 60) a file of horsemen and soldiers is shown leaving the camp to fight the enemy. Noteworthy too is the depiction, in a typical Assyrian conflation of aerial/profile views, of the Elamite town of Madaktu (Barnett 1975, pl. 159).
[69] For the Tragliatella 'maze' as a representation of Troy, see Colonna 1979, 311-312, Cordano 1980; cf. also Rykwert 1988, 148. The latest treatment of the Tragliatella design, by Berndt (2015, 106-108) in connection with a very similar representation incised on the outside of a (9th century) *megaron* at Gordion, gives full consideration to the Truia/Troy equation but favours a link with the story of Theseus and Ariadne.
[70] McDermott 1938, 31.
[71] Small 1986, 82.
[72] Boardman/La Rocca 1978, 72.
[73] Small 1986, 67-68, arguing from analogy with the painted Tomba delle Bighe at Tarquinia - where spectators are shown: see Steingräber 1984, 297.
[74] Martelli 1987, 261, no 37.
[75] Szilágyi 1992, 122-126, no 102; Childs 1978, 58-59, pl. 28.3-4.
[76] De Grummond 2006, 12; Szilágyi 1992, 187-200. A recent and so far unique find, in a necropolis at the via A. D'Avack south of Veii, of an impasto kantharos of the second half of the 7th century incised with images of horses being transported aboard two ships (Arizza et al. 2013, figs 17-20), might give added weight to the suggestion of Sybille Haynes (2000, 99) that the scene on the neck of the Tragliatella vase could be of a local Etruscan trader in livestock. But it might equally open up a possibility that in the Tragliatella artist's mind the many possessions and goods (*ktemata*, mentioned in the *Kypria* and at *Iliad* 7.350, 363) that Paris removed from Sparta would have included livestock which is here shown being rounded up for transport.

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Von „ganzen Häusern“ zu großen Männern? Beobachtungen zu Veränderungen in der Struktur süditalischer Gemeinschaften in archaischer Zeit am Beispiel der Nekropole von Ripacandida/Basilicata (Süditalien)

Christian Heitz

Abstract

The necropolis of Ripacandida in northern Basilicata is used as an example for the reconstruction of the social structure, age and gender identities of a small indigenous community in the 6th-5th century BCE. In the course of the two centuries of its use, some changes in the composition of the grave clusters as well as in the combination of grave goods can be observed. This points to the conclusion that the community was not static, but developing during the time under study. It seems that within this short time major social changes occurred, gradually leading from egalitarian, family based units to the development of more powerful (male) individuals, separated from the core families and equipped with standardised, special symbolic goods, maybe supplied by higher, regional authorities as indicators of their elevated status.

Einleitung

Die sog. „Große Griechische Kolonisation“, das Ausgreifen von Bewohnern ostmediterraner Herkunft in den westlichen Mittelmeerraum während der Eisenzeit (ca 8.-5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.), und die damit verbundene Gründung griechischer Siedlungen (*apoikiai*) an den Küsten Süditaliens und Siziliens war, nicht zuletzt aufgrund des Vorhandenseins schriftlicher Quellen zu diesen Vorgängen, schon früh Gegenstand altertumswissenschaftlicher Forschung. Dabei lag das Augenmerk fast immer auf den „Koloniegründungen“ und den „Kolonisten“ selbst sowie auf deren Entwicklung, wohingegen den zeitlich parallelen und räumlich benachbarten Vorgängen innerhalb einheimischer Gemeinschaften deutlich geringere Aufmerksamkeit entgegengebracht wurde. Dies ist umso bedauerlicher, da ohne die Kenntnis der Lebens- und der Verhaltensweisen der indigenen Kontaktpartner und deren Reaktion auf die Neuankömmlinge ein Verständnis von und eine ausgewogene Analyse der gesamten Kontaktsituation, die Konsequenzen bis weit ins Binnenland hatte, kaum möglich ist.

Zeugnisse des Lebens der einheimischen Bevölkerungsgruppen Süditaliens sind für diese Zeitspanne zahlreich vorhanden. Besonders Nekropolen sind in größerer Zahl ergraben, allerdings selten umfassend wissenschaftlich vorgelegt worden, was eine ganzheitliche Analyse erschwert. Bei vielen Gräberfeldern wurden nur die reichsten Bestattungen publiziert, so dass eine Beurteilung der - lokalen - Gesamtgesellschaft schwerfällt. Eine genaue Aufarbeitung und Interpretation der zahlreich vorhandenen Zeugnisse süditalischer Lokalgruppen sollte es aber ermöglichen, deren soziale Strukturen und ihre Entwicklungen im betrachteten Zeithorizont zu erschließen. Erst auf Basis und Erkenntnis dieser lokalen Bestattungs- und Gemeinschaftsstruktur kann die Diskussion der außergewöhnlichen „Erstkontaktsituation“ sowie der darauf folgenden Zeit erfolgen.

Als Ausgangspunkt soll hier das bereits in den 1970/80er Jahren ergrabene, aber erst kürzlich wissenschaftlich ausgewertete Gräberfeld von Ripacandida in der Nordbasilicata dienen.[1] Die Aufarbeitung solcher Altgrabungen kann, wie hier gezeigt werden soll, weiterhin - selbst wenn bisweilen die Dokumentationslage nicht den neuesten Ansprüchen genügen mag - zu Erkenntnissen über einheimisch-italische Lokalgruppen beitragen. Besonders der Charakter von Gräberfeldern als Häufung von Bestattungen als intentional niedergelegte, geschlossene Befunde, die in einer sozialen Handlung kreiert wurden, macht sie für eine Auswertung sozialer Phänomene interes-

sant. Als Reste von Ritualen, bei denen individuelle Strategien zugunsten einer mehr oder weniger an der kollektiven Norm orientierten Form zurückgestellt werden, können Gräber Zeugnis von den gesellschaftlichen Vorstellungen der Hinterbliebenen geben.[2] Gräberfelder sind „verhandelte" Kontexte, die Religion sowie Vorstellungen betreffs Geschlecht, Alter und Status des Verstorbenen widerspiegeln, ebenso aber auch Reflexionen aktueller wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Gegebenheiten sein können. Bestattungen können insbesondere in soziopolitisch instabilen Phasen auch genutzt werden, um gewisse Ambitionen zu formulieren.[3]

Das Gräberfeld von Ripacandida

Ripacandida liegt im hügeligen Hinterland Süditaliens, in den letzten Ausläufern des Apennin und nahe den Hängen des mehrgipfligen Monte Vulture, eines erloschenen Vulkans (*Abb. 1*). Er bildet eine markante Landmarke, die sich weithin sichtbar über das Umland erhebt. Auf der Mitte der direkten Linie zwischen Neapel und Bari gelegen, befindet die Stätte sich an einer Stelle des Binnenlandes, die zentraler nicht sein könnte. Sie liegt an verkehrstechnisch günstiger Position und überragt das Zusammentreffen von Bachtälern wie dem Vallone Calcinara und weiteren kleinen Zuflüssen zum Arcidiaconata, der seinerseits weiter nördlich in den Ofanto mündet.[4] In dieser Region bilden der Ofanto und das Quellgebiet des Sele eine transapenninische Achse zwischen Tyrrhenischem und Adriatischem Meer.[5] Aus diesem sog. Melfese-Gebiet fließen außerdem die zur Südküste abfallenden Täler des Bradano und Basento ab. Hochgelegene Pässe machen die Region trotz des hügeligen Reliefs zu einem nicht unwegsamen Kreuzungspunkt mit dem Potenzial einer Drehscheibe.[6] Im archäologischen Fundgut lässt sich die zentrale Position des Melfese gut verfolgen: Die Bewohner der (westlichen) Flusstäler von Agri und Sinni zeigen Merkmale der voretruskischen Villanova-Kultur und damit nordwestliche Bezüge, während im Diano-Tal auch Elemente der Gesellschaften der Hochtäler von Bradano und Basento erkennbar sind. In diesen Gebieten präsentiert sich die gestreckte Rückenlage als häufigste Art der Bettung der Toten. Gegenüber diesen nach Westen orientierten Regionen dominiert im zentralen Hochland der Basilicata, im Gebiet des mittleren Laufes von Bradano, Basento und Cavone, die Hockerbestattung und damit eine Orientierung zur adriatischen Küste (Apulien). Folgerichtig lässt das Melfese-Gebiet sich mit Angelo Bottini als Rand- oder Mischgebiet zwischen zwei ‚Kulturen' beschreiben, die ihre Zentren einerseits in den „daunischen Zentren" Lavello, Banzi und Melfi, andererseits den „oinotrischen Dörfern" Ruvo del Monte, Ripacandida und Oppido Lucano besassen.[7]

Das Gräberfeld von Ripacandida wurde in zwei unterschiedlichen Ausschnitten freigelegt, die möglicherweise ursprünglich zu einer zusammenhängenden Nekropole gehörten und demselben Zeithorizont zuzuordnen sind (*Abb. 2 und 3*). Die 134 freigelegten Gräber wurden sämtlich innerhalb einer Zeitspanne von ca 200 Jahren angelegt, etwa von der Wende des 7. zum 6. bis zum Übergang vom 5. zum 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. (*Abb. 4*).[8] Es handelt sich um Erdgräber, die gehockte Körper bargen (*Abb. 5*). Alle Leichname wurden mit gestreckter Wirbelsäule und stark angezogenen Beinen bestattet.[9] Dadurch ergab sich eine klare Dichotomie in auf der rechten und auf der linken Körperseite niedergelegte Verstorbene. Der Großteil der in der Ausrichtung bestimmbaren Gräber (insgesamt 92) folgt einer einheitlichen NW-SO-Orientierung. Der Kopf des bestatteten Individuums liegt dabei grundsätzlich im Nordbereich des Grabes. Seltener sind die Gräber auch in SW-NO-Ausrichtung angelegt, was insbesondere ab dem 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. zu beobachten ist. Die Böden der Gräber wurden vereinzelt mit einer Kieselschüttung ausgelegt. Nicht selten konnten die Ausgräber Überreste einer breiten Holzkiste oder -kammer feststellen.[10] Nur einzelne Gräber weisen Hinweise auf die Existenz kleinerer Steinpackungen als Grabmarkierungen auf (Grab 25 und 27, möglicherweise auch Grab 84). Die Seltenheit von Überschneidungen deutet jedoch auf die ehemalige Existenz oberirdischer Markierungen der Gräber hin. Denkbar wären etwa ephemere, im archäologischen Befund nur sehr schwer nachweisbare Grabbepflanzungen und/oder regelmäßige Grabpflege und Rituale am Grab, die den Platz in der kollektiven Erinnerung der Nachfahren bewahrten.[11] Fast vollständige Überschneidungen wie bei Grab 45 und 45bis könnten auf einen bewußten Bezug der Gräber aufeinander hindeuten.

Das Knochenmaterial der Bestattungen ist bis auf wenige Ausnahmen nicht erhalten und kann deshalb nicht für anthropologische Untersuchungen herangezogen werden. Aufgrund dieser Tatsache mussten Geschlechts- und Altersbestimmungen über andere Merkmale erfolgen.[12] Für die Altersbestimmung wurden vor allem Größe und Tiefe des Grabes sowie eine ungefähre Größenbestimmung des Skeletts (nach Fotos oder Zeichnungen)

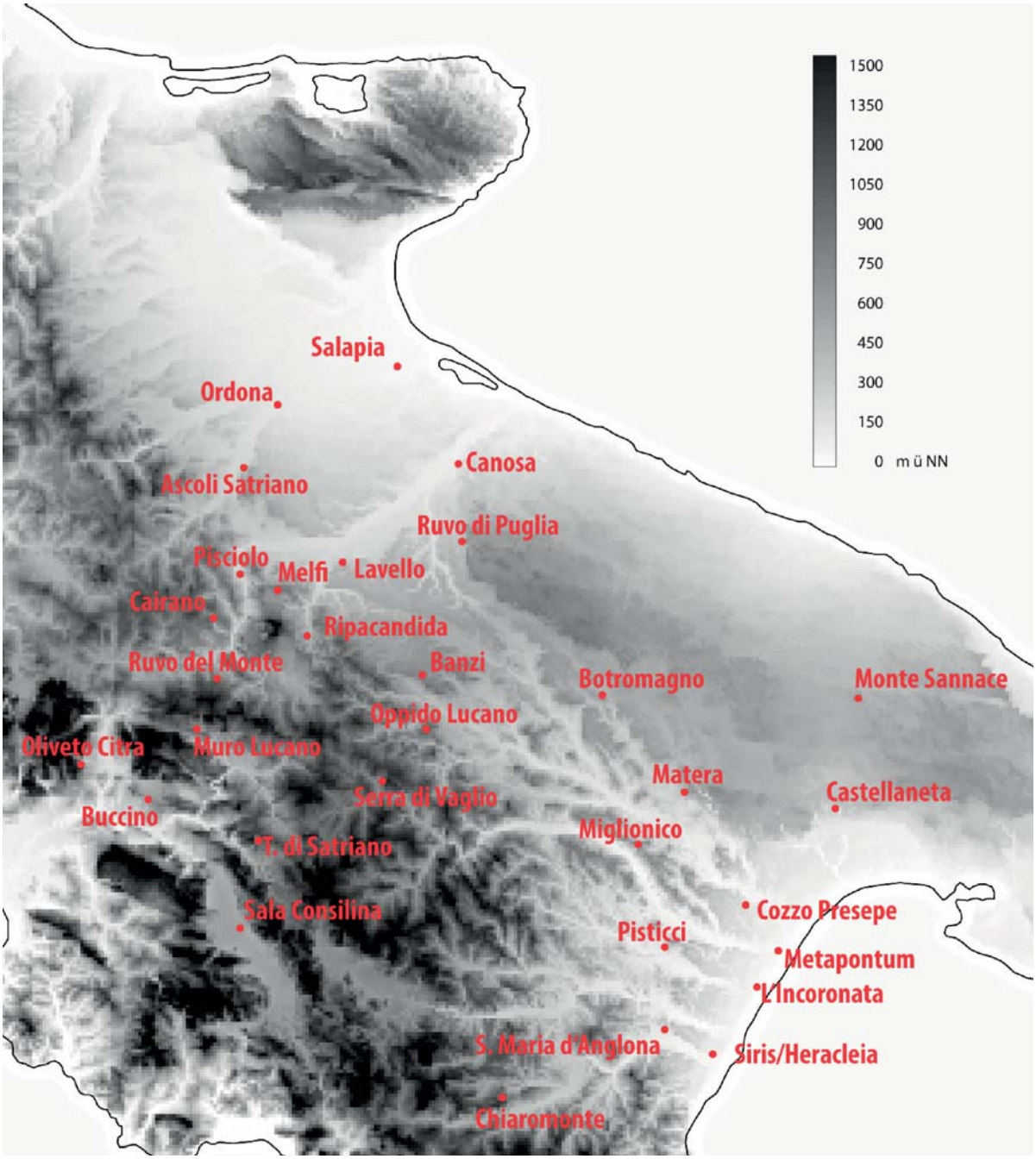

Abb. 1. Karte Süditalien (© Autor).

zu Rate gezogen. Das Beigabenmaterial ist nur sehr bedingt aussagefähig in Bezug auf Altersangaben, nur vereinzelt tauchen in den Gräbern Ripacandidas Miniaturgefäße auf, die einen Hinweis auf das junge Alter des/der Verstorbenen geben könnten.[13] Daher kann für die Geschlechtsbestimmung letztlich allein das funeräre Display bei den einzelnen Bestattungen herangezogen werden. Die Beigaben finden sich aufgereiht an der Seite des Körpers, im Regelfall auf der Seite, zu der Kopf und untere Gliedmaßen gewendet sind: Meist in kanonischer Reihung von oben nach

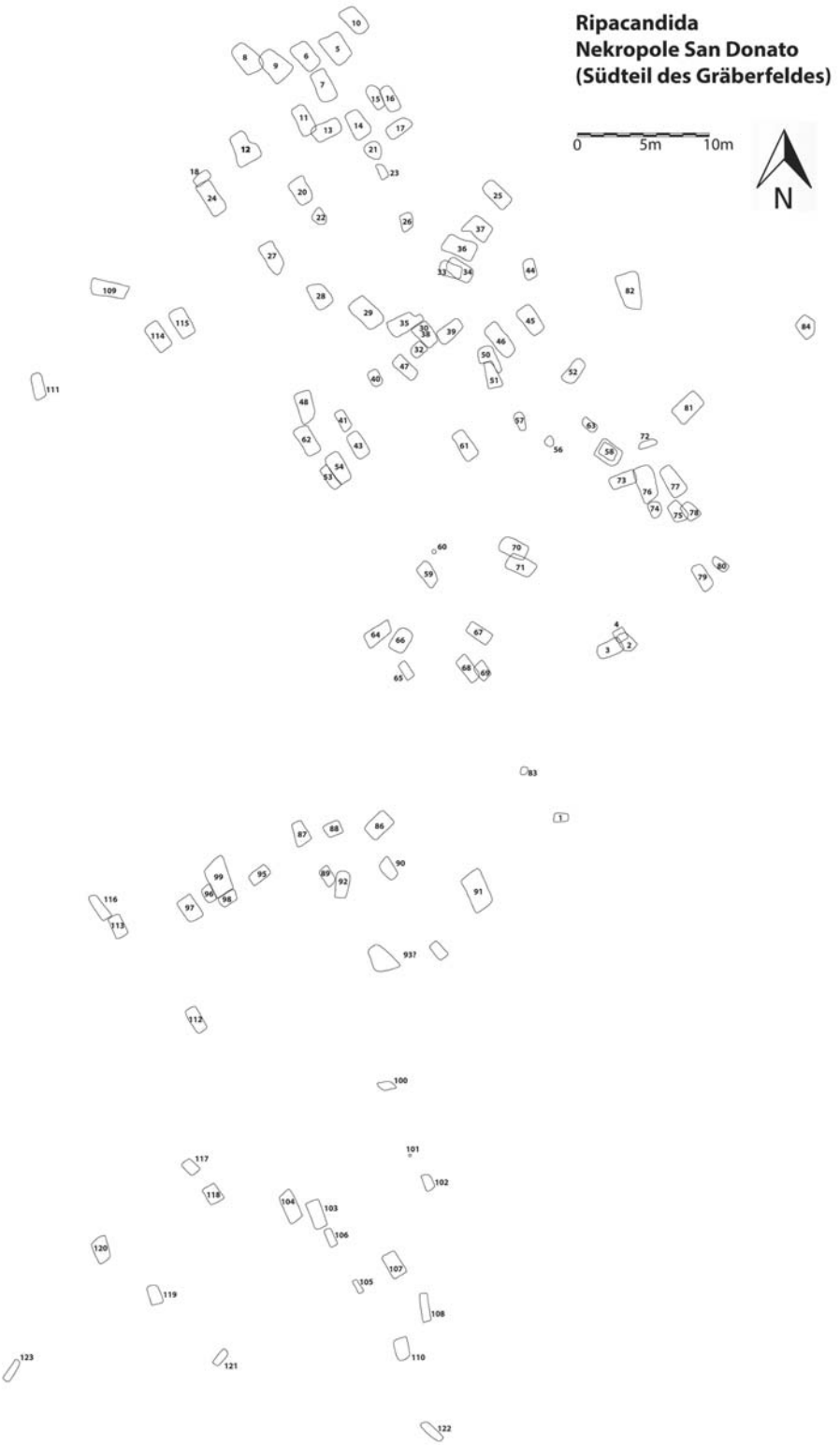

Abb. 2. Plan Südteil der Nekropole (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata/Autor).

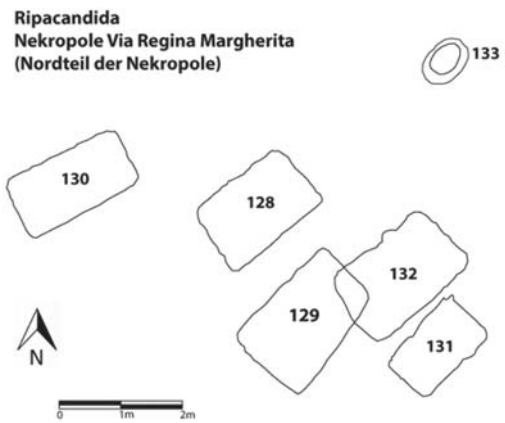

Abb. 3. Plan Nordteil der Nekropole (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata/Autor).

unten ein großes Vorratsgefäß, oft mit kleiner Schöpftasse, dann Kannen und Askoi gefolgt von weiteren Gefäßen, bei denen es sich hauptsächlich um offene Formen von Trink- oder Essgeschirr handelt (*Abb. 6*).

Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die Entscheidung zwischen linker oder rechter Hockerbettung der/des Verstorbenen im Rahmen umfangreicherer Grabriten bewußt von der bestattenden Gemeinschaft gefällt wurde. Da nur eine binäre Wahlmöglichkeit besteht, liegt die Überlegung nahe, dass der primäre Grund für die jeweilige Art der Bettung das Geschlecht war.[14] Wurde dies konsequent im Grabkult artikuliert, so wäre die Totenlage ein besonders naheliegender Geschlechtsindikator. Dies bedarf jedoch kritischer Überprüfung. Aus der Grabungsdokumentation für Ripacandida konnte die ursprüngliche Lage eines Großteils der Toten noch relativ eindeutig identifiziert werden. Bei 68 Bestattungen ließ sich die Lage als linker oder rechter Hocker erkennen: 35 Individuen lagen in rechter, 33 in linker Hockerlage (vgl. *Abb. 4*).

Im Beigabenmaterial der in ihrer Lage bekannten Toten ergeben sich zwischen derjenigen der linken und rechten Hocker viele Gemeinsamkeiten in Hinblick auf die Keramikausstattung. Signifikant sind aber Unterschiede in der Präsenz anderer Objektkategorien (*Abb. 7 und 8*): Schmuck etwa ist bei linken Hockern deutlich häufiger, und nur bei ihnen kommen Fibeln mit bernsteinbesetztem Bügel oder Perlen und Anhänger aus demselben Material vor. Eine besondere Gattung bilden feine silberne Spiralen, die nach ihrer Lage im Schädelbereich linker Hocker als Haarbänder (*fermatrecce*) angesprochen werden können. Außerdem finden sich (vereinzelt) nur bei linken Hockern Textilwerkzeuge (Spinnwirtel, Webgewichte, Nadeln). Die Zeugnisse lokaler bzw. italischer Ikonographie (in Form von Anhängern und indigen- abstrakter figürlicher Motivik auf Erzeugnissen der subgeometrischen Keramiktradition) kommen ebenso in schmuckreichen Gräbern vor. Eine Sonderstellung nehmen fünf rechte Hockergräber des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. ein (*Abb. 9*), die nach genau diesen Prinzipien ausgestattet sind, und auf die noch einzugehen ist. Im Normalfall jedoch zeichnen sich rechte Hockergräber durch eine deutlich weniger umfangreiche Schmuckausstattung aus. Zudem kommen in ihnen keine Zeugnisse für Textilverarbeitung vor. Dagegen bilden Waffen eine häufige Form der Beigabe. In der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle handelt es sich dabei um die Eisenspitzen von Langwaffen, die oft in gedoppelter Form (eine kurze, leichte Speer- und eine längere und schwerere Lanzenspitze) ins Grab mitgegeben wurden.[15] Dazu kommen in seltenen Fällen auch Schwerter, häufiger lange und schwere, leicht sichelförmige Messer.

Übersetzt man dieses lagetypische Beigabenverhalten gemäß heutiger Stereotype in geschlechtliche Zuordnungen, so ist davon auszugehen, dass die Bettung als rechter Hocker Männern (auf die Ausnahmen ist noch einzugehen), die auf der linken Körperseite Frauen vorbehalten war. Dass diese Kategorisierung keine reine ahistorische Rückprojektion darstellt, legt ein Blick auf die indigene, zeitgleiche Ikonographie nahe: Zwar finden sich in Ripacandida selbst nur sehr vereinzelte und wenig aussagekräftige Darstellungen, aber die sog. „daunischen" Steinstelen, deren Verbreitungsgebiet von der nordapulischen Adriaküste bis in den Melfese hinein reichte, tragen figürlich-szenische Ritzverzierungen. Sie geben zu erkennen, dass Männer als Krieger in Erscheinung traten, während Frauen eher mit „haushälterischen" Tätigkeiten assoziiert erscheinen. Interessant ist dabei allerdings, dass die Anzahl „weiblich" konnotierter Stelen („Schmuckstelen") die der „männlich" konnotierten („Waffenstelen") um ein Vielfaches übersteigt.[16]

Die Gräber von Ripacandida sind ungleichmäßig über das Friedhofsareal verteilt und schließen sich räumlich zu mehr oder minder klar definierten Bestattungsgruppen zusammen (*Abb. 10*). Nach gängigem Deutungsmuster spiegeln sich darin Verwandtschaftsgruppen, also durch Blutsverwandt- und Schwägerschaften gebildete und zusammengehaltene Familienverbände, die am ehesten als Haushaltsgemeinschaften zu denken

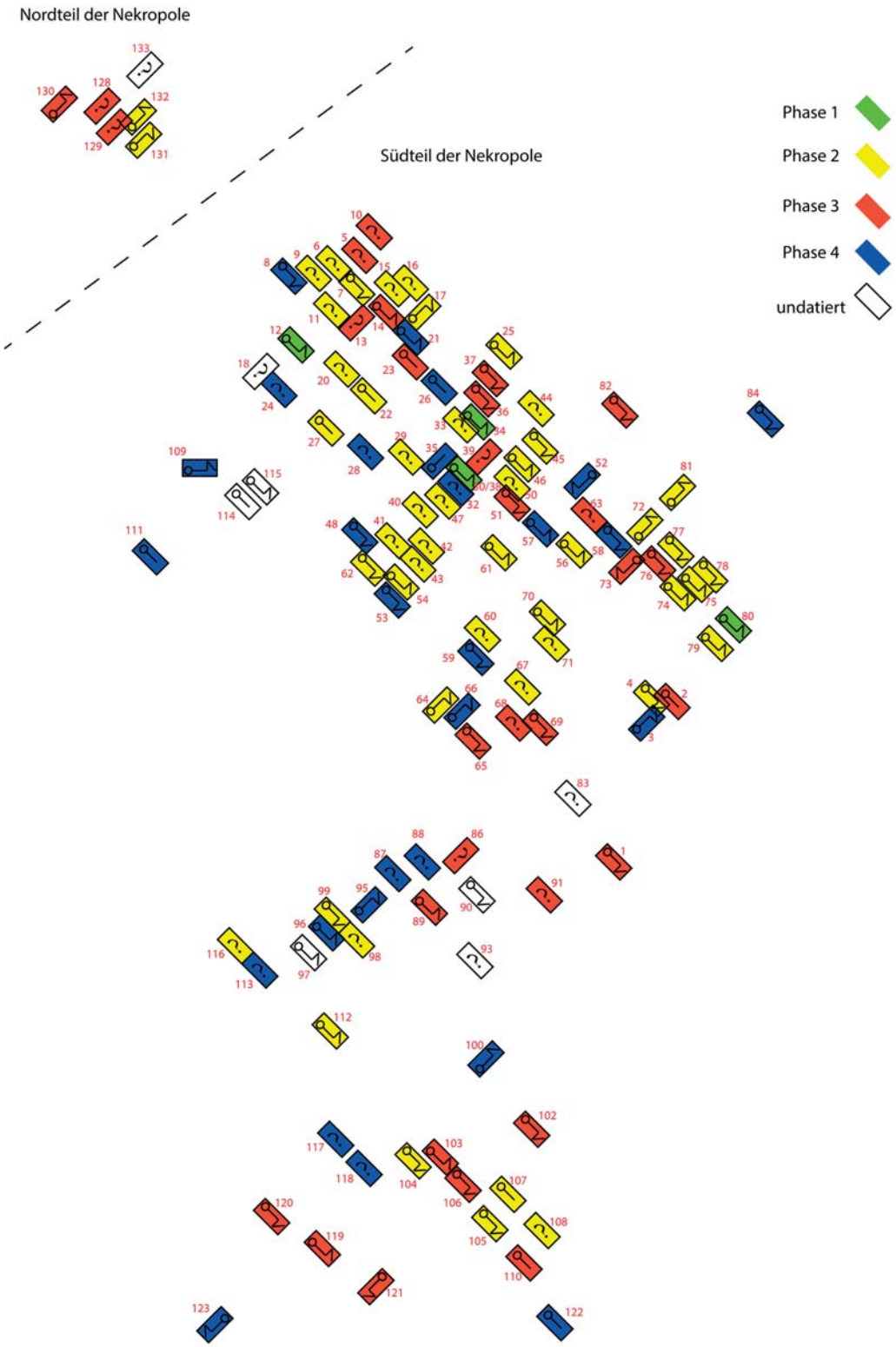

Abb. 4. Schematisierter Phasenplan des Gräberfeldes (Autor).

Abb. 5. Foto Grab 14 (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata).

sind, folglich wohn- und (subsistenz-)wirtschaftlich ein „Haus" bildeten. Tatsächlich zeigt auch der Nekropolenbefund von Ripacandida, dass, soweit rekonstruierbar, in nahezu allen Grabgruppen adulte Individuen beiderlei Geschlechts (Ausnahme: Gruppe M und möglicherweise Gruppe N) bestattet wurden, wobei sehr jung verstorbene Individuen ihren letzten Ruheplatz am Rande (oder sogar außerhalb) der Grabgruppen fanden. Die Lage einiger Bestattungen zueinander läßt zudem vermuten, dass die bestattenden Gruppen im Grabritus besonders enge Verbindungen betonten. Es handelt sich hierbei um die im Folgenden als „Grabpaare" angesprochenen, sowohl parallel nebeneinander als auch in linearer Reihung angelegten Bestattungen.[17]

In Gruppe A finden sich mit Grab 6 und 7 sowie 20 und 22 zwei Grabpaare (Phase 2: 550-500 v.Chr.), die in kurzem Abstand auf einer Linie hintereinander angelegt wurden. Im südlichen („unteren") Grab 7 des erstgenannten Paares wurde als rechter Hocker ein adulter Mann be-

Abb. 6. Beigabenset Grab 31 (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata; Foto N. Figliuolo).

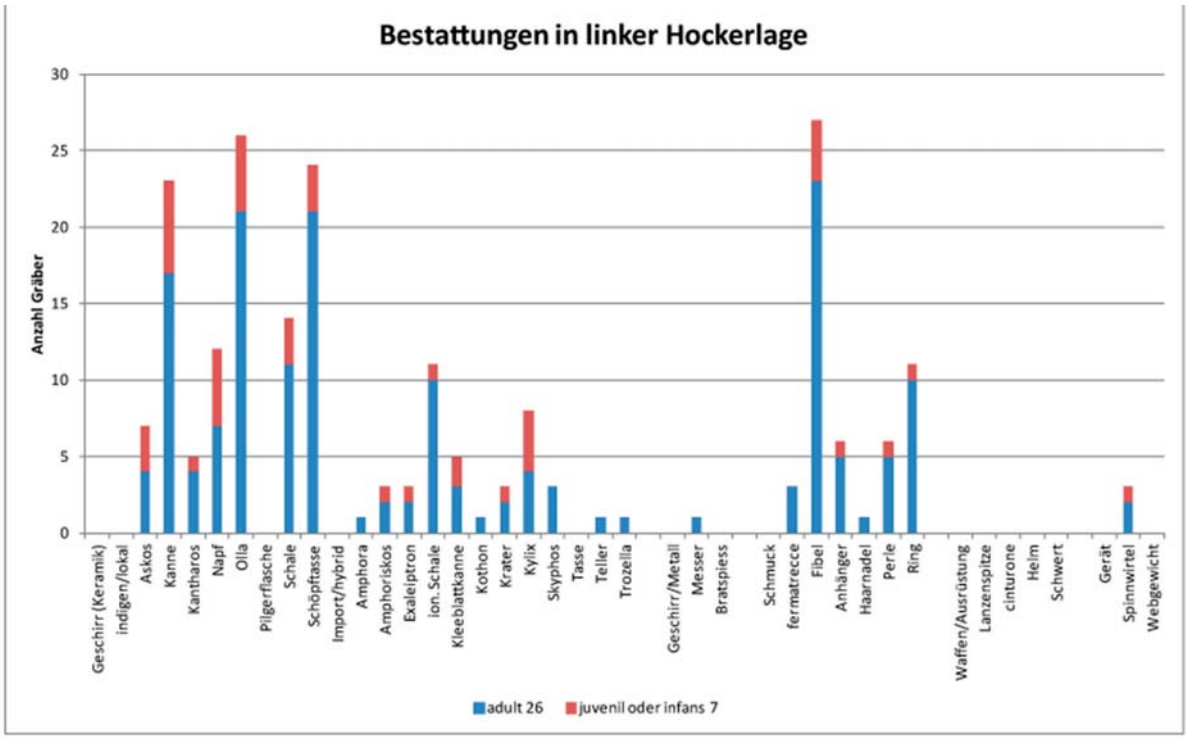

Abb. 7. Diagramm Beigaben linke Hocker (Autor).

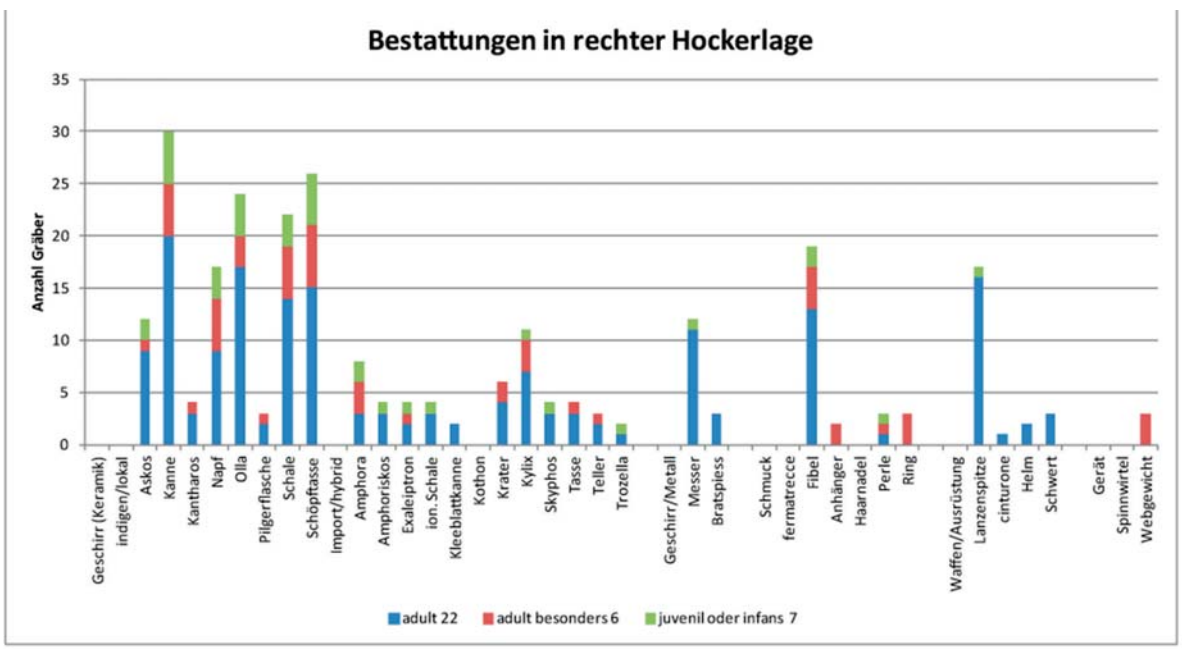

Abb. 8. Diagramm Beigaben rechte Hocker (Autor).

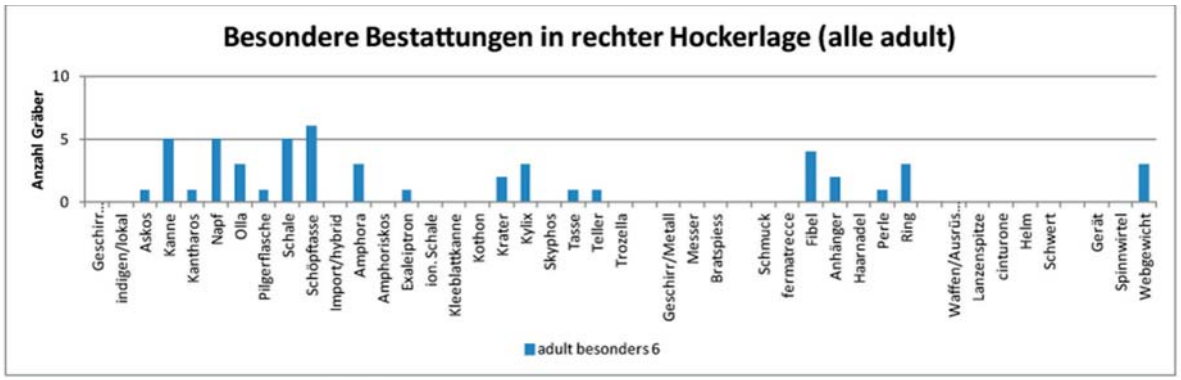

Abb. 9. Diagramm Beigaben „besondere“ rechte Hocker (Autor).

stattet. Im nördlich anschließenden Grab 6 ist die Lage des Skeletts nicht überliefert, allerdings deuten ein Webgewicht und ein gebogenes Grobkeramikfragment (Epinetron?) weibliches Geschlecht an. Beim anderen Grabpaar barg das nördliche Grab 20 die spärlichen Überreste eines Individuums, die dessen ursprüngliche Lage nicht mehr erkennen ließen, jedoch weisen ein langes Messer und eine Speerspitze auf männliches Geschlecht. Bei Grab 22 handelte es sich nach den Skelettresten wahrscheinlich um eine Kinderbestattung. Auch in den kleinen Gruppen D und F (die möglicherweise mit den Gruppen B und C zusammen nur kleine Nuklei einer größeren, alle vier Grabgruppen umfassenden [Verwandtschafts- bzw. Haushalts-]Einheit bilden), wird in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. jeweils ein Grabpaar angelegt. In Grabgruppe D findet sich ein paralleles Paar mit zwei reich ausgestatteten, einander zugewandten Bestattungen. Im westlichen Grab 46 lag ein nach Lage des Leichnams (linker Hocker) und Beigabenausstattung als Frau anzusprechendes Individuum. Ihre Ausstattung ist eine der umfangreichsten auf dem gesamten Bestattungsareal und umfasst neben einem vollständigen Geschirrset mit Askos und Trink- wie Essgeschirr, das neben lokalen Produkten Importe (ionische Schale) und Hybridformen (Olla) beinhaltet, auch zahlreiche akeramische Beigaben, darunter viele Fibeln, Bronzeringe und Glas- wie Bernsteinperlen bzw. -anhänger. Östlich benachbart barg Grab 45 die rechte Hockerbestattung eines mit besonders langer Speerspitze ausgestatteten Mannes, dessen keramisches Beigabenset weniger umfangreich, aber vollständig ist. Erst in Phase 3 (500-450 v.Chr.) wird in Grabgruppe B ein ähnlich reich ausgestattetes paralleles Grabpaar wiederum gemischtgeschlechtlicher Art angelegt. In den Gräbern 36 und 37 liegen nach Zeugnis von Lage und/oder Ausstattung eine erwachsene Frau bzw. ein ebenfalls adulter Mann. In Grab 37 deutet eine Speerspitze das männliche Geschlecht des Verstorbenen an, während in Grab 36 ein sehr reich ausgestatteter rechter Hocker mit Beigaben assoziiert ist, die eher weibliches Geschlecht suggerieren. Im linearen Schema hintereinander fanden sich zwei der in Phase 2 angelegten Gräber der Grabgruppe F. Leider kann wenig über Lage und Alter der Toten in den Gräbern 41 und 43 ausgesagt werden. Beide Bestattungen waren aber mit dem (fast) kanonischen Set aus Olla, Schöpftasse und einem offenen Trinkgefäß versehen. Die Beigabe von Bronzeringen, Bernsteinperlen und *fermatrecce* in Grab 43 deutet auf eine Frauenbestattung hin. Auch in Cluster F und ebenso reich wie das Paar 45/46 in der benachbarten Gruppe D präsentieren sich die Erwachsenengräber 62 und 54, die leicht versetzt „hintereinander“ liegen. Hier handelt es sich wiederum eindeutig um einen Mann (62) und eine Frau (54) in der typischen Bettungslage. Beide waren mit einem nahezu identischen keramischen Basisset bestattet. Reiche Fibel- und Ringtracht mit Bernstein- und Silberanteil (*fermatrecce*) charakterisiert die Frau in Grab 54, ebenso reiche Fibeln und eine volle Waffenausstattung mit Schwert den Mann in Grab 62. Im Zentrum von Grabgruppe E findet sich ein Grabpaar paralleler Anordnung: Die beiden Gräber 75 und 78 liegen leicht versetzt nebeneinander. Bei der westlichen Bestattung in Grab 75 handelt es sich nach der Lage des Leichnams um eine Frau. Sie blickt in Richtung des ihr zugewandten Mannes in Grab 78. In Grabgruppe H werden gleich zu Beginn der Belegungszeit in Phase 2 zwei lineare Grabpaare angelegt. Leider sind alle zugehörigen Bestattungen schlecht dokumentiert. Bei Grab 98 und 99 ist über Alter und Geschlecht der Toten keine Aussage mög-

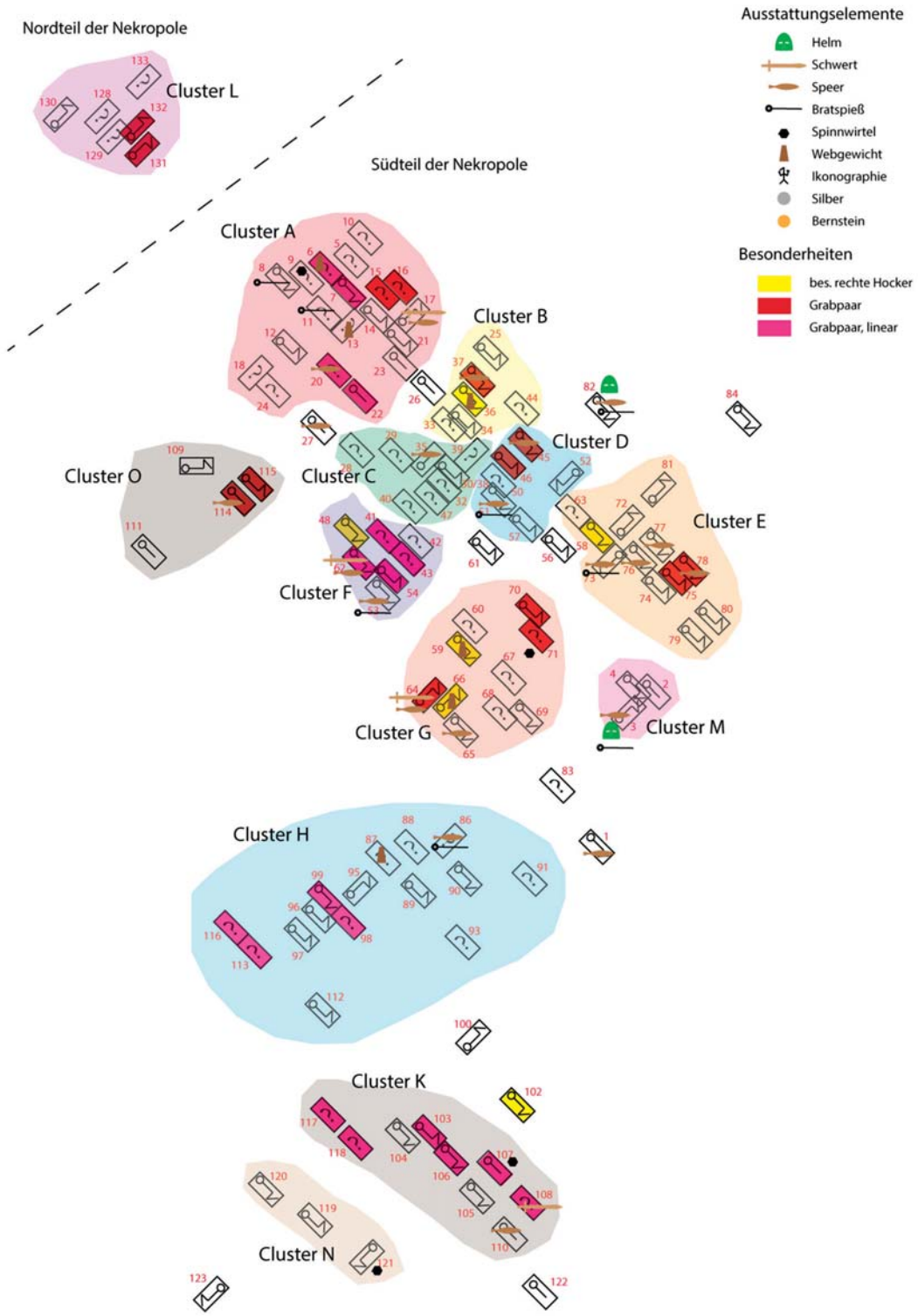

Abb. 10. Schematischer Clusterplan des Gräberfeldes (Autor).

lich. Noch schlechter ist die Befundlage der beiden Gräber 113 und 116, zumal Grab 113 leer aufgefunden wurde und somit unklarer Zeitstellung ist. In der südlichen Grabgruppe K lassen sich im Verlauf des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. gleichfalls Grabpaare nach linearem Muster feststellen. In Phase 3 in den beiden recht einfach ausgestatteten Gräbern 103 und 106 nach Lage der Toten eine Frau (103) und ein Mann (106) bestattet. Erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. und damit in der spätesten Belegungsphase des Gräberfeldes werden in der gleichen Gruppe wiederum linear die beiden Gräber 117 und 118 angelegt. Der Bronzering in Grab 117 lässt vermuten, dass hier eine Frau bestattet war, was die Möglichkeit eröffnet, dass es sich um ein ähnlich wie in Grab 103/106 niedergelegtes Paar handelt.

Angesichts der Alters- und Geschlechtsverteilung der Bestattungen der Grabgruppen ist wahrscheinlich, dass es sich tatsächlich um verwandtschaftlich organisierte Einheiten handelte und die Grabpaare besonders enge personelle Beziehungen innerhalb der Gruppen widerspiegeln. Im Falle der parallel angelegten Gräber scheint es sich regelhaft um gemischtgeschlechtliche Paare zu handeln, was auf eheähnliche Verbindungen hindeutet. Die linear angelegten Gräberpaare sind dagegen schwerer zu deuten. Sie könnten möglicherweise genealogische Verbindungen, aber auch statusbezogene Verhältnisse abbilden.[18] Die paarigen Gräber sind in nahezu allen größeren Gruppen vertreten, und oft gehören sie zu den jeweils ältesten Bestattungen.

Der Befund der Grabbeigaben zeigt den überwiegend regionalen Bezug dieser Verbindungen, dabei können gerade die Beigaben der Grabpaare in Bezug auf ihre Herkunft aber sehr unterschiedlich sein: So ist bei dem Grabpaar 75/78 der Mann in Grab 78 mit lokaler Keramik und eher griechisch beeinflußten Gefäßen ausgestattet, während das Geschirr der Frau in Grab 75 zum überwiegenden Teil aus Werkstätten der weiter westlich produzierten Ruvo-Satriano-Ware stammt. Ebenso zeigt das Geschirr der Männerbestattung in Grab 45 stark indigene Prägung, während die Frau in Grab 46 keramisch deutlich mehr Anleihen im griechischen Bereich aufweist. Bei den parallelen Grabpaaren scheint sich tatsächlich dieser unterschiedliche Bezug fast regelhaft zu finden. Bei dem spätesten Grabpaar dieser Ausrichtung in der dritten Belegungsphase des Friedhofs in Grabgruppe B ist allerdings diese Dichotomie nicht mehr ganz so augenfällig, denn mit viel Streifenware, Imitationen und Importen griechischer Ware sind beide Bestattungen sehr ähnlich ausgestattet, jedoch findet sich im Frauengrab 36 mit einem Askos eindeutig ein Stück lokaler Produktion, während im Männergrab 37 Ruvo-Satriano-Gefäße vorkommen.

Bei den linearen Grabpaaren tritt ein Unterschied zwischen den Geschirrsets nicht so stark hervor. Zwar sind die Bestattungen 70 und 71 in Gruppe G, die beide weibliche Charakteristika aufweisen, recht unterschiedlich, denn während in Frauengrab 70 Keramikerzeugnisse aus dem östlichen, nordapulischen Gebiet überwiegen, war die Bestattung in Grab 71 mit lokalen Produkten und griechisch beeinflußter Streifenware vergesellschaftet. In Grabgruppe A jedoch zeigen die beiden linearen Paare sehr ähnliches Geschirr: Grab 6 und 7 haben beide zumeist lokale Keramikausstattung, und Grabpaar 20/22 ist in beiden Bestattungen komplett indigen geprägt. Die drei linearen Paare in Gruppe K sind ebenfalls eher gleichförmig ausgestattet: Bei Grabpaar 107/108 findet sich in 107 lokal geprägte Keramik, während Grab 108 zwar indigene, jedoch keine lokale Keramik aufwies. Beiden Toten waren aber ionische Schalen mitgegeben worden. Das späteste Paar 117/118 zeigt in beiden Beigabenensembles sehr viele Anlehnungen durch Importe und Imitate an die griechischen Kolonien. Bei dem linearen Paar 103/106 allerdings kommt es zu Unterscheidungen wie bei den nebeneinanderliegenden Bestattungen: Die Frau in Grab 103 hat ein Gefäß aus dem daunischen Bereich im Grab, beim Mann in Grab 106 zeigt die Ruvo-Satriano-Keramik westliche Anlehnungen.

Die Elemente funerären Displays

Die Betrachtung der Herkunft des Beigabenmaterials der Grabpaare soll zu einer generellen Beurteilung der in den Gräbern vertretenen Objekte überleiten.[19] Das keramische Material setzt sich in fast allen Gräbern im Kern aus einem standardisierten Set zusammen, das sich schon in den frühesten Bestattungen regelhaft findet: Es handelt sich um ein Geschirrs aus Großgefäß, Schöpftasse und Kanne sowie meist noch einem offenen Gefäß (vgl. *Abb. 6*). Das in Phase 1 für die ausnahmslos linken Hockerbestattungen gewonnene Bild setzt sich in den folgenden Phasen fort: Das Geschirrset bleibt von der Dreizahl von Großgefäß, Schöpftasse und Kanne bestimmt, dazu kommt meist ein offenes Gefäß, dessen Form variiert. Als neues Element kommt der Askos hinzu, der jedoch nicht kanonisch ist. Er findet sich, wie alle anderen Gefäße, sowohl bei jungen wie auch bei erwachsenen Individuen. Er stellt ein besonders

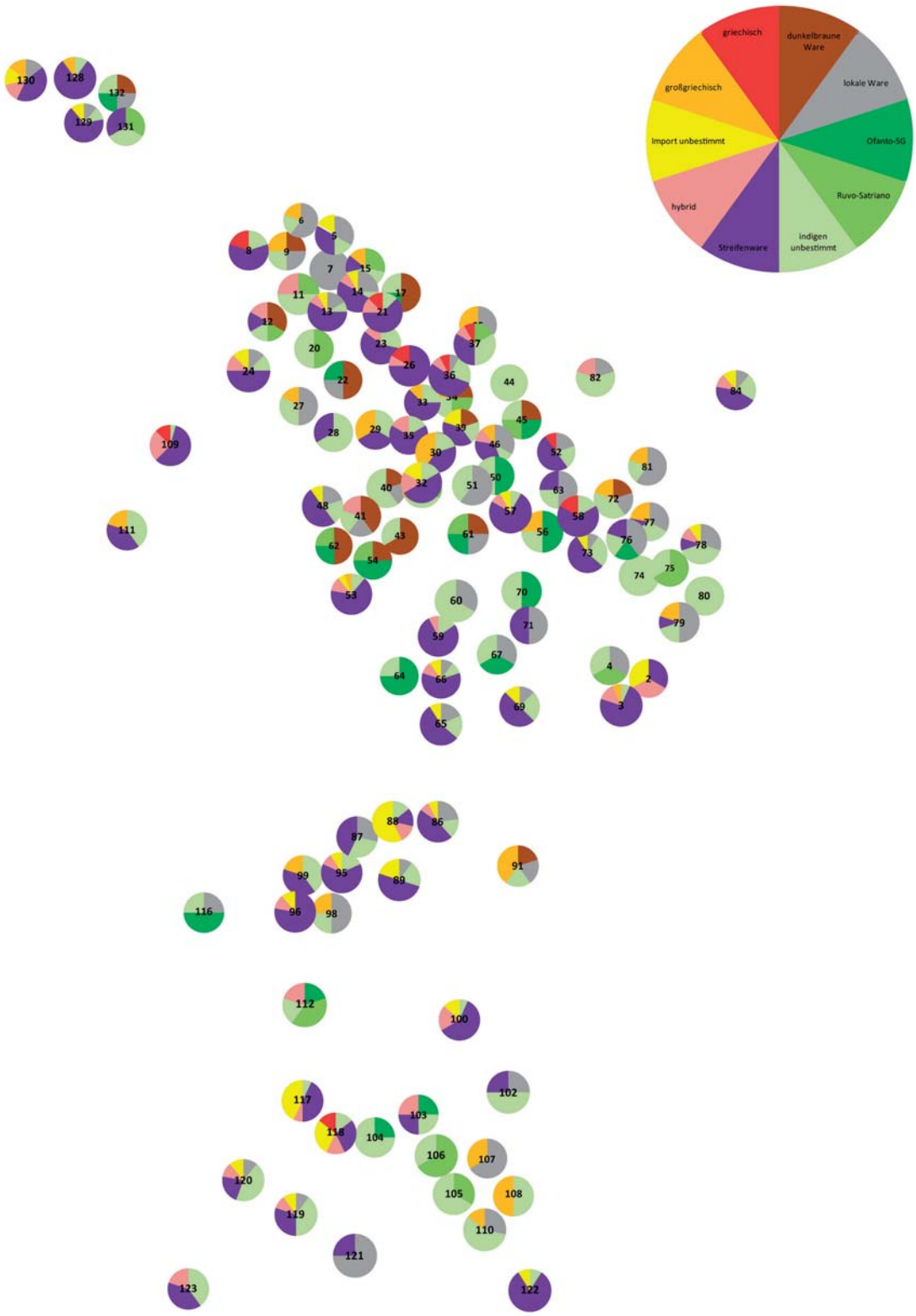

Abb. 11. Verteilung unterschiedlicher Keramikwaren in den Gräbern (Autor).

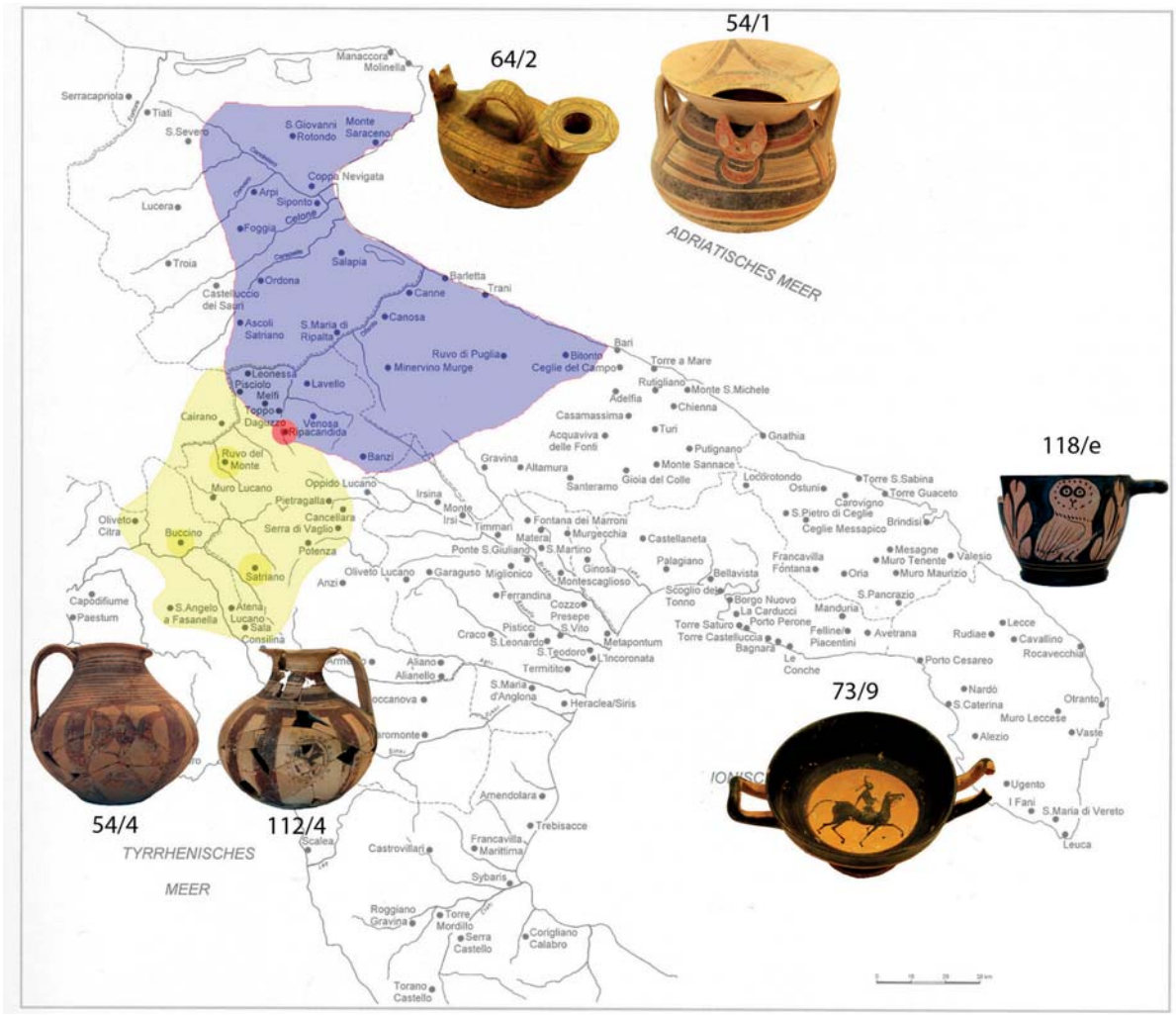

Abb. 12. Herkunftsgebiete unterschiedlicher Warenarten in Ripacandida: Ruvo-Satriano (gelb), Ofanto-Subgeometrisch/„daunisch“ (violett) und griechisch/großgriechisch (Autor, auf Basis von Greiner 2003, 29, Abb. 29).

charakteristisches Produkt der lokalen Keramikwerkstatt dar, die außer diesem Gefäß auch Kannen und in geringerer Zahl Ollae fertigte.[20] Ein Großteil der lokal in die Gräber gegebenen Keramik stammt aber aus dem regionalen Umfeld, vor allem aus dem westlich anschließenden „nordlukanischen“ Gebiet, für das in dieser Zeit die Ruvo-Satriano-Keramik charakteristisch ist, und aus dem östlich gelegenen nordapulisch-„daunischen“ Gebiet (*Abb. 11 und 12*). Schon früh sind Importe oder Imitate griechischer Gefäßformen im Keramikmaterial vertreten, was auf zumindest indirekte Kontakte zum Küstengebiet hinweist. Die ersten Importgefäße sind im 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr. fast ausschließlich Knickrandschalen. Jedoch ist für das 5. Jahrhundert. v.Chr. zu beobachten, dass sich Importe und Imitationen aus dem griechisch geprägten Bereich (ob Festland oder Kolonien) mehren. In der Folge ersetzen Kylikes und Skyphoi die Knickrandschalen und erweitern das Trinkgeschirr. Auch weitere mit Trinkaktivitäten verbundene Formen wie Kratere und Kleeblattkannen werden aus dem griechischen Bereich importiert und lokal imitiert. Dabei verdrängen sie mitunter die traditionellen Formen wohl gleicher Funktion, wie etwa die Kannen regionaler bzw. lokaler Fertigung. Zudem entstehen Hybriden aus funktionell möglicherweise ähnlichen Formen, wie etwa Olla und Krater. Es scheint, dass sie vor allem erwachsenen Individuen vor-

behalten sind, wobei die Geschlechtszuordnung variiert. Hier zeigt sich bereits, dass es problematisch ist, nur aufgrund des Vorkommens griechischer Formen auf die Übernahme griechischer Sitten und der mit ihnen verbundenen Gesellschaftsformen zu schließen - denn beim griechischen Symposion, dem ursprünglichen (oder zumindest „klassischen") Gebrauchskontext des Kraters, waren Frauen nur in Ausnahmefällen beteiligt. In Süditalien lässt dagegen das Beigabenmaterial diesbezüglich keinerlei Unterschiede erkennen. Nach Zeugnis der daunischen Ikonographie sind übrigens Szenen, die mit Produktion, Sammlung und Zubereitung von Essen in Verbindung gebracht werden können, fast gleichmäßig auf Schmuck- und Waffenstelen verteilt.[21] Auch andere, dem griechischen Bereich entlehnte Gefäßformen scheinen sich im süditalischen Gebiet aus dem Grabbefund heraus nicht auf geschlechtlich definierte Gruppen festlegen zu lassen. So zeigt sich etwa bei der Betrachtung des Exaleiptrons,[22] dass dies in Griechenland eher mit dem weiblichen Bereich assoziierte Gefäß für Schminke und andere Toilettenartikel auf der Nekropole von Ripacandida zuerst (in wenigen Gräbern der Phase 3) mit Männern vergesellschaftet ist, dagegen in der letzten Phase der Belegungszeit geschlechterübergreifend ins Grab mitgegeben wurde. Natürlich ist denkbar, dass die Form des Exaleiptrons auch in anderen als den griechischen Kontexten gebraucht werden konnte, etwa bei (prestigeträchtigen gemeinsamen) Mahlzeiten zur Darreichung von parfümiertem Öl, um vor der Verabschiedung der Gäste (analog zu teilweise noch heutigen Zuständen) die Hände zu reinigen.[23]

Die sowohl auf den ersten wie auch auf den zweiten Blick gleiche Verteilung von Tafelgeschirr auf beide Geschlechtergruppen (vgl. *Abb. 7 und 8*) kann als Hinweis darauf gewertet werden, dass Gastfreundschaft bzw. Bewirtung in privatem wie gesellschaftlichem Zusammenhang als zentrale Grundlinie gesellschaftlichen Handelns der süditalisch-archaischen Welt galt, an der beide Geschlechter (gleichberechtigt) teilhatten[24] und die nicht nach griechischer Tradition dem Weinumtrunk unter Männern (zusammen mit Hetären) vorbehalten blieb. Auch lässt sich nicht erkennen, dass es Unterschiede im Zugang zu Importen, insbesondere aus dem griechisch-kolonialen Bereich, gab: Verstorbene beider Geschlechter wurden in dem gleichen Umfang und zur gleichen Zeit mit Importen oder Imitaten von griechischen Gefäßen bestattet. Gleiches scheint auch für die unterschiedlichen Altersstufen zu gelten. Es lässt sich also keine Gruppe ausmachen, die prioritären oder gar exklusiven Zugang zu griechischen Importen hatte.

Die akeramischen Beigaben allerdings zeigen, dass andere Lebensbereiche zwischen den Geschlechtern von unterschiedlichen Tätigkeiten geprägt waren. Die häufige Waffenbeigabe in rechten Hockergräbern legt die Rolle der Männer als Beschützer (etwa von Familie und Hab und Gut) nahe – als klare Kampfwaffen können allein Schwerter, die aber nur sehr vereinzelt auftreten, angesprochen werden. Zusätzlich zu Wehrhaftigkeit und Schutz können die Speere auch einen jägerischen Aspekt andeuten (obwohl bemerkenswerterweise Schusswaffen wie Pfeil und Bogen, die insgesamt im indigen-archaischen Kontext selten sind, auch in Ripacandida gänzlich fehlen). Die nur in Waffengräbern vorgefundenen großen Messer und Bratspieße verweisen darauf, dass Schlachtung und Fleischzubereitung dieser Gruppe zukam. Die zusammen niedergelegten Helme und *cinturoni* (beide ohne praktische Funktion) dagegen besaßen vor allem repräsentativen bzw. symbolischen Charakter. Festzuhalten ist nochmals (vgl. Schemata *Abb. 13 und 14*), dass sich Schwerter (die zumindest potenziell funktionell sind) und Helm und Gürtel in Ripacandida in ihrem Vorkommen gegenseitig ausschließen. Allerdings kann aufgrund des vorliegenden Befundes nicht ganz eindeutig gesagt werden, ob es eine soziale Unterscheidung zwischen Helm- und Schwertträgern gab, etwa im Sinne von: Helmträger genossen einen höheren Status und/oder waren älter oder jünger als die Schwertträger, weil sie meist mit mindestens ebenso reichen Beigaben wie die Schwertträger vergesellschaftet waren, also selbst noch Waffenträgerstatus innehatten, allerdings „nur" in Form von Langwaffen wie Speer und/oder Lanze.[25] Im Gegensatz zu den linken Hockerbestattungen (Frauen) lassen sich außer den Waffenbeigaben bei den rechten Hockern keine weiteren Merkmale ausmachen, die sie auszeichnen. Wieder zeigen sich Parallelen in der indigenen Ikonographie der daunischen Stelen: Auch hier sind männliche Tätigkeiten auf ein beschränkteres Spektrum festgelegt, das sich vor allem um Jagd, Krieg und Reit- und Kriegsspiel dreht und auf Waffen- genauso wie auf Schmuckstelen vorkommt. Ausschließlich auf Waffenstelen finden sich nur Turnier- und Wagenszenen, die deutlich einen elitären Habitus formulieren.[26]

Bei den weiblichen linken Hockerbestattungen haben sich nur wenige funktional klar benennbare Gegenstände erhalten. Ein Schwerpunkt liegt eindeutig auf der Ausstattung mit diversen

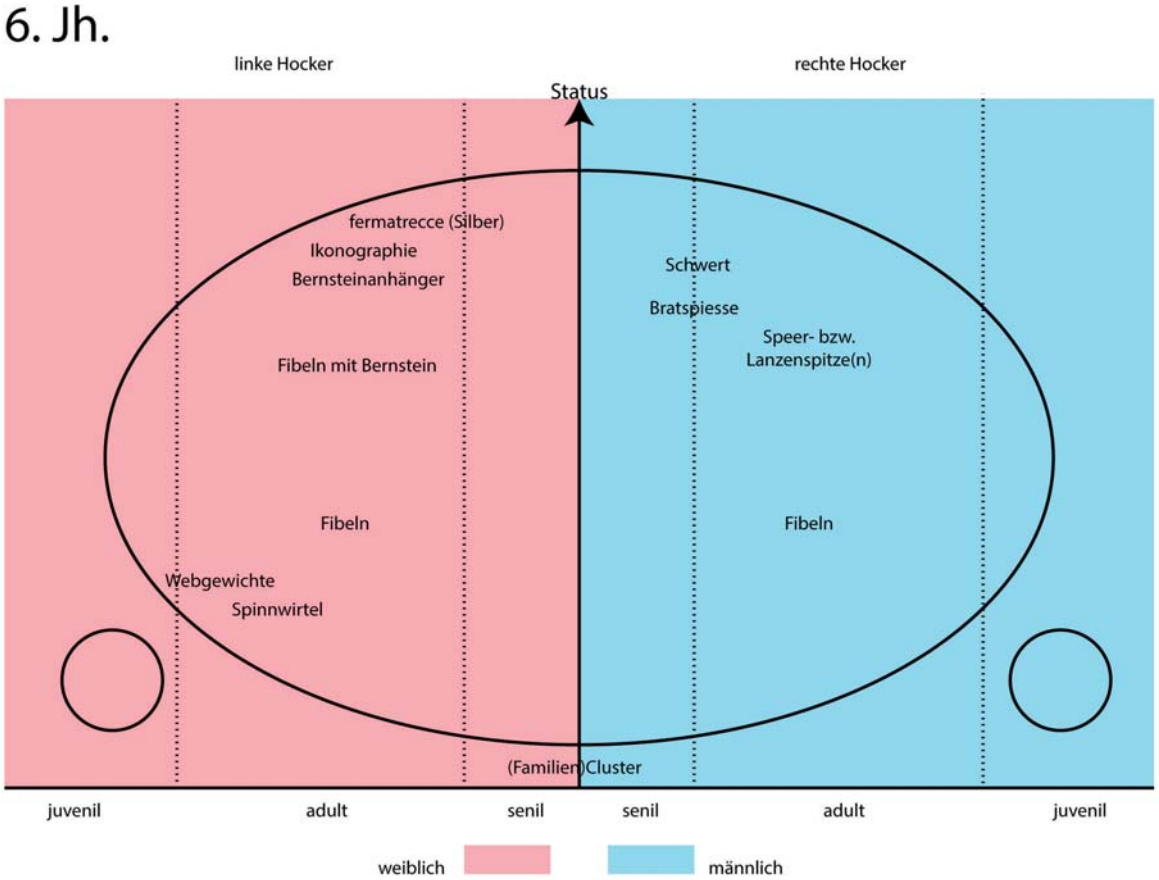

Abb. 13. Schema Beigaben-Sozialstruktur, 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr. (Autor).

Schmuckelementen. Dazu zählt eine reiche Fibeltracht, zu der insbesondere große Eisenfibeln gehören, deren Bügel und Fußende mit Bernstein verkleidet sind. Bis auf die prächtigen Bernstein- und in vereinzelten Fällen Silberfibeln sowie die generell etwas umfangreichere Ausstattung lassen sich aber keine Unterschiede zwischen Männern und Frauen ausmachen.[27] Es scheint in Ripacandida also keine geschlechtlich bedingte Präferenz für unterschiedliche Fibeltypen feststellbar zu sein, wie dies auf anderen italischen Friedhöfen beobachtet werden konnte.[28] Auch das auf mittelitalischen Nekropolen wie Osteria dell'Osa und Quattro Fontanili (8. Jahrhundert v.Chr.) in Veji belegte Phänomen der Zunahme der Fibelanzahl mit dem Alter der verstorbenen Frauen (allerdings nur bis zu einem Alter von maximal 50 Jahren, also wohl etwa bis zur Menopause, während die Ausstattung älterer Frauen dagegen abnimmt)[29] kann in Ripacandida aufgrund der fehlenden anthropologischen Untersuchungen nicht nachvollzogen werden.[30] Hier sind deshalb Fibeln nur bedingt als Identitätsmerkmale auswertbar.[31]

Andere Materialgruppen jedoch sind in Ripacandida klar dem weiblichen Bereich zuzuordnen. Die feinen silbernen Haarspiralen und die großen, teilweise fein verzierten Fibeln aus demselben Material waren adulten Frauen vorbehalten.[32] Sie scheinen eher Statusfunktion gehabt zu haben - dies wird durch die Tatsache nahegelegt, dass sowohl *fermatrecce* als auch die großen Silberfibeln keine archäologisch erkennbare weitergehende Konnotation tragen. Insbesondere letztere scheinen reine Zeichen gehobenen Lebensstandards zu sein (sie tauchen nur in zwei Gräbern auf), während erstere möglicherweise weitere Bedeutungen haben könnten, zumal sie deutlich häufiger als Ausstattungsmerkmal erscheinen. Allerdings verlieren die silbernen Haarbänder im 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. ihre Bedeutung. Auch eine umfangreiche Ringtracht in Form von Arm- und

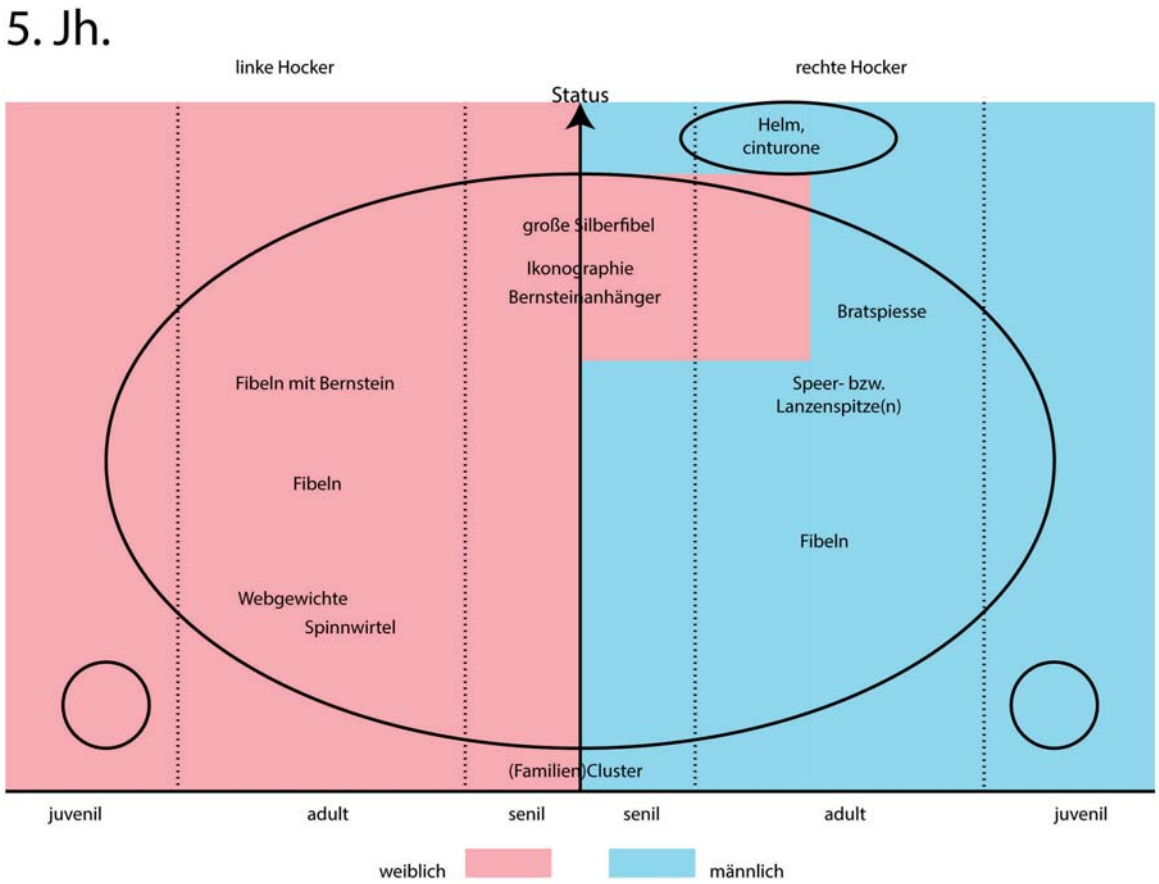

Abb. 14. Schema Beigaben-Sozialstruktur, 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. (Autor).

Hängeringen scheint Statusunterschiede insbesondere in Hinsicht auf die soziale Stellung zu artikulieren und besonders hervorgehobene weibliche Individuen zu kennzeichnen. So sind auch die ältesten Gräber der „Gründerinnen" der größten und zentralen Grabgruppen überwiegend recht reich ausgestattete Frauen mit Silber- und Ringtracht, besonders die drei nördlicheren Bestattungen 12, 34 und 38.

Rückschlüsse auf Struktur und Identitäten der lokalen Gruppe von Ripacandida

Grundlegend scheint nahezuliegen, dass aufgrund der räumlichen Zusammenstellung der Gräber in Grabgruppen mit Individuen unterschiedlichen Alters und Geschlechts die Zugehörigkeit zu einer entlang verwandtschaftlicher Bindungen organisierten Gruppe einen wichtigen Teil der individuellen, sicher aber der kollektiven Gruppenidentität ausmachte. Sowohl Prozesse wie Inklusion (innerer Zusammenhalt der Gruppen) als auch Exklusion (gegenseitige Abgrenzung) scheinen eine Rolle gespielt zu haben, denn die Grabgruppen setzen sich in unterschiedlichem Maß voneinander ab - während Gruppen wie A, E und G relativ klar umrissen erscheinen, wirken die zentralen Gruppen B, C, D und F so eng miteinander verwoben, dass die Grenzen zu verschwimmen scheinen und dementsprechend möglicherweise auch die sozialen Bindungen dieser Kleingruppen recht eng waren.

Innerhalb der Grabgruppen deuten die paarigen Gräber an, dass unterhalb der Ebene des „Haushaltes" noch weitere und wahrscheinlich engere persönliche Bindungen zwischen Einzelindividuen bestanden haben. Dabei könnte es sich bei den parallelen Grabpaaren aufgrund des unterschiedlichen Geschlechts der Verstorbenen um eheähnliche Gemeinschaften gehandelt haben, die den Kern einer Familiengruppe darstellen. In jedem Falle spielten diese Verbindungen im

Bewußtsein der bestattenden Gruppe eine so wichtige Rolle, dass dieser Zusammenhang auch in der Bestattung materialisiert wurde. Auffällig ist die Beobachtung, dass pro Gruppe jeweils maximal ein Paar nebeneinanderliegender paariger Gräber vorkommt. Diese Paare (mit der Ausnahme von 36/37 in Gruppe B) wurden nur in der zweiten Belegungsphase der Nekropole angelegt. Eine mögliche Interpretation dieses Befundes ist, dass es jeweils nur eine eheähnliche Beziehung pro Grabgruppe gab. Dies scheint allerdings wenig einleuchtend. Mit Blick auf die zeitliche Entwicklung der lokalen Grabsitten und der Bildung von Grabpaaren ließe sich allerdings noch eine andere These formulieren: Das spätere Fehlen dieser parallelen Grabpaare könnte als Hinweis auf eine graduelle Veränderung der familiären Strukturen in der lokalen Gemeinschaft hindeuten, zumal ab dem 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. als neue Entwicklung „besondere" rechte Hockerbestattungen und die isoliert liegenden Gräber von Helm- und Wehrgurtträgern sowie auch reicher Schmuckträger (102) angelegt werden, die aus dem ursprünglichen sozialen Gefüge herausragen.

Über die Familiengruppen hinaus lassen sich weitere Aussagen über die Struktur und Identitäten der Bevölkerung Ripacandidas nur über die den Toten mitgegebenen Beigaben erschließen. Zuallererst ist festzustellen, dass allein die Existenz einer Beigabensitte auf gewisse Jenseitsvorstellungen bzw. -hoffnungen schließen lassen. Dass die Zusammenstellung der Objekte dabei recht einheitlich, fast kanonisiert erscheint, deutet auf Vorstellungen hin, die von der gesamten Gemeinschaft geteilt wurden. Zudem lassen sich anhand der Beigaben Vermutungen über die Aufgabenverteilung in der lokalen Gemeinschaft anstellen: Zumindest manche Frauen übten innerhalb der relativ kleinen Familiengruppen als spezialisierte handwerkliche Tätigkeit Textilherstellung aus. Darauf deuten die klar identifizierbaren Objekte wie Webgewichte und Spinnwirtel hin. Aber auch pyramidenstumpfförmige Anhänger als möglicherweise symbolische Webgewichte und solche rätselhaften Objekte wie die beiden „Tüllenspitzen" 46/h und 46/dc (*Abb. 15*), die aus einem reich ausgestatteten Grab stammen und vielleicht als Fuß von Spinnrocken angesprochen werden können,[33] sind unter Umständen diesem Bereich zuzuordnen. Darüber hinaus waren Frauen aber wahrscheinlich auch diejenigen, die für die transzendente Ebene zuständig waren, also für den spirituell-heilerischen Schutzaspekt der Gemeinschaft. Darauf deutet zumindest ihre Vereinnahmung der einheimischen Ikonographie und die möglicherweise über den reinen Schmuckwert hinausgehende Nutzung der exotischen Materialen Silber und Bernstein - letzterem wurden und werden bis in die Gegenwart „magische" Fähigkeiten zugesprochen.[34] Auf eine besondere Rolle von

Abb. 15. Tüllenspitzen aus Grab 46 (Fotos Autor).

Frauen im kultischen Leben der archaisch-süditalischen Gemeinschaften (und die Verbindung von Weben und Kult, s. den Befund auf dem Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima)[35] deutet auch die Tatsache hin, dass einer der populärsten griechischen Importkulte Süditaliens der Demeter galt und stark von Priesterinnen dominiert wurde.[36] In manchen Fällen, insbesondere im 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr., scheinen Frauen auch durch die rechte Hockerbestattung mit gewissen männlichen Assoziationen belegt worden zu sein, was vielleicht den Aspekt als Familienoberhaupt betonen soll - wobei dies implizieren würde, dass diese Rolle ansonsten nur Männern zugekommen ist. Das würde aber auch bedeuten, dass im Grundsatz die Gesellschaft so flexibel und offen war, dass ein solches Phänomen überhaupt Gestalt annehmen konnte, was für einen grundlegend egalitären Charakter der örtlichen Gemeinschaft spricht.

Kleinkinder sind zwar Teil der Familiengruppen, werden aber in der Regel am Rande der Cluster bestattet und damit auch räumlich an den Rand der Familie gerückt. Zwar scheinen sie recht früh, möglicherweise deutlich vor dem Eintritt in die Pubertät, auch an die klassischen Genderrollen herangeführt zu werden, sind jedoch auch in Hinblick auf das Bestattungsbrauchtum noch nicht vollwertige Familienmitglieder. Der Nachweis für erblichen Status fällt schwer, denn keines der juvenilen Individuen ist in massiver Weise von seinen Altersgenossen abgehoben bestattet worden.[37] Greise dagegen scheinen weiterhin in den Clustern bestattet worden zu sein. Zwar ist ohne anthropologische Untersuchungen der Nachweis für hohes Alter problematisch, aber insbesondere in den Gräbern 8 und 11, beide in Cluster A, könnten die Beigaben darauf hindeuten: Beide Gräber weisen jeweils ein Standardset an Gefäßen auf, wobei Grab 8 das einzige Bronzegefäß der Nekropole (in Form einer *scodella*) enthielt, und Grab 11 eine Bronzereibe[38] und eines der großen, *machaira*-artigen Messer. In beiden Gräbern fanden sich außerdem eiserne Bratspieße, die in Ripacandida sonst Waffengräbern vorbehalten sind. In beiden Gräbern liegt also eine Betonung auf der Zubereitung bzw. dem Konsum gehobener Nahrungsmittel. Möglicherweise ist bei diesen Toten, die Teil desselben Familienclusters sind, vorstellbar, dass die eigentlich mit Waffenträgern verbundenen Bratspieße hier Ex-Waffenträgerstatus andeuten, also ältere Männer, die ihre soziale Identität durch den altersbedingten Verlust ihrer Kriegerrolle verändert haben. Der Reduzierung möglicher ursprünglicher Aufgabengebiete im Alter mag auch entsprechen, dass in beiden Gräbern nur jeweils ein „Kerngeschirr" enthalten ist und nicht wie bei anderen adulten Bestattungen ein deutlich umfangreicheres Set, das in seinen gedoppelten oder sogar vervielfachten Keramikformen die Bedürfnisse einer Einzelperson übersteigt und somit auf über den Grabinhaber hinausgehende Bewirtungspflichten hindeuten mag - diesen Pflichten scheinen die (greisen) Männer in Grab 8 und 11 enthoben zu sein.

Der primäre Bezugspunkt und damit der wichtigste Teil der Identität aller Gemeinschaftsmitglieder war nach Ausweis der Gräber ihre Kernfamilie. Es ist anzunehmen, dass geschlechtstypische Rollenbilder vorgelebt und damit vorgeprägt und Kinder und Jugendliche an spätere Aufgaben herangeführt wurden. Die geschlechtliche Dichotomie, in der Frauen auf ihrer linken, Männer auf ihrer rechten Körperseite in gehockter Stellung gebettet werden, wird wahrscheinlich schon bei den subadulten Individuen angewandt, kann aber mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit erst bei Erwachsenenbestattungen, deren Beigabenausstattungen umfangreicher und um diagnostische Merkmale erweitert sind, postuliert werden. Erst im Erwachsenenalter manifestieren sich überfamiliäre Gemeinsamkeiten in den Grabbeigaben, die offensichtlich vor allem entlang von geschlechtlich bestimmten Linien definiert sind. In Abbildung 13 und 14 sind zwei Schemata zusammengestellt, in denen sich die Verortung der Toten innerhalb von Grabgruppen, ihr Alter und die charakteristischen Merkmale und Beigaben der Gräber in ihrer Zusammenstellung finden. Es zeigt sich auf der einen Seite, dass sich die wahrscheinlich männlichen Attribute zu einer relativ engen Gruppe ordnen lassen, die weiblichen primären Merkmale hingegen sich deutlich weiter auffächern.[39]

Diachrone Entwicklungen und Fazit

Eine Rekonstruktion der gesellschaftlichen Struktur von Ripacandida kann angesichts des fragmentarischen Befundes nur in hohem Maße Spekulation sein. Trotzdem soll hier ein Versuch gewagt werden. Generell ist angesichts der in den Gräbern von Ripacandida zahlreich vertretenen (Keramik-)Produkten aus benachbarten Regionen und aus dem griechisch besetzten Küstenbereich eine deutliche Bereitschaft zur Annahme äußerer Einflüsse feststellbar (vgl. *Abb. 11 und 12*). In diesem Sinne würde diese lokale Gemeinschaft zu den sog. „offenen", dynamischen Gesellschaften zählen.[40] Neben der aktiven Annahme verschiedener Einflüsse findet eine solche Dyna-

mik ihren vielsagendsten Ausdruck in der Interaktion mit anderen Komponenten (etwa die lokale „Hybridisierung" von Gefäßformen), deren Integration und internen Wettstreit[41] - letzterer ist allerdings archäologisch in Ripacandida kaum nachweisbar. Generell scheint die interne Organisation der Gesellschaft von egalitären Prinzipien geleitet worden zu sein, in denen es zu einer zeitlich begrenzten und situationsbedingten Übergabe von (familiärer) Autorität an Personen, die auf irgendeine Weise besonders qualifiziert sind (i.e. durch Alter, Erfahrung, Stärke, Charisma etc.), kommt. Darauf deutet die Tatsache hin, dass eine klare Hierarchie an den Befunden des Friedhofs nicht ablesbar ist. Dazu fehlen klar benennbare Zeichen und der Befund ist zu heterogen, so dass in keiner Phase deutliche, möglicherweise vererbbare Statusindikatoren festgestellt werden können. Was sich jedoch abzeichnet ist die Organisation in Abstammungs- bzw. Verwandtschaftsgruppen, in denen jeweils bestimmte Mitglieder unterschiedliche Aufgaben wie Weben, Spinnen, spirituelle Autorität (Frauen) und Schutz, Jagd, Krieg (Männer) übernahmen und in denen möglicherweise Konzepte wie Ehe und enge Blutsverwandtschaft eine Rolle spielten.

Auf der Mikroebene waren die Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft von Ripacandida demnach in einem familienbasierten, eher egalitären Sozialwesen zusammengeschlossen. Auf der Makroebene jedoch waren sie sicherlich in ein größeres Gesellschaftssystem eingebunden. Diese größeren Sozialeinheiten, von deren Existenz die antiken Autoren für diese Zeit und Region berichten,[42] scheinen nach deren Aufzeichnungen primär auf der Grundlage von Stammeszugehörigkeit organisiert gewesen zu sein. Dazu kommen Aussagen, die von der Existenz von „Königen" dieser Stämme sprechen.[43] Zur Beschreibung von größeren Gesellschaftsgruppen wurden in den Sozialwissenschaften und der Archäologie immer wieder die von Elman Service erstellten Kategorien angewandt.[44] Möglicherweise bewegten sich die indigenen Gesellschaften des archaischen Südostitalien in dieser Periode zwischen dem, was in der soziologischen Forschung nach Service als Stamm (bzw. segmentierte Gesellschaft) und was als Häuptlingstum beschrieben wird[45] - d.h. dass lokale Gruppen intern noch eher nach Services Stammesprinzipien organisiert waren, aber überregional schon eine klare Hierarchie vorhanden war, die sich nach Service als *chiefdom society* bzw. Häuptlingstum bezeichnen lässt. Allerdings ist zu beachten, dass Services Einteilungen als erste Kategorien zwar hilfreich, aber sicherlich in vielen Aspekten zu starr bzw. grob sind (und in ihren Aussagen über Wirtschaftsweise etc. in den einzelnen Gesellschaftsformen zu spezifisch), um die Situationen in jeder möglichen Gesellschaft zu beschreiben.

In Services Definition grenzen sich *chiefdom societies* von Stämmen vor allem durch eine deutliche Hierarchie ab, die sich im sozialen Status der Gesellschaftsmitglieder niederschlägt. Dieser Status beruht auf einer in der Regel familien- bzw. abstammungsgruppengebundenen Zugehörigkeit. Dass Abstammung ein wichtiges Kernkonzept auch im Melfese-Gebiet war, deuten die Befunde von Ripacandida an. Wahrscheinlich ist, dass es wie in anderen Häuptlingstümern auch im größeren regionalen Umkreis Südostitaliens besonders mächtige, durch soziales Prestige herausgehobene Familiengruppen (*lineages*) gab, die überregional die Gesellschaft dominierten und deren Oberhaupt auch dem gesamten Stamm vorstand. Zwar wären in einem solchen System Status und Rang einer *lineage* bestimmt durch die Nähe der Beziehung zu diesem Oberhaupt; um eine Klasseneinteilung handelt es sich dabei jedoch noch nicht. In der Sozialwissenschaft wird die Größe solcher Gesellschaften meist mit zwischen 5.000 und 20.000 Mitgliedern veranschlagt, was für den Untersuchungsraum nicht unwahrscheinlich scheint.[46] In diesem Sinne könnte es sich bei der eher egalitär wirkenden Organisation der Gemeinschaft von Ripacandida um ein Subsegment einer größeren, als Häuptlingstum organisierten Gesellschaft handeln. Gerade auf der Mikroebene in den kleineren, lokalen Einheiten sind in solchen Sozialwesen typischerweise ältere Individuen mit größerer Autorität als die jüngeren ausgestattet, während generell eine egalitäre Ordnung vorherrscht, in der auch Frauen eine wichtige Rolle einnehmen.

Aus den beiden Diagrammen Abbildung 13 und 14 wird allerdings deutlich, dass sich im Laufe der Belegungszeit des Friedhofs bestimmte Verschiebungen in der Anlage der Grabgruppen und deren Belegung ergeben. Deshalb sollen die beobachtbaren Merkmale der örtlichen Niederlegungsprinzipien hier nochmals skizziert und zusammengefasst werden: In der ersten Phase des Gräberfeldes (Ende 7./erste Hälfte 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr.) erscheinen die vier Frauenbestattungen in der lokalen Struktur des Friedhofs als reich ausgestattete „Familiengründerinnen". Die mit verhältnismäßig vielen Gewandnadeln und anderem Schmuck wie Ringen, Haarspiralen und Anhängern geschmückten Grablegen verdeutlichen die Bedeutung und das soziale Ansehen dieser Personen. Erst ab der zweiten Hälfte des 6.

Jahrhunderts v.Chr. sind erstmals Männergräber auf der Nekropole von Ripacandida nachweisbar. Nun kommt es zur Anlage nebeneinanderliegender (paralleler) paariger Gräber, die eine vielleicht eheähnliche Partnerschaft zwischen den beiden Individuen, regelhaft jeweils ein Mann und eine Frau, zum Ausdruck bringen. Oft sind in diesen paarigen Gräbern beide Individuen verhältnismäßig umfangreich ausgestattet, was darauf hindeutet, dass die Gemeinschaft dieser Verbindung und den beiden beteiligten Personen eine hohe Bedeutung zumaß. Im 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr. war in dieser kleinen lokalen Gemeinschaft die Kernfamilie das fest verankerte und das Grundprinzip gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens und sozialer Organisation bestimmende Element. Möglicherweise ließe sich diese Organisationsform in etwa mit dem von Otto Brunner 1966 skizzierten vormodernen Gesellschaftsmodell des „ganzen Hauses" parallelisieren:[47] Ihm gehören alle Personen eines Haushaltes an, die der Gewalt eines Familienoberhauptes (meist Mann) unterstanden (neben Verwandten auch sonstige Hausgenossen wie etwa Bedienstete; alle „Inwohner", zu denen auch Greise gehörten). Dieses Oberhaupt ist nach außen für den Haushalt zuständig und dessen Beschützer. Haushalt und Wirtschaftsbereich bzw. Arbeit bildeten eine klare Einheit und waren eng miteinander verwoben. In dieser Hausgemeinschaft wurden auch alle (relevanten) pädagogischen Aufgaben erfüllt und die Kinder für zukünftige Aufgaben angelernt. Der „Hausmutter" (i.e. dem weiblichen Oberhaupt des Haushaltes) obliegt dabei oft die Leitung aller „innerhäuslichen Geschäfte". Dazu könnte im Kontext der lokalen Gemeinschaft Ripacandidas auch der spirituelle Schutz des Haushaltes gehören, der sich in Ikonographie und dem Umgang mit „magisch" gedachten Materialien wie Bernstein spiegelt. Die Rolle des Mannes als Beschützer des Haushaltes illustrieren insbesondere die Schwertträger, die als fest in die Cluster integriert erscheinen, und das jeweils nur maximal einmal.

Ab dem 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. lassen sich im lokalen Grabmaterial Ripacandidas neue Tendenzen fassen. Dazu gehört erstens, dass sich einige sehr reich, aber „weiblich" ausgestattete rechte Hockergräber finden (vgl. *Abb. 9*), die weiterhin in den familiären Grabclustern integriert sind. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um Frauen, die aufgrund bestimmter Umstände in rechter Hockerlage bestattet wurden. Da sie zudem oft mit umfangreichen Beigaben versehen wurden, kann ihre herausgehobene Stellung innerhalb der Familie vorausgesetzt werden. Ob diese Stellung und damit zusammenhängend die ungewöhnliche Bettung auch die Rolle als Familienoberhaupt umfasste, kann natürlich nur spekuliert werden. Es ist jedoch bemerkenswert, dass in dieser Zeit bei manchen anderen rechten Hockern, also den männlichen Gemeinschaftsangehörigen, Veränderungen zu beobachten sind: Anstelle der durch Schwertbeigabe herausgehobenen, fest in Cluster integrierten Männergräber finden sich nun räumlich isolierte Bestattungen, die durch die Beigabe von Helm und *cinturone* hervorstechen. Diese Männer erscheinen aus der traditionell familiär bestimmten Gräbergruppenpraxis herausgelöst. Als sicher vorausgesetzt werden kann auch, dass die neuen Ausstattungsobjekte Helm und Bronzegürtel aufgrund ihres nicht vorhandenen praktischen Nutzens (zumindest der Helm apulo-korinthischen Typs) nur als Symbole und damit wahrscheinlich Rangabzeichen gedient haben. Abseits von den Familienclustern gelegen, können die Bestattungen dieser Personen auf den Status ihrer Toten als möglicherweise die einzelne Familieneinheit überschreitende Autorität gedeutet werden.[48] Fraglich ist, ob es auch eine bewußte Aktion darstellt, dass bei diesen aufwendig ausgerüsteten Gräbern (wie etwa dem Helmgrab 82) die Ausstattung mit Keramikprodukten eher traditionell indigener Prägung ist - trotz der weiten Verbreitung von und dem im 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. auch in Ripacandida nach Zeugnis der übrigen Bestattungen generell guten Zugang zu überregionalen Importen und speziell Imitationen und Importen griechischer Waren.

In größerem Kontext könnten diese neuen Praktiken auf eine gewisse Lockerung des Konzeptes des „ganzen Hauses" hindeuten: Zwar bildete weiterhin die Hausgemeinschaft wohl die Grundeinheit gesellschaftlichen Lebens. Der Wechsel der Totenlage von weiblichen, umfangreich ausgestatteten Individuen aber legt nahe, dass diese nun in gewisser Weise auch „männliche" Züge und Autorität übernahmen - möglicherweise als „offizielle" Repräsentanten der Familie auch nach außen und dem Haushalt vorstehende Personen. Besonders herausgehobene Männer dagegen lösen sich in Einzelfällen, die durch Lage und Beigabenausstattung hervorgehoben sind, aus dem Hausverband. Ihre kanonisierte Ausstattung deutet darauf hin, dass sie nun eher „offizielle Ämter" übernahmen, die nicht in der ursprünglichen lokalen Haushaltsgliederung vorgesehen waren. Die nur mit symbolischen Wert versehenen, aber aus wertvollen Materialien und mit handwerklichem Können kaum vor Ort gefertigten Zeichen

ihrer Position deuten auf die Verbindung ihrer Träger zu Personen hin, die überregionale Bedeutung besaßen und deren lokale Repräsentanten sie gewesen sein könnten.[49] Solche Personen, denen sich örtliche „Statthalter" bzw. „Funktionäre" verpflichten (und damit sich und ihre Lokalgemeinschaft an sie binden), werden in der Kulturanthropologie oft als *big men* bezeichnet.[50]

Trat die Gemeinschaft von Ripacandida also im 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. in eine überregionale Gesellschaftsordnung ein, die von *big men* dominiert wurde? Den (allerdings mit viel Vorsicht zu betrachtenden) Beschreibungen antiker Autoren würde eine solche Deutung der Organisation der archaischen Italikergemeinschaften durchaus entsprechen. Diese erwähnen nur wenige indigene Machtzentren bzw. Zentralorte, und kleine Gemeinschaften wie Ripacandida waren sicherlich zu unbedeutend, um in ihren Schilderungen eine Rolle zu spielen.[51] Dass es im Gebiet um Ripacandida auch gesellschaftlich deutlich prestigeträchtigere und damit wahrscheinlich der Zentralautorität näherstehende Subsegmente der Stammesgesellschaft gab, verdeutlichen nahegelegene Bestattungsplätze wie Melfi-Pisciolo, Melfi-Chiucchiari[52] (mit eher nordapulischer Prägung) oder weiter westliche wie Ruvo del Monte und Braida di Vaglio.[53] Nichtsdestotrotz bildeten aber kleine Gemeinschaften wie Ripacandida zweifellos das Rückgrat und die Grundeinheit der größeren Stammesverbände, die bei den Historiographen als politische Gebilde auftreten. In einer solchen Struktur wäre Ripacandida wohl auf einer eher weit vom Machtzentrum entfernten Stufe zu suchen. Hier scheinen die Familien lokal organisiert, falls es sich überhaupt um eine ortsfeste Gemeinschaft handelte. Als Reflex einer zentralen Autorität können versuchsweise die späten Helmträger gedeutet werden, die aufgrund ihrer isolierten Niederlegung in gewissem Sinne aus dem Familienverband gelöst scheinen und durch ihre symbolträchtige Ausstattung von höherer Autorität eingesetzte örtliche Vertreter einer übergeordneten Macht sein könnten, während der Rest der Gemeinschaft eher einem traditionellen, egalitären Gemeinschaftsgefüge verhaftet ist, bei dem Rolle und Rang eher auf erworbenem als auf zugeschriebenem Status beruhen. Dass der Einfluss einer überregionalen Autorität sich dabei erst im 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. feststellen lässt, könnte auf Herrschaftsanspruch hindeuten, der entweder erst in dieser Zeit einsetzte oder seinen Einflussbereich von zuerst lokalen Eliten (an den späteren Hauptorten) auf weitere Gebiete ausweitete (womit möglicherweise die Ausbreitung von „ethnischen" Konzepten erst erfolgte). Dies hatte dann sogar Konsequenzen für die lokale Gemeinschaftsstruktur in kleineren Gemeinschaften - die „weiblichen" rechten Hocker des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. könnten das örtliche Fehlen von männlichen Familienoberhäuptern kompensieren. Inwieweit die Änderungen in der Gemeinschaftsorganisation und die Bildung größerer überregionaler Verbände (bzw. Eingliederung lokaler Gemeinschaften in eine überregionale Organisation) durch interne Faktoren bestimmt wurden oder durch äußere Impulse, etwa durch die Begegnung mit den neuen Küstenstädten und ihren aus dem östlichen Mittelmeer stammenden Bewohnern, angestoßen wurde, ist zum derzeitigen Zeitpunkt nur schwer zu entscheiden. Zu hoffen ist jedoch, dass mit fortschreitender Kenntnis und genauer Analyse und Vorlage weiterer indigener archaisch-süditalischer Befunde die Ergründung solcher interessanter Fragen aus dem Bereich der Spekulation auf eine wissenschaftlich tragfestere Ebene gehoben werden kann.

Anmerkungen

[1] Das Gräberfeld bildet den Kern einer vom Autor durchgeführten Untersuchung zu Identitäten in der süditalischen Gesellschaft in der Eisenzeit/Archaik. Für den Zugang zu Thema und Material bin ich Massimo Osanna (Pompeji) und der Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Potenza) und deren Direktoren Caterina Greco (*ad interim*) und Antonio De Siena zu großem Dank verpflichtet. Vielfältige Unterstützung erfuhr die Arbeit in Potenza durch Sabrina Mutino, Nicola Figliuolo half bei der Recherche nach dem Fotomaterial. Das Fundmaterial selbst lagert im Depot des Nationalmuseums „Massimo Pallottino" in Melfi, dessen Direktorin Rosanna Ciriello und ihre Mitarbeiter (bes. A. Terzulli und F. Brienza) mich herzlich aufnahmen und auf jede erdenkliche Weise bei meinen Untersuchungen behilflich waren. Für eine erste Vorstellung des Projektes s. Heitz (im Druck). Die Stätte wurde in diversen Fundmeldungen erwähnt, war jedoch nur einmal (Setari 1999) Gegenstand eingehender Analyse. Zu weiteren Vorarbeiten und Erwähnungen der Stätte s. Heitz (in Vorbereitung). Die Erstellung des Manuskripts wurde ermöglicht durch eine Förderung des Autors im Rahmen eines Lise-Meitner-Projekts des FWF (Projektnummer M 1563-G19). Für die Durchsicht des Manuskripts und hilfreiche Kommentare danke ich B. Öhlinger und E. Kistler sowie den anonymen Gutachtern des *peer review*.

[2] Vgl. Härke 1993; Härke 1997, 24-25.

[3] Nach Brather 2007, 125 ist in unruhigen Zeiten oder Zeiten sozialer Umwälzungen der Repräsentationsdrang auch am Grabe stärker als zu stabilen, friedlichen Zeiten; zum Grabkult als Arena für den Wettstreit zwischen unterschiedlichen Gruppeninteressen siehe auch Cuozzo 2007, 234 und Morris 1992. Zur Rolle von Grabbefunden als Formationsorte neuer gesellschaftlicher Vorstellungen (Ideologien) und die Problematik ihrer Auswertung s. auch (für den Bereich der Klassischen Archäologie) die pointierten Überlegungen von

d'Agostino zu einer *ideologia funeraria* in Pontecagnano (d'Agostino 1982) und die weiter gefassten grundlegenden Ausführungen in d'Agostino 2000.

4 Carollo/Osanna 2009, 394.

5 Bottini 1979, 77; Bianco 1999, 142.

6 Bottini 1978, 432-433; Bottini 1979, 78; 1980, 314; 1982, 152.

7 Bottini 1982, 154-155.

8 Die Gräber der Nekropole wurden in vier Phasen mit etwa gleicher Laufzeit eingeteilt. Phase 1: 600-550 v Chr.; Phase 2: 550-500 v.Chr.; Phase 3: 500-450 v.Chr.; Phase 4: 450-400 v.Chr.

9 Diese Haltung ist die „Normalstellung" für die Toten der hockerbestattenden Gemeinschaften im eisenzeitlich-archaischen Süditalien – eine „echte" Hockerstellung findet sich nur in Ausnahmefällen.

10 Setari 1999, 70. Ob dies bei der Mehrzahl der Gräber ebenfalls der Fall war und nur aufgrund ungünstigerer Erhaltungsbedingungen dort keine Reste beobachtet werden konnten, muss leider unklar bleiben. Eine aufwendige Konstruktion wie in Ruvo del Monte (Scalici 2009, 50; vgl. auch Bottini 1990, 11 Anm. 4 Abb. 16) scheint aber in Ripacandida angesichts der eher bescheidenen Ausstattung der Gräber ausgeschlossen.

11 Allerdings sind auch aus dem Melfese daunische Stelen bekannt, vgl. Tagliente 1989; allgemein zu Grabpflege s. Hofmann 2008, 362; 2012, 16.

12 Trotzdem wird im Folgenden versuchsweise mit Altersklassen gearbeitet, allerdings notgedrungenerweise nur sehr grob: Die in der Analyse genutzten Altersklassen infans (hier: ca 0-10 Jahre), juvenil (hier: ca 10-18 Jahre) und adult (hier: ab ca 16-20 Jahre aufwärts ohne Beschränkung) beruhen zum allergrößten Teil auf Schätzungen aufgrund der Entwicklung der Langknochen; die normalerweise in Forschung genutzten Unterteilungen matur (40-59 Jahre) und senil (>60 Jahre) können als Kategorien nicht verwendet werden, infans I (0-6 Jahre) und infans II (7-12 Jahre) werden nicht getrennt.

13 So konnte auf anderen Gräberfeldern beobachtet werden, dass solche Miniaturgefäße meist Kinderbestattungen zugeordnet waren, vgl. etwa Ascoli Satriano; Tinè Bertocchi 1985.

14 Die Grundannahme geht von zwei biologischen Geschlechtern aus, an denen sich im Normalfall auch die Bildung des sozialen Geschlechts orientierte. Auf den indigenen Nekropolen Süditaliens wurde häufig eine Abhängigkeit von Totenlage und Geschlecht angenommen, anthropologische Untersuchungen sind jedoch nur selten durchgeführt worden und die Zuschreibung von Geschlecht erfolgte mehrheitlich über die Beigaben (oft allerdings nicht methodisch klar und stringent untersucht). Generell zur geschlechtlichen Dichotomie von Hockerbestattungen vgl. auch die einflußreiche Studie von Shennan 1975.

15 Zu Waffen im eisenzeitlich-archaischen Süditalien s. kürzlich Inall 2009.

16 Zu daunischen Stelen s. Nava 1980 und 1988.

17 Die meisten in engem räumlichem und zeitlichem Bezug zueinander angelegten Gräber finden sich in Phase 2, der Hauptbelegungsphase des Friedhofs. In dieser Zeit werden in fast allen älteren und neu entstehenden Grabgruppen paarige Bestattungen niedergelegt. Dabei liegen die Gräber aber meist nicht direkt nebeneinander (mit aneinanderstoßenden Langseiten), sondern sind quasi linear „hintereinander", mit eng zusammenliegenden Schmalseiten, angelegt. Seltener drückt sich der räumliche Bezug auch durch ein „Nebeneinander" aus meist sind jedoch die Gräber auch in diesen Fällen etwas gegeneinander verschoben. Leider ist aufgrund der schwierigen feinchronologischen Einordnung der Bestattungen und ihrer Beigaben sowie fehlender Grabungsdokumentation dabei nicht mehr festzustellen, welches der beiden Gräber das frühere und welches das spätere darstellt, so dass die Suche nach möglichen Regelmäßigkeiten in dieser Hinsicht schwerfällt. Denkbar ist natürlich auch, dass die Lage zueinander rein durch zeitliche Faktoren bedingt wurde (etwa: das „unten" anschließende Grab ist das des später verstorbenen Individuums, das in enger Beziehung zum früher Verstorbenen stand).

18 Etwa die Paarung 20/22, die an Eltern-Kinder-Beziehung denken lassen könnte.

19 An dieser Stelle kann nur ein kurzer Überblick gegeben werden - für eine detaillierte Vorstellung des Materials und eine Gesamtbesprechung des Gräberfeldes s. Heitz (in Vorbereitung).

20 Setari 1999.

21 Norman 2009, 48.

22 Die Form wird in dieser Arbeit als Exaleiptron bezeichnet, auch wenn sie in der unteritalisch-sizilischen Forschung oft als „Kothon" angesprochen wird (zur begrifflichen Unklarheit siehe bereits Naumann/Neutsch 1960, 162 und kürzlich Herring in Whitehouse/Wilkins/Herring 2000, 176). Zur Unterscheidung der Formenbezeichnungen (insbesondere zur Identifizierung des griechischen Kothon) s. Schiering 1983, 146 und zur Abgrenzung zum Exaleiptron Scheibler 1968.

23 Möglich wäre sogar die Nutzung als Behälter für z.B. Pulver, um bei Sport oder Jagd die Hände griffiger (oder aber evtl. Salbe um sie geschmeidiger) zu machen; vgl. Kreuzer 2009, 27-29, dies erscheint aber eher unwahrscheinlich, denn die Form wirkt in ihrem lokalen Kontext eher als Teil des Tafelgeschirrs.

24 Das entspricht der der Situation im etruskischen Bereich, wo sich ebenfalls kaum Unterschiede im Bankettgeschirr zwischen reichen Männer- und Frauengräbern finden; Amann 2007, 120.

25 Grabgruppe M bei Grab 3 bildet einen Sonderfall, denn hier wurden alle drei Gräber über einen langen Zeitraum hin in sehr engem Bezug angelegt, was sicherlich nicht zufällig ist, aber von der eben skizzierten paarweisen Bestattungssitte abweicht; außerdem ist auffällig, dass das reichste Helmträgergrab auch das späteste der Gruppe ist und als einziges eine adulte Bestattung enthält.

26 Norman 2009, 51-52.

27 Vgl. Robb 1997, 51-52.

28 Auf der Nekropole von Osteria dell'Osa etwa ließen sich gewisse, mit Geschlechtern verbundene Zuordnungen metallener Objekte beobachten: Schlangenfibeln waren bei klar anthropologisch bestimmten Individuen zu 95% Männern zugeordnet, während Bogenfibeln und Mehrfibeltracht dagegen fast ausschließlich bei weiblich bestimmten Individuen zu beobachten waren.

29 Amann 2007, 125 mit Nachweis; Cougle 2009, 59.

30 Auf die generelle Problematik der Rolle von Fibeln als Altersindikator weist Brøns 2012, 51-54 hin.

31 Vgl. Brøns 2012, 62-63. Auch die Herkunft der Fibeln ist nur sehr ungenau bestimmbar und oft strittig, vgl. Toms 2000, 94. Die in den Gräbern von Ripacandida vertretenen Fibeln sind italischer Herkunft, vgl. Lo Schiavo 2010.

32 Was den sozialen Status der Individuen angeht, so ist natürlich die Grundannahme, dass dieser am Grab nur

dann ausgedrückt werden konnte, wenn es die in einer solch kleinen Gemeinschaft eher strenge soziale Kontrolle zuließ. Die Ausstattung mit einer hohen Anzahl von Beigaben würde dementsprechend auf sozial herausgehobene Individuen hindeuten.

[33] Im Heiligtum von San Chirico Nuovo, località Pila, wurden zwei kleine konische Goldbleche gefunden, die in Zusammenhang mit anderen Textilverarbeitungsutensilien gefunden und als „wahrscheinliche Verkleidungen von Spindeln" angesprochen bzw. identifiziert wurden und in analoger Form gebildet sind (wenn auch ohne den Dornfortsatz, was sich aber aus der Tatsache erklären ließe, dass sie nicht massiv funktional gearbeitet, sondern reine Verkleidungselemente sind): Russo 2006, 139-141 Abb. 138. Möglicherweise wäre aber auch denkbar, dass sie als Spitze von Webspulen eines Stand- bzw. Gewichtswebstuhls anzusprechen sein könnten, mit der der Einschlagfaden durch die Kettfäden geführt (bzw. geschossen) wurde.

[34] Nava 2011, 42. Antike Nachrichten über die Wirksamkeit des Bernsteins gegen Krankheiten (bzw. den Glauben daran) liefern etwa Thales von Milet, der die elektrostatischen Eigenschaften des Bernsteins mit magnetischen Kräften, die schädliche Elemente binden, gleichsetzte (Theophr. *lap*. 5,28f.) und Plinius, der berichtet, dass Bernsteinketten nicht nur als Schmuck, sondern auch als Schutz und Heilung gegen geschwollene Mandeln und Halserkrankungen Verwendung fanden und römische Kinder Bernsteinanhänger aus therapeutischen und apotropäischen Zwecken trugen (Plin. *nat*. 37,44).

[35] Kleibrink 2004, 75-78; Burgers 2004, 260.

[36] Herring 2007, 280.

[37] Gerade in dem schwierig zu beurteilenden Cluster M jedoch gibt es Hinweise, dass teilweise jung verstorbene Individuen schon mit gewissen „Statusabzeichen" versehen sind - allerdings sind diese früher als das reiche Männergrab 3, und auch das juvenile Grab 1 mit Speerspitze liegt isoliert; vgl. Heitz (in Vorbereitung).

[38] Zu Reiben s. Horsnæs 2002, 75 und bes. Kistler 2014 mit weiterführender Literatur.

[39] Im Sinne von Schmitz 1964, 13 könnten Männer damit als gesellschaftlich funktionsschwach, Frauen dagegen als funktionsstark angesprochen werden.

[40] Generell zur Gegenüberstellung "offener" und "geschlossener" Gesellschaften im ethnologisch-archäologischen Vergleich s. Seibel 1978.

[41] Cuozzo 2007, 227; vgl. für das Beispiel des frühen Roms als "offene Stadt" etwa Ampolo 1981.

[42] Vgl. Anm. 51.

[43] Vgl. Thuk. 7,33. Burgers 1998, 223 geht allerdings davon aus, dass damit eher so etwas wie ‚warlords' oder ‚condottieri' gemeint seien, die nur in Kriegszeiten größeren, stammesübergreifenden Kontingenten vorstanden.

[44] Service 1971.

[45] Vgl. die Definitionen zu den beiden Zuständen in Renfrew/Bahn 1991, 156-157.

[46] Aus ethnographischen Forschungen wird deutlich, dass ein Stammesfürstentum in der Regel auch über ein dauerhaftes, politisches und rituelles Zentrum verfügt. Am Ort eines solchen Zentrums finden sich häufig Tempel, Wohngebäude für das Oberhaupt und seine Gefolgschaft sowie eine spezialisierte Handwerkerschaft, wobei eine etablierte Bürokratie noch fehlt. Typisch für Stammestümer scheint auch die Beigabe reicher Objektensembles anlässlich der Bestattung ranghoher Gruppenmitglieder.

[47] Brunner 1966; Über die Dimension des „ganzen Hauses" im örtlichen Untersuchungszusammenhang kann diskutiert werden: Es wäre sicherlich möglich, die gesamte das Gräberfeld von Ripacandida belegende Gemeinschaft als gemeinsame Deszendenzgruppe, also insgesamt verwandtschaftlich verbundene Einheit, zu betrachten (was aber nur durch DNA-Analysen verifizierbar wäre). Die größer und reicher ausgestatteten Grabgruppen wären dann als privilegierte „Sippschaftsteile" zu deuten. Angesichts der kaum zu klärenden verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen soll hier jedoch neutraler von Einzelhaushalten, ungeachtet ihrer genealogischen Verbindungen, die Rede sein. Oft wird ein solches Konzept auch mit dem griechischen Begriff des *oikos* übersetzt, was aber hier vermieden werden soll, da insbesondere im Zusammenhang der zunehmenden griechischen Präsenz in Süditalien und der immer wieder postulierten starken „Hellenisierung" der einheimisch-italischen Gemeinschaften (nicht nur materiell, sondern auch sozial) erst noch zu untersuchen ist, ob es eine tatsächliche Gleichsetzung griechischer und italischer Konzepte gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens, wie eine begriffliche Gleichheit suggerieren würde, überhaupt gab. Zum *oikos* als Haushaltseinheit im antiken Griechenland siehe Cox 1998, 141-143.

[48] Weitere Hinweise, die diese These erhärten könnten (wie möglicherweise Reste eines aufwendigeren, nur durch größere kollektive Arbeit und Organisation zu errichtenden Grabbaus oder eine weit über das gewöhnliche Maß herausragende Ausstattung) fehlen jedoch.

[49] Möglicherweise könnten sogar die Schwertträger gewissermaßen eine Vorstufe dieser Entwicklung darstellen - sie sind als einzige für den kriegsbedingten Nahkampf ausgestattet und mögen dementsprechend schon in größere Kampfhandlungen im Gefolge eines überregionalen Verbundes/Sozialwesens einbezogen und dementsprechend auch die Personen gewesen sein, die dessen Führung nahestanden, ohne jedoch gleichzeitig, mit quasi normierten statusmarkierenden Objekten versehen (denn die Schwerter sind unterschiedlichen Typs), aus dem haushaltsbasierten Gefüge des Lokalverbandes permanent herausgehoben zu sein.

[50] Vgl. Veit 1996, 75-76 Anm. 114; tatsächlich ist allerdings der Unterschied zum *chief* (der den Warenaustausch reguliert) im Falle des archaischen Süditalien nur schwer zu greifen.

[51] Z.B. Dion. Hal. *ant*. 1,11-13,22; FGrHist 1, 64-71; Hdt. 1,167; Strab. 5,1,1; 6,1,4; 6,1,15; vgl. auch Horsnæs 2002, 119-121 und Greiner 2003, 15-24.

[52] Vgl. Popoli Anellenici 1971; zu Melfi-Pisciolo s. Kok 2009 und 2009a.

[53] Zu Ruvo del Monte: Bottini 1981; Scalici 2009; 2013. Zu Braida di Vaglio: Bottini/Setari 2003; 2013.

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The Natural History of a Caeretan Hydria

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Abstract

One of the most extraordinary renderings of various sea creatures is the well-known and often-published Caeretan hydria now in the Niarchos Collection. In contrast to the accurately rendered seal, which is rare in Greek art of all periods, octopus, and dolphins, the central creature that dominates the scene is usually considered as an imaginary sea monster, a ketos. *The purpose of this paper is to suggest that the central creature is no sea monster, but a fairly accurate representation of one of the most elusive creatures of the sea: an oarfish, of the family Regalecidae.*

For Jaap Hemelrijk

One of the most remarkable illustrations from Classical antiquity of sea creatures on a single object prior to the Roman period is the celebrated Caeretan hydria now in the Stavros S. Niarchos Collection (*fig. 1a-b*).[1] Often published, the vessel is attributed to the Eagle Painter, at least the primary figures.[2] The hydria has been given many names, in accordance with its iconography: Hans Peter Isler referred to it as the 'Perseushydria', in his belief that the primary scene depicted Perseus and the sea monster. John Boardman concluded that the human protagonist was Herakles, even though this was no normal Herakles, but in later publications he referred to the hero as 'anonymous'; whether Herakles or Perseus, the absence of a Hesione or Andromeda is noteworthy.[3] Jaap Hemelrijk first named the vase as the 'Zurich Monster', but finally settled on the 'Athens Phoke', after the singular representation of the seal (*phoke*) at the far left of the primary scene and the fact that the vase, at least for a while, was physically located in Athens.[4] He was the first to doubt that the hero was Perseus or Herakles and that the scene refers to a lost myth in which the city-nymph of Phokaia - the name-princess of 'Seal-town', as he refers to her - was 'nearly eaten by a monster, but was changed just in time into a *phoke*, when, happily, the great hero arrived to save her.'[5] He adds that the sickle-shaped weapon, the *harpe*, wielded by the hero in one hand (in the other hand is a white stone) was probably meant for cutting out the tongue of the sea monster and he goes on to cite Heraclides Ponticus, who derives the name of the city of Phokaia from the founder Phokon, and from the sighting of a seal, *phoke*, which came onto land.[6] This suggestion has not appealed to all scholars: as Boardman notes, for all its charm, the Phokaia-mermaid story has no authority.[7]

Despite these disparate labels, there was consensus in the fact that the threatening creature that dominates the scene, and which calls for a hero of the likes of Herakles or Perseus to deal with, if not dispatch, was a sea monster: a *ketos* in Greek.[8] The terrifying nature of this monster is well related by Hemelrijk: 'The painter has tried his utmost to make the monster truly horrible; with a multitude of dorsal crests, coloured fins and other kinds of red or white details; there is even a fine flame-like thing on its forehead, reminiscent of the hole through which a whale throws up fountains of water. His teeth are formidable, and his wide-open muzzle is menacing enough with its sixteen sharp, white teeth.'[9]

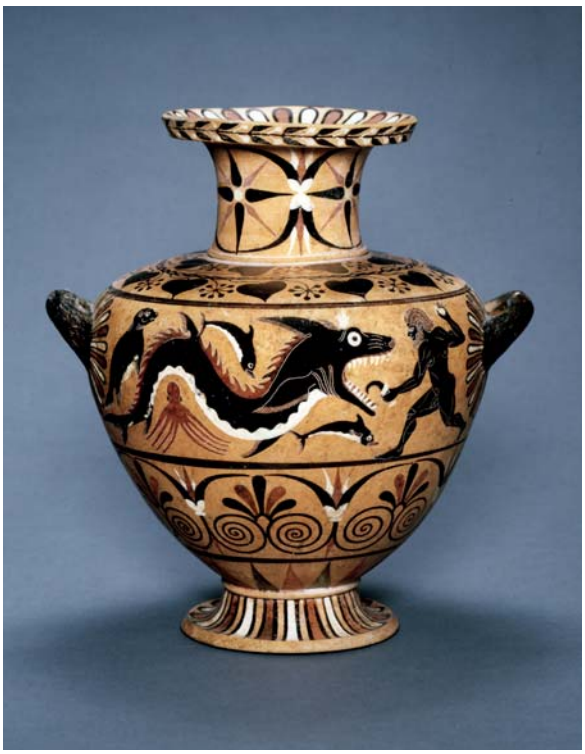
The purpose of this paper is to suggest that the central creature is no sea monster, but a fairly accurate representation, in all but one detail, of one of the most elusive creatures of the sea: an oarfish, of the family *Regalecidae*. Before delving into the natural history of this remarkable hydria - and fish - it would be useful to describe the vessel and recap the little that is known of its provenance.

The Hydria

The hydria was first published by Isler as part of the Hirschmann Collection of Greek Vases in 1982, and more fully the following year in the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, though it had been noted in passing by Jaap Hemelrijk and Stella Lubsen-Admiraal in the late 1970s.[10] The vessel is said to be part of a grave group found in Italy, together with another Caeretan hydria and a Caeretan amphora of Nikosthenic form, but these

reports are unconfirmed.[11] The vessel stands to a height of 40 cm (40.4 including the small projection above the rim of the vertical handle); the diameter of the base is 17 cm, the rim 19.7.[12] The shape of the vase and its subsidiary decoration has been well described elsewhere and need not be repeated here.[13]

The primary figurative scene shows the nameless hero fighting the sea creature normally referred to as a monster. To the far left is the seal, almost vertically rendered, attempting to look over the central creature toward the hero; Isler notes 'the inquisitive look of the seal is particularly well caught' and Hemelrijk describes the same animal as a 'human looking baby-seal.'[14] Elsewhere he notes 'the seal on our hydria with its naïve and melancholy eyes is so astonishingly true to life that an intimate knowledge of the animal cannot be doubted.'[15] And he goes on to note that Phokaians would have had such knowledge of seals. Lila Marangou states: 'Confident incisions on the neck and head give the seal a troubled expression, as if worried about the outcome of the man's struggle with the monster.'[16] Two dolphins and an octopus are dispersed around the central creature. These are not the only sea creatures in the work of the Eagle Painter. In dealing with the crab pinching with its claw one of the ankles of Herakles on the hydria once in London and now in Malibu (*fig. 2*), Hemelrijk writes: 'The Eagle Painter excels in the portraiture of animals. This crab is one of his greatest achievements….Our crab demonstrates the power of observation so typical of Greek artists. I am told that not all the details are exactly true to nature, but the deviations are slight and not very important.'[17]



The figurative scene on the reverse of the vase, in the zone below the vertical handle, depicts a bearded hunter wearing what is normally described as a short white chiton, accompanied by his dog. Armed with a spear raised in his right hand, he chases a dappled stag and a mountain goat (*fig. 3*). Although the front half of the spear is straight, the back portion is depicted as a wavy line, 'like

Fig. 1a-b. Caeretan hydria, Private Collection, with detail (dating to the last three decades of the 6th century BC).

Fig. 2. Detail of Caeretan hydria showing the crab biting at Herakles' ankle in a scene depicting Herakles, accompanied by Iolaos, fighting the Lernean Hydra. J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (Acc. no 83.AE.346). Photo courtesy museum.

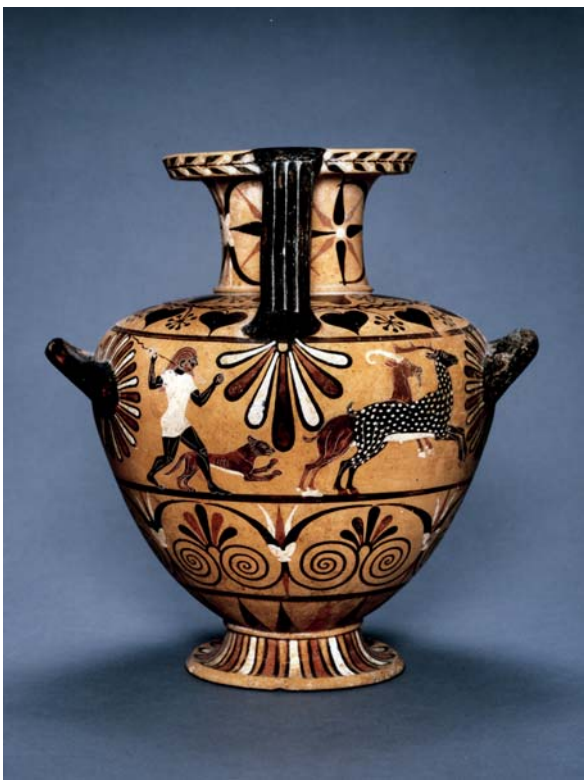


Fig. 3. Detail of reverse of Caeretan hydria shown in fig. 1.

a loosely coiled, very large cork-screw.'[18] With details picked out in added red and white, together with incision, what is noteworthy about both animals is their naturalistic rendering. The painter is equally at home representing creatures of the sea, as he is in representing land animals.

As already noted, the hydria is attributed to the Eagle Painter, at least the figurative scenes. First identified as the Knee Painter by Hemelrijk in 1956 - after the characteristic stylization of the human knee - he later renamed the painter after his most impressive scenes depicting eagles hunting hares or deer.[19] But Hemelrijk goes on to note that the hydria is not the work of a single hand. According to his analysis, the figures are painted by the Eagle Painter, the subsidiary ornaments by the Busiris Painter. The Eagle and Busiris Painters are the two master painters, often cast as brothers, who, together with putative assistants, account for the production of all Caeretan hydriae. As Boardman dutifully notes, however, 'there are those who continue to believe that one man may be responsible for them all.'[20] Whether one or two artisans, all Caeretan hydriae can be readily accommodated within the last three decades of the 6th century BC.[21] Whatever the name of the vase painter, as early as 1928, T.B.L. Webster, in his attempt to reconstruct the life of the artist, wrote: 'He was an Ionian living in Etruria, acquainted with, if not himself a painter of, the pictures in Etruscan tombs.'[22]

What is noteworthy is that whoever painted the Caeretan hydriae wrote in east Ionic Greek.[23] The names Οδιος, Αια[ς], Νεστωϱ, on a Caeretan hydria in the Louvre were certainly by someone who wrote in east Ionic epichoric.[24] For Hemelrijk, the evidence taken together, not least the *phoke* on our hydria, was unequivocal: the two 'master-painters' left East Greece, most probably from the city of Phokaia, traveled via Egypt, where they perhaps stayed for a little time, and sometime around 530-525 BC set up a workshop in Caere or, perhaps more likely, at its harbor Pyrgi.[25]

The Natural History of the Hydria

As several scholars have stressed, the vase painter who decorated this hydria was well-versed in rendering creatures of the land, sea, and air, and it is this aspect of the hydria that forms the focus of this paper.

The seal (fig. 4)

Seals belong to the group generally referred to as *pinnipeds*, which is derived from the Latin *pinnipes* for 'winged- or fin-footed'; members of the family Phocidae - referred to as true or earless seals

Fig. 4. Detail of Caeretan hydria shown in fig. 1.

because they lack external ear flaps - include 19 species in 13 genera.[26] The body of our seal is black, its belly white, with details of the head and neck picked out by incision. The mammal on the Caeretan hydria is a classic example of a Mediterranean Monk Seal, *Monachus monachus* (Hermann, 1779), with a long and slender body, short fore-flippers, a small flattish forehead, and broad snout, with nostrils that face upward.[27] Monk Seals can grow to a maximum length of 2.4 m, with a maximum weight of 300 (female) to 320 kg (male). Adult males are usually dark brown to black over most of the body dorsally, with a white abdominal patch around the umbilicus that extends about halfway up the sides. Adult females are counter-shaded, uniformly dark brown dorsally and lighter on the belly, chest, throat, and sides of the face.[28] The Mediterranean Monk Seal is among the most endangered pinnipeds in the world. The species was declared extinct in Italian waters in the mid-1980s, though vagrant non-breeding seals have occasionally been observed; historically, Mediterranean Monk Seals ranged into the Black Sea, but none have been seen there since the early 1990s.[29] Their range and habitat is currently from the former Yugoslavia south, extending throughout the Mediterranean, with the largest colony at the Cabo Blanco Peninsula on the west Saharan coast.[30]

An interesting feature of Mediterranean Monk Seals is that, like all Phocidae, they cannot rotate their hind-flippers under their bodies to walk. Consequently, on land they use their fore-flippers to pull themselves along, while their hind-flippers trail passively behind.[31] This is precisely what is depicted on the Caeretan hydria.

In Greek, the seal - ἡ φώκη - appears as early as Homer. In *Odyssey* 4.404 when Proteus, the old man of the sea, comes forth, he lies down to sleep in the hollow caves; 'and around him the seals, the brood of the fair daughter of the sea (ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φῶκαι νέποδες καλῆς ἁλοσύδνης ἁθρόαι εὕδουσιν), sleep in a herd coming forth from the gray water, and bitter is the smell they breathe of the depths of the sea.'[32] This passage captures at least one behavioral aspect of Mediterranean Monk Seals: although the animals can haul out on sandy beaches, they much prefer sea caves along rocky coastlines.[33] At 4.447, the passage reads: 'πᾶσαν δ' ἠοίην μένομεν τετληότι θυμῷ φῶκαι· δ' ἐξ ἁλὸς ἦλθον ἀολλέες' ('So all the morning we waited with steadfast heart, and the seals came forth from the sea in throngs').[34]

That Greeks of the Classical period had close encounters with seals is also suggested by two passages in Aristophanes, where the joke depends on the foul smell of seals, and other living creatures. In enumerating the boasts of Kleon, Aristophanes, in *Peace* 758, writes: 'φώκης δ' ὀσμήν, Λαμίας δ' ὄρχεις ἀπλύτους, πρωκτὸν δὲ καμήλου' ('the smell of a seal, the unwashed balls of a Lamia, and the arsehole of a camel').[35] The same language is incorporated, almost verbatim, in *Wasps* 1030-1037. The Greeks were not the only people familiar with seals. In describing the inhabitants of the Araxes River (ὁ Ἀράξης), and especially its tributary, the Gyndes (ὁ Γύνδης), Herodotus (1.202) speaks of men whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins (ἐν ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι). The Araxes River winds its way through the Caucasus, flowing into the Kura River and eventually draining into the Caspian Sea. Consequently, the sealskins that Herodotus speaks of are not of Mediterranean Monk Seals, but of Caspian Seals, *Pusa caspica* (Gmelin, 1788).[36]

As is so often the case in Greek literature, one of the fullest accounts of seals is provided in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. There he describes the various external parts of the mammal (487b23,

Fig. 5. Electrum coin of Phokaia, ca 550 BC, showing seal, swimming to right, no 593 obverse); photo courtesy of Hirmer Verlag GmbH.

492a26, 498a31, b14, 567a2, 12, 595a4), its generation and rearing (540a23, 566b27-567a14), internal parts (497a7, 501a22, 506a23, 508a27, 566b32, 567a9), as well as comments on the general mode of life of seals (487b23, 489b1, 498a31, 521b24, 566b27, 567a7, 594b30, 608b22). Aristotle (567a10) also notes that it 'is difficult to kill a seal by using force, unless you strike it on the temple, because its body is fleshy' ('ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ φώκην χαλεπὸν βιαίως, ἐὰν μή τις πατάξῃ παρὰ τὸν κρόταφον· τὸ γὰρ σῶμα σαρκῶδες αὐτῆς ἐστιν').[37]

What is perhaps most remarkable about the rendering of the seal is its accuracy in light of the fact that this is the *only* representation in all of Greek art - outside of the coinage of Phokaia - of the *phoke*. Moreover, the coinage of Phokaia depicting the seal is comparatively rare. As Barclay Head noted in 1892, 'To the town of Phocaea itself there is at present only one stater which can be certainly attributed. It has on the obverse a seal, the *type parlant* of the city, together with the letter Θ (= Φ) beneath it….'[38] Made of electrum, the coin depicts a seal swimming toward the right and is dated to ca 550 BC (*fig. 5*).[39] Additions to the type, including very similar seals, whether swimming toward the right or left, are known especially on silver coins of Phokaia, but they are relatively uncommon, especially the electrum series.[40] For all their charm - to paraphrase Boardman - the seals on the coins of Phokaia are but a pale reflection of the life-like *phoke* on the Caeretan hydria, which borders on photo-realism.

The octopus (fig. 1)

The curvilinear space formed by the central sea creature, near its tail, is occupied by an octopus, rendered in added red, with a black crescent framing the inner edge of each eye.[41] The arms are rendered in wavy lines in an attempt to show the suction cups on the other side. The octopus is a cephalopod mollusk of the order *Octopoda* (Leach, 1818). There are two suborders in the standard classification of Octopoda: Cirrata and Incirrata: the octopus on the Caeretan hydria belongs to the suborder Incirrata.[42] It has two eyes and four pairs of arms, as they are referred to, and is bilaterally symmetric.[43] The octopus has no internal or external skeleton, but it does have a hard beak, with its mouth at the center point of the arms. There are some 300 species, which account for over one-third of all known cephalopods. There are various species that inhabit the Mediterranean, including the *Octopus vulgaris* (Cuvier, 1797), the *Octopus defilippi* (Verany, 1851), the *Octopus macropus* (Risso, 1826), the *Scaeurgus unicirrhus* (Orbigny, 1840), also known as the *Octopus unicirrhus*, the *Pteroctopus tetracirrhus* (Dell Chiaje, 1840), the *Eledone cirrosa* (Lamarck, 1798), and the *Eledone moschata* (Lamarck 1798).[44] I assemble a few of these on figure 6.

Of the various types of octopus that inhabit the Mediterranean, the most common, and certainly the most exploited of the species by humans, is the *Octopus vulgaris*, which is found in temperate

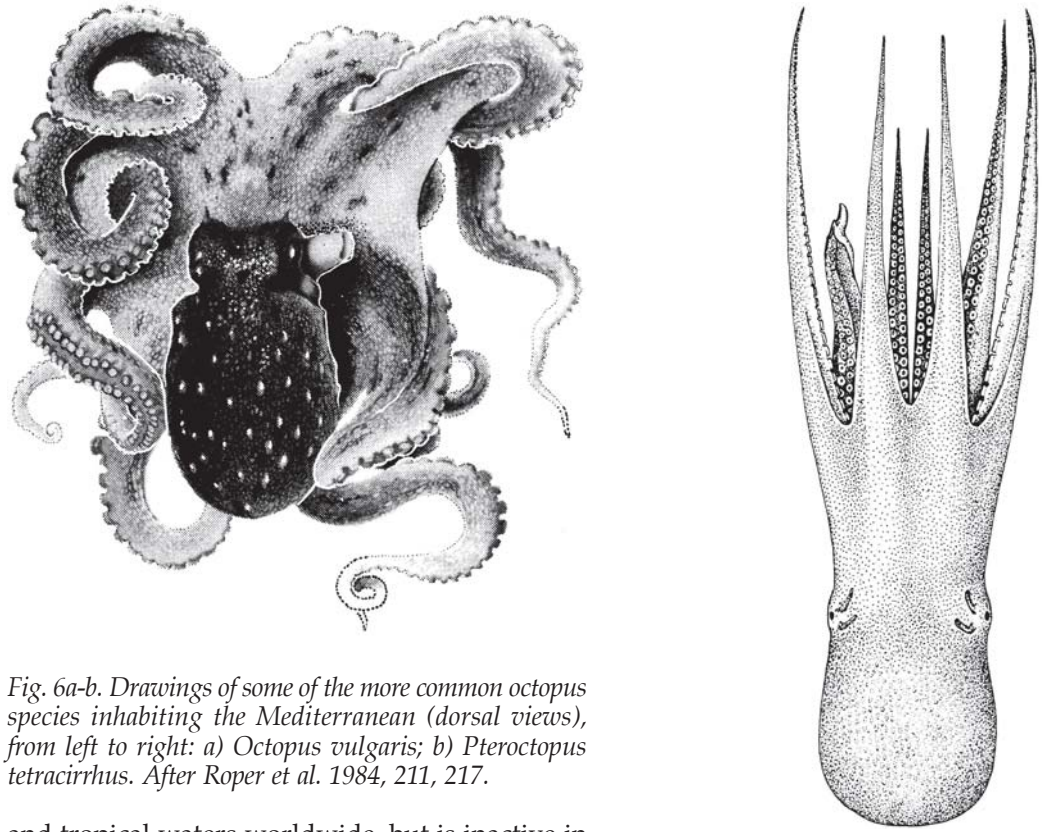


Fig. 6a-b. Drawings of some of the more common octopus species inhabiting the Mediterranean (dorsal views), from left to right: a) Octopus vulgaris; b) Pteroctopus tetracirrhus. After Roper et al. 1984, 211, 217.

and tropical waters worldwide, but is inactive in water 7° C or colder; its diagnostic features, geographical distribution - which occurs from the coastline to the outer edge of the continental shelf (at depths of 0-200 m) - habitat and biology are well outlined by Clyde Roper, Michael Sweeney, and Cornelia Nauen.[45] But the form of the octopus on the Caretan hydria does not agree with that of the *Octopus vulgaris* or the closely related *Octopus macropus*.[46] The long arms of the octopus on the Caeretan hydria, together with its comparatively small and slender mantle, and the manner in which the eyes bulge slightly from the head, are all features that are in keeping with the *Octopus defilippi* (*fig. 7*). The diagnostic features of this type of octopus are 'Mantle relatively very small, smooth-skinned, no pigmented ocellus, spot, or ring. All arms very long, slender, asymmetrical.'[47] In fact, it is only the last feature - the asymmetrical arms - that is not rendered by the Eagle Painter on the hydria (the third arm on each side of this octopus species is short, the others long).

The geographical distribution of the *Octopus defilippi* is the Mediterranean Sea, the eastern Atlantic Ocean from Morocco to Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, the Western Atlantic (Bahamas, Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean Sea down to Brazil), as well as the Indian Ocean from the Arabian Peninsula to Burma.[48] The species is, however, little known, normally occurring on sandy to muddy sea bottom from 6 to 60 m, though it is occasionally reported down to 200 m. As with the other sea creatures shown on our hydria - the seal, dolphins, and oarfish - the *Octopus defilippi* is usually caught only as a bycatch and, in the modern era at least, was never commercially exploited. The form of the other species of Mediterranean octopus is not in keeping with the drawing of the octopus on our vase.[49]

Probably the fullest account of the octopus - ὁ ὀκτάπους - in Greek is Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. In addition to general information on the creature (490a1, 525a1 3, 534b25, 541b1, 622b5), we learn of the octopus's many predilections, as well as human uses, including its colour-change (622a8-14), copulation (524a5, 541b1, 8), feeding habits (590b1 4, 591a1, 622a8); as food (534a25, 590b1 8, 591a5), generation (525a2, 544a6,550a3, b1, 607b7, 622a1 7), habitat (621b1 7, 622a32), head (524b28, 541b5, 544a11), ink sac and its discharge (524a9, 13, 22, 621b30), intelligence (622a3-14, 18), lifespan and condition (622a14-b1), suck-

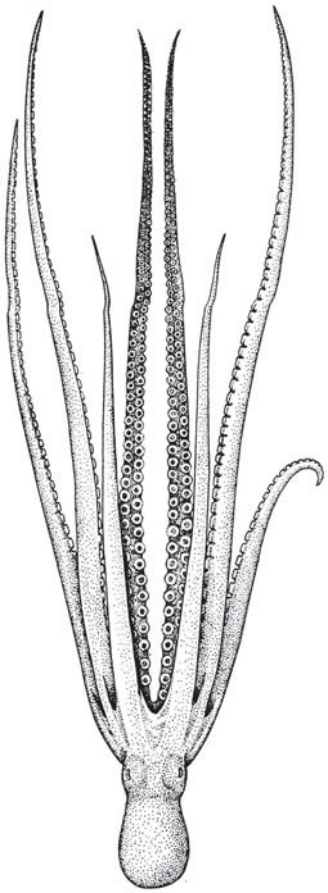


Fig. 7. The Octopus defilippi (dorsal view), the species that is most probably represented on the Caeretan hydria. After Roper et al. 1984, 197.

ers (523b28, 541b9), and tentacles (524a3, 18, 33, 531b3, 541b3, 550b6, 591a5). Elsewhere, Alexander of Tralles, writing in the 6th century AD, refers to the octopus only once in his treatise on medicine (Book 7.1) in his discussion of the diseases of the gastro-intestinal tract and with reference to his

Fig. 8. Late Minoan IB Marine Style stirrup jar from Palaikastro, ca 1500-1450 BC in the conventional chronology.

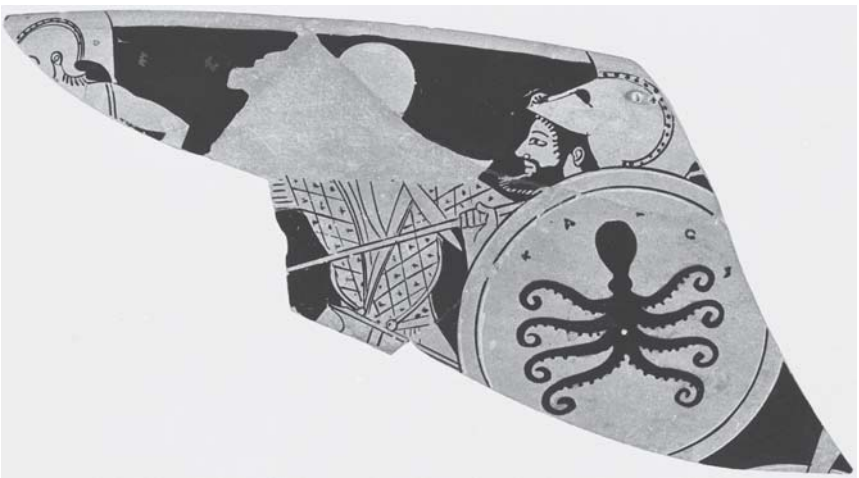


*Fig. 9. Octopus as shield device on a fragmentary red-figure Type B cup attributed to Epiktetos by Beazley (*ARV^2*, 1624.24 bis) and dated 510-500 BC. J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, Acc. no 86.AE.306 (photo courtesy museum).*

therapy for what he refers to as τῆς διὰ θερμὴν δυσκρασίαν ἀσθενούσης καθεκτικῆς δυνάμεως.[50]

As with the other figures on the vase, the Eagle Painter provides us with a realistic rendering of the octopus (*Octopus defilippi*). Given its ubiquity in the Mediterranean and especially in the Aegean, the octopus is among the most-often depicted creatures of the sea in Greek art, from spectacular representations in Late Minoan IB Marine Style pottery (*fig. 8*) to shield devices serving heroes (*fig. 9*).[51]

The dolphins (fig. 1)

In the space formed by the curves of the central sea creature, to the right of the octopus, are two dolphins: one above the central creature's back, the other below its throat. Both are painted black, with white belly, the eyes picked out with added white and an incised circle; incision also defines the flippers, tail, and beak, the latter enlivened with added red. Perhaps the only details of the Eagle Painter's dolphins that are wanting is that the dorsal fin of both of his dolphins, and especially that below the throat of the central creature, are placed too far forward, and on one dolphin the flippers are omitted altogether, though these are often difficult to see when dolphins are bow riding, as they are here.[52]

As members of the Delphinidae, dolphins form the largest cetacean family and are commonly referred to as 'ocean dolphins', despite the fact that some are called 'whales', and others are not solely confined to oceans but also inhabit rivers and lakes.[53] A succinct description of the features common to most, if not all, delphinid species, is provided by Randall Reeves and his collaborators, that is worth quoting in full: 'Like other toothed whales, they have a single blowhole situated on the top of the head, slightly left of center. Their teeth, although variable in number and size, are generally conical and undifferentiated. Most have a dorsal fin at approximately the center of the back. Their flukes are always cleaved on the rear margin by a pronounced notch. The length and width of the beak is highly variable among species and genera, with some having a well-defined beak and others no beak at all. Delphinid coloration can be boldly patterned in black and white, with or without intermediate gray or tan patches; all dark brown or black; evenly gray; spotted or speckled; and occasionally almost completely white.'[54]

As a group, the ocean dolphin family includes several subfamilies, 17 extant genera, and at least

Fig. 10. The Short-beaked Common Dolphin, Delphinus delphis *(Linnaeus, 1758), photo by dolphins-world.com.*

33 species. As a number of authorities have highlighted, however, systematics have disagreed about how to classify the group, especially with regard to subfamilies and genera.[55] In going through Pieter Folkens' magnificent illustrations of dolphins and comparing them to the Eagle Painter's dolphins, the mammals depicted on the Caeretan hydria can belong to a small number of species.[56] Among these, the Common Bottlenose Dolphin (*Tursiops truncatus*, Montagu, 1821) and the Short-beaked Common Dolphin (*Delphinus delphis*, Linnaeus, 1758) stand out (*fig. 10*).[57] The pronounced beak of the dolphins on the Caeretan hydria, coupled with their coloration and, especially, their size, suggest that the species the Eagle Painter had in mind was most probably the Short-beaked Common Dolphin.[58] Male Common Bottlenose Dolphins have a maximum length of 2.45-3.8 m (females 2.4-3.7 m), whereas the Short-beaked Common Dolphin is considerably smaller, reaching a maximum length of 2.7 m for males (2.6 m for females).[59] Another species that certainly inhabits the Mediterranean, has a pronounced beak, is comparatively small (maximum length 2.65 m for males, 2.4 m for females), but is differently coloured, that may well be what is represented on the Caeretan hydria, is the Striped Dolphin (*Stenella coeruleoalba*, Meyen, 1833) (*fig. 11*).[60] Other species, such as the Long-beaked Common Dolphin (*Delphinus capensis*, Gray, 1828), the Clymene Dolphin (*Stenella clymene*, Gray, 1850), and even the Spinner Dolphin (*Stenella longirostis*, Gray, 1828), are precluded as they do not inhabit the Mediterranean.[61]

Since I cannot clearly distinguish between the Short-beaked Common Dolphin and the Striped Dolphin, it would be useful to enumerate, albeit very briefly, the primary features of both. The Short-beaked Common dolphin (*fig. 10*) is sleek, handsomely marked, and gregarious. The slender body is evenly proportioned, with a moderately long beak, a tall dorsal fin, and moderately large, tapered flippers. The colour pattern is relatively complex: the entire dorsal surface from the front to well behind the dorsal fin is very dark gray to black; the belly is white. What is also characteristic - and this is not depicted on the Caeretan hydria - is that the dark dorsal coloration dips low onto the sides in a V-shaped 'saddle' configuration, resulting in an 'hourglass', for want of a better term, or crisscross pattern on the sides.[62] Although the species is widespread in tropical and temperate waters, especially of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, it is common in the Mediterranean and Black Seas; they are among the most active of the dolphins at the surface.[63]

As for the Striped Dolphin (*fig. 11*), the introductory paragraph by Reeves et al. is worth quoting: 'It is often assumed that the classical Greek and Roman reverence for dolphins came from contact with local bottlenose or common dolphins. Yet, as early Mediterranean seafarers ventured farther and farther from land, they would have begun to encounter large schools of Striped Dolphins. This species is still the most common cetacean in the Mediterranean Sea (even though more than 1,000 individuals died of a disease outbreak in 1990-1992). This active, gregarious, and beautifully marked dolphin is widespread and reasonably abundant in tropical and temperate regions of the world's oceans. The specific name, derived from the Latin *caeruleus* for "sky blue" and *albus* for "white", refers to its striking coloration.' And they go on to note: 'The colour pattern is a striking combination of bluish gray and white, but the boldness of the markings varies regionally and individually. The beak, appendages, and back are gray; the throat and belly are white. There are two narrow black stripes on each side of the body. They begin as a single stripe from the beak to the eye that diverges, one

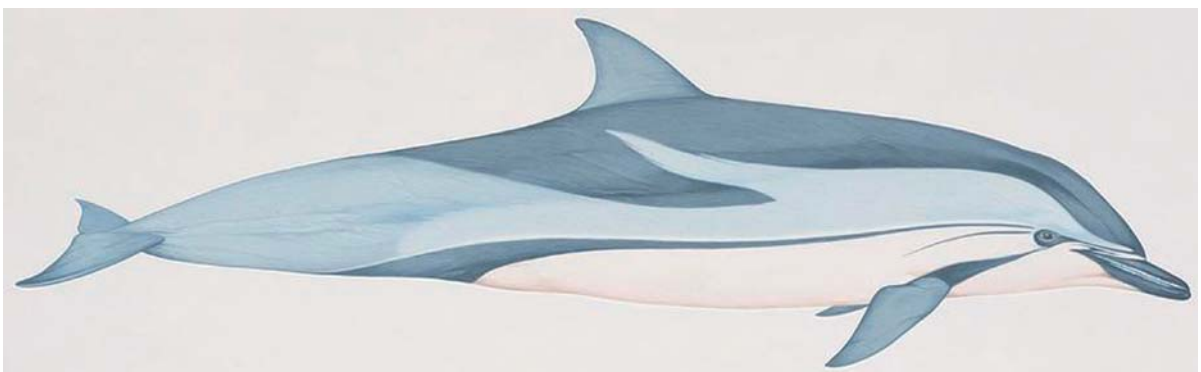


Fig. 11. The Striped Dolphin, Stenella coeruleoalba (Meyen, 1833).

branch going from the eye to the flipper and the other continuing along the side from the eye to the anal region.'[64] If anything, their range and habitat is even greater than that of the Short-beaked Common Dolphin.[65]

Indeed, Striped Dolphins are the species most likely to be confused with Short-beaked Common Dolphins and with the Common Bottlenose Dolphin. As Reeves et al. elaborate: 'The combined distribution of the two common dolphins greatly overlaps that of the Striped Dolphin, and all three species occur in fairly dense schools.'[66] When poring over images of dolphins bow riding, the species that perhaps comes closest to the two dolphins on the Caeretan hydria is the Short-beaked Common Dolphin.[67]

The dolphin - ὁ δελφίς (later δελφίν), δελφῖνος - is among the most ubiquitous of sea creatures in Greek literature. In describing the terror that Achilles struck in the hearts of the Trojans at the beginning of Book 21 of the *Iliad*, Homer compares the great hero to a δελφῖνος μεγακήτεος: 'And as before a *monstrous dolphin* other fishes flee and fill the recesses of some harbor or fair anchorage in their terror, for greedily does he devour any he catches, so cowered the Trojans in the streams of the dread river beneath their banks' (emphases mine).[68] In his evocative description of Skylla in the *Odyssey* (12.96), Homer uses the dolphin not as a creature of power and rage, but as mere prey: 'Up to her middle she is hidden in the hollow cave, but she holds her head out beyond the dread chasm, and fishes there, eagerly searching around the rock for dolphins and sea dogs and whatever greater beast she may happen to catch…'[69] Archilochus (74.7), writing in the 7th century BC, was no stranger to sea-travel; in describing the power of Zeus, he writes: 'Let not one of you marvel, nay, though he see the beasts of the field exchange pasture with the dolphins of the deep….'[70] And Pindar, born toward the end of the 6th century BC, in *Pythian* 2.51, also mentions the dolphin in writing about the power of god: 'God fulfilleth every purpose, even as he desireth, god that not only overtaketh the winged eagle, but also surpasseth the dolphin of the sea….(θεός, ὃ καὶ πτερόεντ' αἰετὸν κίχε, καὶ θαλασσαῖον παραμείβεται δελφῖνα….).'[71] Herodotus, writing in the 5th century, relates the story of Arion, who, having sung his song to the wretched Corinthian crew heading from Taras toward Corinth, threw himself into the sea: 'but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Tainaron' ('τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον').[72]

Among more scientific writers, pride of place belongs, once more, to Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. In addition to general comments on the dolphin (489b2, 506b5, 557a30, 598b1, 631b1), Aristotle describes the dolphin's blow-hole (489b3), bones (516b1 2), breasts and milk (504b21, 521b23), character and mode of life (489b3, 589a31-590a2, 631a8, b1), feeding (591b9, 25), generation (540b22, 566b2), genitals (500b1, 509b10, 510a9), lifespan (566b23), lungs (536a2, 589b6), mouth and tongue (536a3, 591b27), senses and sleep (492a26, 534b7, 537a31, 566b15), swimming (602a30, 631a22-32), voice and snoring (535b32, 537b3, 566b15, 589b9), as well as the hunting of dolphins by humans (533b10, 534b7, 589b7). A more intriguing account of the dolphin is found in Oppian's *Halieutica* (1.648), where, in attempting to come to grips with the nature and intelligence of dolphins, the author writes: 'Now all the viviparous denizens of the sea love and cherish their young but diviner than the dolphin is nothing yet created; for indeed they were aforetime men and lived in cities along with mortals, but by the devising of Dionysos they exchanged the land for the sea and put on the form of fishes; but even now the righteous spirit of men in them preserves human thought and human deeds.'[73]

Just as they are ubiquitous in Greek literature, dolphins are a mainstay of Greek art, both in the prehistoric and historic periods.[74]

The oarfish

As we have seen, the Eagle Painter has both an ability and predilection to illustrate creatures of the land and sea. The representations of the seal, octopus, and dolphins on the Niarchos hydria, despite the fact that they are not photo-realistically perfect in every respect, are depicted with a sound knowledge of the living creatures they illustrate. The seal is noteworthy for the fact that representations of the mammal in Greek art are rare. In the case of both the octopus and the dolphins, the renderings are such that a strong case can be made for identifying the actual species, something that is very rarely possible in the corpus of contemporary Greek art. It is against such a backdrop - of a vase painter who borders on a natural historian - that we should consider the central, serpent-like, and threatening creature with its red crest and dorsal fin.

The description of the long creature in the primary zone between the two horizontal handles is well set forth by Marangou: 'The elongate sea monster occupies almost the entire zone, its black, undulating, pisciform body terminating in a large

wolverine head with wide-open mouth. Its eye and teeth, denoted in white, heighten the impression of a hideous, threatening figure. Its ventral area is shown in white, while the spiny dorsal crest is in bright red. Likewise in red is the monster's tongue, barely visible between the teeth of the lower jaw. The anatomical details of the head, neck and body are finely incised.'[75] In describing what he refers to as an exceptional representation on an exceptional vase, Boardman defines the creature in the following terms: 'By far the finest and most colourful of all our ketea, it swims in a sea otherwise occupied by two dolphins, an octopus, and a friendly seal. It has no legs but big flipper-like gills and a flipper-like ear….'[76] In his discussion of sea monsters, Boardman distinguishes two types - which gradually conflate - 'a doggy leonine' one and another with a pointed muzzle; the latter 'has a very pointed muzzle, more like a fish or shark than a snake'.[77] The leonine and pointed muzzle aspects of the creature on the Caeretan hydria are heightened by the added red nose, a feature more at home on creatures of the land rather than the sea.

As frightening as this creature rendered by the Eagle Painter is, my contention is that this is no fabulous, mythical, or imagined sea monster - *ketos* - but a fairly accurate representation, in most details but one, of one of the largest fish inhabiting the Mediterranean: *Regalecus glesne* (Ascanius, 1772), commonly known in English as the oarfish. Oarfish belong to the order Lampriformes and the family Regalecidae. In describing the Lampridiformes as a group, Peter Moyle and Joseph Cech note that: 'This order contains a bizarre mixture of large, often brightly colored pelagic fishes. Most species apparently live at depths between 100 and 1000 m and so are rarely seen, despite broad, often worldwide, distribution patterns. Their diversity of form is indicated by the fact that seven families are recognized, but only 19 species. Most of these species lack many of the "typical" percomorph characteristics…..The mouth is highly protusible, because not only the pre-maxilla but also the maxilla can be pushed outward…. Most have an elongate dorsal fin. In body shape they range from extremely deep-bodied (Lampridae, Veliferidae) to extremely elongate (Lophotidae, Regalecidae).'[78] In dealing specifically with the Regalecidae, Moyle and Cech state: 'These fish are extremely attenuated, reaching lengths of 8 m; the anterior rays of the dorsal fin are modified into a peculiar red "cockscomb" over the head, and the pelvic rays are modified into long filaments. Their mouth and eyes are quite small, and they seem to feed mainly on pelagic crustaceans. Apparently, they normally maintain themselves in the water column in a vertical position, which enables them to see their prey silhouetted against the downstreaming light.'[79]

The brief entry in Joseph Nelson's *Fishes of the World* is worth quoting in full; it reads:

> '*Family REGALECIDAE - oarfishes. Marine; all oceans.*
> Scales absent; no anal fin; pelvic fin very elongate, slender, with one ray; dorsal fin very long, originating distinctly behind tip of snout, with 260-412 rays, the first few being elongate and bright red; eye small; no teeth; swim bladder absent; vertebrae 143-170. *Regalecus glesne* (oarfish or king-of-the-herring) has 40-58 gill rakers; *Agrostichthys parkeri* (streamer fish) has 8-10 gill rakers. This group is probably responsible for many sea-serpent stories. Maximum length up to about 8 m, attained in *R. glesne*. Two monotypic genera, *Regalecus* and *Agrostichthys*.'[80]

A schematic rendering of the oarfish is illustrated on figure 12. Oarfish are reputedly the longest of all fish and are often listed as the longest of the bony fish. Although authoritative publications note that they can grow to 8 m in length, they have been documented to grow up to 11 m in total length, and even larger specimens - up to 17 m - have been reported, though such lengths remain unconfirmed (for a comparison of a massive oarfish in relation to the height of an average human being, see *fig. 13*). Its distribution and range is considerable,

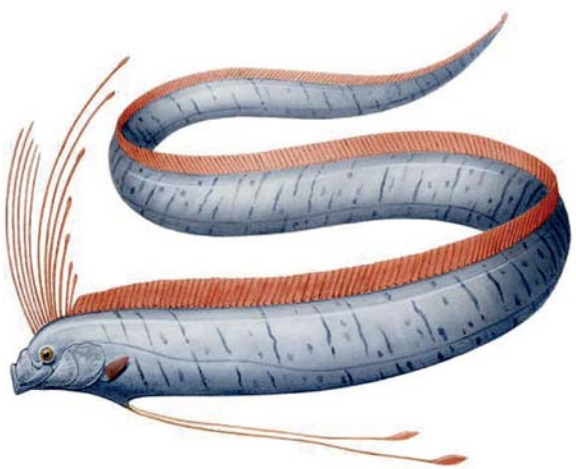
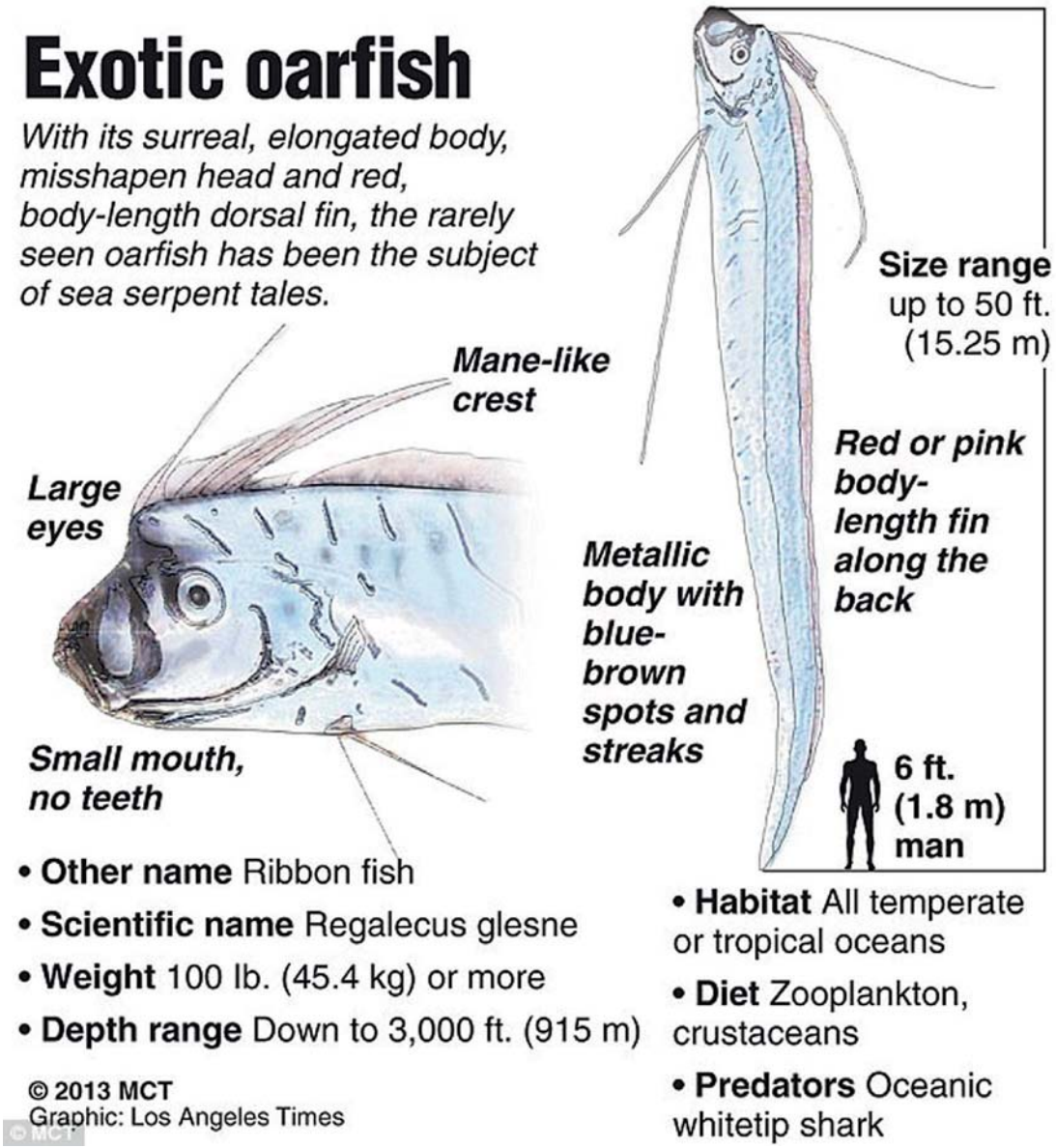


Fig. 12. Schematic drawing of an oarfish, Regalecus glesne.


Exotic oarfish
With its surreal, elongated body, misshapen head and red, body-length dorsal fin, the rarely seen oarfish has been the subject of sea serpent tales.
Mane-like crest
Large eyes
Small mouth, no teeth
Size range up to 50 ft. (15.25 m)
Red or pink body-length fin along the back
Metallic body with blue-brown spots and streaks
6 ft. (1.8 m) man
• Other name Ribbon fish
• Scientific name Regalecus glesne
• Weight 100 lb. (45.4 kg) or more
• Depth range Down to 3,000 ft. (915 m)
• Habitat All temperate or tropical oceans
• Diet Zooplankton, crustaceans
• Predators Oceanic whitetip shark
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Graphic: Los Angeles Times

Fig. 13. The oarfish, Regalecus glesne, showing details of the head and its comparison to the size of an average human.

widely occurring in the Atlantic Ocean, including the Mediterranean, the Indo-Pacific, and the eastern Pacific Ocean from southern California to Chile.[81] The smaller crested oarfish, *Lophotus lacepede* (Giorna, 1809) - referred to as λοφιοψάρι in Modern Greek - was recently sighted in the north Aegean, which adds to its recorded distribution throughout the Mediterranean, in southwest Turkey, the northern Adriatic (several sightings), coastal Sicily and south Italy, the northern Tyrrhenian Sea, as well as coastal southern Spain.[82]

The label 'king-of-the-herring' is something of a nickname that appears to derive from the once-held belief that oarfish swam in front of herring shoals, as if leading them.[83] The name *Regalecus* does derive from the Latin for royal, and *glesne*, after Glesnæ, a farm at Glesvær, near Bergen, Norway, where the type-specimen was first taken.[84] As early as 1898, David S. Jordan and Barton W. Evermann, in their description of oarfish, noted:

Fig. 14. Three different standings of oarfish on the southern California coast near Los Angeles.

'the great size, undulating motion and projecting mane causing them to be taken for sea serpents.'[85] In a similar vein, Moyle and Cech write: 'Because oarfish are only rarely seen on the surface, the appearance of a "monster" oarfish in a coastal area is likely to arouse a considerable amount of attention.'[86] Oarfish were at one time considered rare, but the species is now thought to be comparatively common, although sightings of healthy specimens remain unusual.[87]

Comparisons of the Eagle Painter's creature with stranded or caught oarfish in various parts

Fig. 15. Oarfish (described as 12 foot long and weighing as much as 650lbs) caught by hand-line by Keith McRae (far left), Sydney harbor, June 1954.

of the world quickly reveal numerous similarities. I assemble three such stranded creatures in figure 14, all recently washed up on Los Angeles area beaches in southern California, and another oarfish, caught by hand-line by Keith McRae in Sydney harbor in June, 1954 (*fig. 15*). The points of similarity are many, not least the length of the creature in relation to the hero, seal, octopus, and dolphins, the distinctly red-coloured crest and dorsal fin, and the fact that *Regalecus glesne*, like the specimen on the Caeretan hydria, has no scales. As for the head, the characteristic protruding, snout-like mouth of oarfish is not unlike the leonine or pointed muzzle that Boardman describes for the creature on the Caeretan hydria. The one feature of the mouth of the creature on the Caeretan hydria that is not shared by real oarfish are the teeth, and in this, the Eagle Painter may well have exercised a little artistic license. As for the eye of oarfish, Nelson describes it as small, whereas Maurice Burton and Robert Burton describe it as large.[88] The eye on the Caeretan hydria oarfish is a little larger than the eyes of real *Regalecus glesne*, but the difference is not significant. Another detail of difference, though it is hardly prominent, is that the Eagle Painter's creature has an articulated fish tail, albeit a very small one for a creature of this magnitude, whereas the tails of oarfish taper toward a point. Despite these differences, and the intentionally frightening aspect of the creature, the Eagle Painter has managed to provide a more than passable representation of *Regalecus glesne*, perhaps the only one we possess in all of ancient art.

Coda

The all-encompassing character of the sea in Greek tradition has been well captured by Speros Vryonis, while the blatancy of the Mediterranean in determining the trajectories of the cultures that bordered it has been ably discussed by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, David Abulafia and, most recently, Cyprian Broodbank, building on the pioneering work of Fernand Braudel.[89] Natural historians like Aristotle, and later Pliny, among others - the forebears of Carolus Linneaeus and Charles Darwin - enquired into the nature, habitats, and characteristics of a variety of creatures of the land and sea. As we have seen, Aristotle spared no detail in writing about several of the species discussed above: the seal, octopus, and dolphin. Stories of large and fabulous animals inhabiting the Mediterranean inspired a rich oral and literary tradition from Homer to Procopius and beyond, Ovid and Vergil, the Old Testament and the earlier Ugaritic mythological texts.[90] These stories were to develop into a rich iconographic tradition, extending from prehistory to Late Antiquity and into the modern era. But as Deborah Ruscillo and I have shown the literary and iconographic traditions of sea monsters in the Greek world and the Mediterranean 'were not totally human creations that inhabited an imaginary realm: they were very much the product of a fascination with living creatures of the sea.'[91] Several of the mammals, like the dolphin, and cephalopods inhabiting the Mediterranean were a mainstay of Aegean prehistoric art, appearing on palace walls and even gracing the surfaces of Late Minoan IB Marine Style pottery. In a number of recent papers, Ina Berg has quibbled that the analysis of some of this imagery demonstrates that, if painters had any true knowledge of the species, they chose not to show it, despite the fact that, as she states: '….the painted octopus bears some resemblance to the wild creature," and "the patterning of shells is depicted with some accuracy.'[92] Berg, however, cogently distinguishes between inhabitants of the sea, such as shells that are washed up, as opposed to the living creatures in their habitats.

To what extant the Eagle Painter's knowledge of sea creatures was based on his observation of living species or hapless animals washed ashore, we may never be certain. But, on the basis of his illustrations, not least of the seal, octopus, and dolphins on our vase, together with the crab on the Caeretan hydria now in Malibu, a strong case may be put forward that he did witness these animals as living creatures; I also suspect that he may well have enjoyed numerous meals of octopus and crab! As for the oarfish, the rarity of sightings of living specimens would argue against his (assuming the Eagle Painter is a male) viewing one of these fish alive in the sea. What is much more likely is that he saw, and was inspired by, a washed up creature, such as the three shown on figure 14, or one accidentally caught, like the 1954 example from Sydney harbor (*fig. 15*). Indeed, the fact that Keith McRae was able to catch such an oarfish using a simple hand-line indicates that even average or moderately large examples of oarfish could be caught.

Whichever way the Eagle Painter observed the creatures he depicted he was an able illustrator, with a keen eye and able hand, a progenitor to naturalists and painters like John James (Jean-Jacques) Audubon, whose illustrations remain to this day some of the finest renderings of animals ever undertaken. By depicting a seemingly fabulous and terrifying creature together with fairly accurate representations of other creatures of the sea, the vase painter who painted our hydria had a sense of humor, for rather than imagining a creature that would give pause to a Herakles or Perseus or whoever the hero illustrated is, he simply added teeth to a toothless oarfish, making the scene even more terrifying by rendering a creation after nature, albeit with a some artistic license. As Emily Vermeule noted so well, the power of the sea to swallow and conceal a human completely and the numerous flesh-eating creatures under the surface - stealthy and voiceless hunters, like the creature on our pot - made the sea a focus for poetic death in Greek tradition.[93] If Hemelrijk's biography of the Eagle Painter - as an Ionian from Phokaia ('Seal-town') who traveled to Etruria by sea, perhaps via Egypt - has any truth to it, then the vase painter was no stranger to the power of the sea and the many creatures that inhabit it. As a natural historian of sorts, what the Eagle Painter provides us with is arguably the earliest representation of *Regalecus glesne* we possess.

Notes

[1] For remarkably accurate representations of creatures of the sea, see the mosaic from Pompeii, Reg. VIII.2.16. now in the Museo Archeologico in Naples, conveniently illustrated in Pevnick 2014, 94, 103, fig. 61; also Kunisch 1989, 138, fig. 23. I am grateful to a number of friends and colleagues for assistance with various aspects of this paper, especially Rupert Burgess, Douglas McCathy, Myles Chykerda, Seth Pevnick, David Saunders, Stelios Vasilakis, Thomas Wake, and the two anonymous *BABESCH* referees. My thanks, too, to Lily Schaafsma for all her work on the manuscript.

[2] The vessel has been published on numerous occasions; see, among others, Isler 1982, 24-27; Isler 1983, 19-23,

figs 1-9; Hemelrijk 1984, 45-46, no 29, pls 13, 17, 103-105, 133d, 138c, 154d; Boardman 1987, 80, pl. XXIV, 14; Kunisch 1989, 66, fig. 10; Marangou 1995, 124-333; Boardman 1997, 732, no 26; Papadopoulos/Ruscillo 2002, 217-218, fig. 28, with note 160; Hemelrijk 2009, 54-56, pls 10c-d; 11-13. Now in the Stavros S. Niarchos Collection, the pot sold for an unprecedented price of £2,000,000 in 1993, at the time the largest sum ever paid for a Greek vase.

3 Boardman 1987, 80: 'This is surely Herakles;' elsewhere, Boardman (1989, 191), repeats that the figure should be Herakles, and brings into the discussion Herakles' cleansing of the seas of monsters, alluded to in Pindar (*Nemean* 3.20-26 and *Isthmian* 4.73-79). As Boardman (1989, 191) notes: 'in establishing the Pillars of Herakles at the Straits of Gibraltar the hero cleared the seas of inimical monsters.' For the anonymous hero, see Boardman 1998, 221-2; for the absence of Hesione or Andromeda, see Boardman 1997, 732.

4 In 1995 the Niarchos Collection was on display at the N.P. Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens; see Marangou 1995.

5 Hemelrijk 1984, 142; Hemelrijk 2009, 55-56.

6 Hemelrijk 1984, 142, 215, notes 288-9; Hemelrijk 2009, 55-56; see further Marangou 1995, 130-1; the association of the *phoke* to Phokaia goes back to Isler 1983, 46.

7 Boardman 1989, 191.

8 For an account of *kete* and especially whales in Greek tradition, see Papadopoulos/Ruscillo 2002.

9 Hemelrijk 2009, 55.

10 Isler 1982, 1983; Hemelrijk/Lubsen-Admiraal 1977-1978, 12 (under the sub-heading 'Comment'); Marangou 1995, 124-133.

11 Isler 1982, 24-33 lists the three vessels together as coming from the same tomb group; see further Isler 1983, 17; see also Marangou 1995, 124.

12 Marangou 1995, 124.

13 See Hemelrijk 1984, 45-6, 94-5, 99-101, 110-112, 114; see also Isler 1983, 19-23; Marangou 1995, 124-33.

14 Isler 1982, 24; Hemelrijk 1984, 46.

15 Hemelrijk 1984, 174.

16 Marangou 1995, 127.

17 Hemelrijk/Lubsen-Admiraal 1977-1978, 6, 20, fig. 15 for a detail of the crab; the Caeretan hydria formerly in the Seilern Collection in London, is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (inv. 83.AE.346); see, most recently, de Puma 2000, 25-9, pls 494-8.

18 This type of spear is discussed by Hemelrijk (1984, 183), with Etruscan and other examples cited.

19 For the Knee Painter, see Hemelrijk 1956; the painter was renamed in Hemelrijk/Lubsen-Admiraal 1977-1978, 1.

20 Boardman 1998, 221.

21 Hemelrijk 1984, 157-159; 2009, 63-69.

22 Webster 1928, 205.

23 Hemelrijk 2009, 1.

24 Hemelrijk 1984, 1; Jeffery 1990, 339; Devambez (1946, 60), tentatively ascribed the letters to an Ephesian potter, but as Jeffery (1990, 339) notes, this is uncertain.

25 Hemelrijk 1984, 160; 2009, 76.

26 Reeves et al. 2002, 49, 53, where it is also stated (49): 'Although formerly classified in their own separate order, the Pinnipedia, the consensus now is to consider pinnipeds as belonging to three closely related families within the order Carnivoria: Otariidae (the "eared" seals), Odobenidae (the Walrus), and Phocidae (the "true" seals), with a total of more than 30 species.'

27 Reeves et al. 2002, 56-57, 150-153.

28 Reeves et al. 2002, 150-151.

29 Reeves et al. 2002, 151.

30 Reeves et al. 2002, 150-151.

31 Reeves et al. 2002, 53.

32 Translated A.T. Murray.

33 Reeves et al. 2002, 151.

34 Translated A.T. Murray.

35 Translated J. Henderson.

36 For which see Reeves et al. 2002, 131-133; farther east, in Siberia, the world's smallest true seal, the Baikal Seal (*Pusa sibirica*), inhabits Lake Baikal (see Reeves et al. 2002, 134-137).

37 Translated A.L. Peck. This is the manner in which modern fur seals were, until fairly recently, killed in the Arctic regions of the northern hemisphere.

38 Head 1892 [1981], xxi; the coin was first illustrated in Head 1875, pl. X, no 6; and is conveniently illustrated in Kraay/Hirmer 1966, 178, no 593, and in Kraay 1976, pl. 70. There are specimens of other extant early coin types of Phokaia, for which see Bodenstedt 1976, 1981. For the main series of Phokaian coinage depicting the personified bust of Phokaia, see Langlotz 1975, pl. 2, nos 14-16, pl. 3, nos 1-12, pl. 4, nos 1-3. For the later coinage of Phokaia, depicting the personified Phokaia standing with another goddess, see Vollkommer 1994, 395-396.

39 Kraay/Hirmer 1966, 355, pl. 178, no 593.

40 E.g., Bodenstedt 1981, pl. 1, no 1 (Ph 1.3); pl. 42, various examples. For the silver series, see further van Alfen/Bransbourg 2013, 10-11, with fig. 12. For the electrum series, see Weidauer 1975, 38-9, pl. 21, nos 188-189 (both with a seal swimming toward the right). One of the most magnificent examples that has surfaced recently, is a seal with an octopus in its mouth on an electrum coin recently displayed in the Jerusalem Museum, see Konuk et al. 2012, 39-41 (with Φ superimposed on the narrow end of the seal, before the flippers).

41 Cf. Hemelrijk 1984, 46.

42 Roper et al. 1984, 4, fig. 1.

43 The various components of any octopus are the arms, the head (i.e., what is immediately above the arms and in the area surrounding the eyes), and the mantle, the rounded bag-like body above the head proper, see Roper et al. 1984, 7, fig. 3; for the body parts of cephalopods and their terminology, see Norman 2000, 14-15.

44 Roper et al. 1984, 197, 204, 211-212, 215, 217-218, 220.

45 Roper et al. 1984, 211-212.

46 For a good representation of what must be an *Octopus vulgaris*, or *Octopus macropus*, on a Paestan red-figure fish plate, see Kunisch 1989, pl. XII.

47 Roper et al. 1984, 197.

48 Roper et al. 1984, 197.

49 The arms and mantle of the *Octopus macropus* and *Octopus vulgaris* are stouter and larger, not to mention that both are spotted. The form of the remainder is too different to that of the octopus on the hydria for direct comparison.

50 Puschmann 1963 [1879], 251 (7.1).

51 Among many such representations, I illustrate only one, a fragmentary red-figure Type B cup attributed to Epiktetos by Beazley (*ARV*^{2}, 1624.24 *bis*) and dated 510-500 BC; the fragments are fully published in Moore 1998, 13-14, pl. 397: 2, 4-6 (especially 4).

52 See especially Reeves et al. 2002, 390, which illustrates Short-beaked Common Dolphins bow riding.

53 Reeves et al. 2002, 326.

54 Reeves et al. 2002, 326.

55 Reeves et al. 2002, 326.

56 Illustrated together and to scale in Reeves et al. 2002, 330-331.

57 For the former, see Reeves et al. 2002, 358-361; for the lat-

ter 388-389. The Common Bottlenose Dolphin, as Reeves et al. 2002, 358, state, 'is the archetypal dolphin, well known to the ancient Greeks and Romans because of its common nearshore presence throughout the Mediterranean Sea. Today it has achieved world-wide exposure as the star of the television series (and later film) *Flipper* and as the main attraction in many oceanariums [sic].'

[58] What characterizes the Common Bottlenose Dolphin is a robust body with short to medium-length beak and a coloration that is basically gray and muted. In contrast, the Short-beaked Common Dolphin has a more pronounced beak, a dark dorsal area, with a light gray or yellowish patch on the sides forward of the dorsal fin, and light gray (off-white) flanks and caudal peduncle.

[59] Reeves et al. 2002, 359, 389.

[60] For which see Reeves et al. 2002, 380-83.

[61] For these species, see Reeves et al. 2002, 374-379, 392-394.

[62] My description is based on Reeves et al. 2002, 388.

[63] Reeves et al. 2002, 389-390.

[64] Reeves et al. 2002, 380.

[65] Reeves et al. 2002, 380-381.

[66] Reeves et al. 2002, 381.

[67] Compare and contrast, for example, the photographs of the Common Bottlenose Dolphin (Reeves et al. 2002, 360), with those of the Striped Dolphin (382-383), and the Short-beaked Common Dolphin (390-391).

[68] *Iliad* 21.22-26. Translated A.T. Murray, revised by W.F. Wyatt.

[69] Translated A.T. Murray, revised by G.E. Dimock.

[70] Translated J.M. Edmonds.

[71] Translated Sir John Sandys.

[72] Translated A.D. Godley.

[73] Oppian, *Halieutica* 1.646-652, translated A.W. Mair.

[74] Among many other references, see Czernohaus 1988; Kunisch 1989, 25, fig. 6; 64-65, figs 7-9.

[75] Marangou 1995, 126.

[76] Boardman 1987, 80.

[77] Boardman 1987, 79. Adrienne Mayor (2000, 157-162, with figs 4.1-4.2) cogently suggests that one of the earliest representations of the 'Monster of Troy', with Herakles and Hesione, on a Corinthian krater of ca 550 BC and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (63.420 = Boardman 1987, 79, pl. 24, fig. 10) is not a poorly-drawn sea monster, but a monstrous animal fossil skull poking out of a cliff-side. Mayor goes on to compare the Corinthian representation with the fossil skull of, among other paleontological curiosities, *Samotherium*, a giant Miocene giraffe found on Samos (see Mayor 2000, 161, fig. 4.3).

[78] Moyle/Cech 1996, 301.

[79] Moyle/Cech 1996, 301, with reference to Pietsch 1978.

[80] Nelson 1994, 217-218.

[81] Burton/Burton 2002, 1768.

[82] Minos et al. 2013, 161-164, with distribution map on 163, fig. 3.

[83] Burton/Burton 2002, 1767.

[84] See Jordan/Evermann 1898, 2596.

[85] Jordan/Evermann 1898, 2595.

[86] Moyle/Cech 1996, 301.

[87] Burton/Burton 2002, 1767.

[88] Nelson 1994, 217; Burton/Burton 2002, 1767.

[89] Vryonis 1993; Horden/Purcell 2000; Abulafia 2011; Broodbank 2013; Braudel 1949.

[90] Papadopoulos/Ruscillo 2002, 223.

[91] Papadopoulos/Ruscillo 2002, 223.

[92] Berg 2013, 13; Berg 2011.

[93] Vermeule 1979, 179-209, esp. 184-185; see further Papadopoulos/Ruscillo 2002, 215-216.

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A Mother's Gaze: Death and Orphanhood on Classical Attic Grave Reliefs

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Abstract

*The present paper examines the classical Attic grave reliefs of deceased mothers depicted with their infants or children, thus identifying the iconographical differences between reliefs in which the emphasis lies solely on the death of the young women, while the presence of their children merely serves to indicate their maternal status, and reliefs that do not focus on the death of these women alone, but also emphasize the orphaned state of their offspring. Special attention is assigned to the latter, since their iconography succeeds in highlighting both the maternal role of the deceased females and the tragic consequences of their death. The iconography of the reliefs under consideration enhances the sadness for a mother's loss through the touching scenes of dead women responding to their offspring's gestures for the last time, interacting with them, or handing over their infants to a living female, as well as the depiction of children struggling in vain to attract their deceased mother's gaze.**

> νέος ἐγώ, πάτερ, λείπομαι φίλας
> μονόστολός τε ματρός· ὦ
> σχέτλια δὴ παθὼν
> ἐγὼ ἔργ', … οἰχομένας δὲ σοῦ,
> μᾶτερ, ὄλωλεν οἶκος.
> (Euripides, *Alcestis* 406-415)[1]

Long after Euripides wrote these lines emphasizing the tragedy of a mother's death, Phylonoe, an Athenian wife and mother, died. Her grave stele (*fig. 1*),[2] one of the large collection of classical Attic funerary reliefs in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, dates to ca 370 BC. Dressed in chiton and himation, the deceased is seated on a *diphros* to the left, her feet resting on a footstool. Her right arm is bent, the hand lightly resting against her right shoulder, while the left forearm rests on her lap. Her head is inclined, and when the relief is seen from some distance, it seems as if she is actually supporting her chin with her right hand.[3] Facing Phylonoe, there stands a woman holding an infant in her arms. Despite the grave expression on her face, she does not look at the deceased, as is often the case with secondary figures on classical Attic grave reliefs. Her gaze is directed at the infant that extends one hand to its mother, the other hand unfortunately not preserved. Phylonoe does not react to her baby's dramatic gesture. She no longer belongs to the world of the living, where her offspring still resides. The infant's obvious longing for its mother is not reciprocated by the deceased, who is rather detached and immersed in deep melancholy. Even though the grave stele honours Phylonoe, it is the infant's gesture that captures the spectator's gaze first. The image of the baby trying in vain to attract its dead mother's attention, enhances the iconography of the relief that marked the grave of a mother by creating a particularly tragic contrast between the baby's *pathos*, and the mother's impassivity. Thus, the iconography of the stele does not focus on the sad fate of the young mother alone, but also on the motherless baby she left behind, as well as the grievous separation of the two. Death and orphanhood are juxtaposed on the stele of Phylonoe, closely linked to one another. Hence, it is not surprising that the standing woman's gaze is not directed at the deceased, but at the unfortunate infant that has been forever deprived of its mother.

A similar scene can be seen on an Attic marble funerary *lekythos* in the University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology (*fig. 2*).[4] Dating to the first quarter of the 4th century BC, the relief is of considerably lower artistic quality than the stele of Phylonoe. Nevertheless, its similarities to the latter are truly noteworthy. Once again, the deceased mother is represented seated on a *diphros* to the left, clad in chiton and himation, her feet resting on a footstool. Unlike Phylonoe, her head is not inclined, and her right hand does not rest against the shoulder, but grasps the edge of her himation at shoulder height (*anakalypsis*).[5] Facing her, stands the woman holding the infant. The latter raises its right arm in the direction of the mother it has lost - a gesture that seems somewhat less dramatic in comparison to that of the Phylonoe relief, not only because of the less skilful render-

Fig. 1. Grave stele of Phylonoe. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3790 (photo National Archaeological Museum, Athens by Ilias Iliadis). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 2. Marble lekythos. *University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology 79.143 (photo and copyright Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri).*

ing of the *lekythos* figures by the sculptor, but also as a result of the greater distance between mother and baby in this scene. Indeed, one of the most touching aspects of the Phylonoe stele is the proximity between mother and offspring, portrayed so close, and yet so 'distant' from one another, as they both belong in different worlds. It is this proximity that makes the infant's vain attempt to reach the mother it longs for particularly tragic. Despite these differences, the two reliefs share a very similar iconography, both emphasizing the death of the seated female, as well as the orphaning of the baby she left behind.

The grave stele of Selino in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (*fig. 3*)[6] is several decades earlier than the Phylonoe and Missouri reliefs, dating to ca 430-420 BC. Dressed in chiton and himation, the latter drawn over the back of her head, the deceased is seated on a *klismos* to the right, her feet resting on a footstool. In her raised left hand she holds a mirror. She is shaking hands (*dexiosis*)[7] with Niko, a standing young female figure holding an infant with her left hand. The infant, named Mynnaki, is seated on Niko's left arm facing its mother. Its right arm is extended towards Selino. Unlike the infants of the Phylonoe and Missouri reliefs, who are struggling to reach their mother, Mynnaki is sitting rather quietly in the crook of Niko's arm, its gesture betraying no agonising attempt to communicate with the deceased. The scene may lack the strong emotion of the other two reliefs, but the quiet sadness of the figures and the infant's resignation to the deadly fate that has separated it from its mother are particularly touching.

Before moving on to examine other funerary reliefs marking the graves of dead mothers,[8] I feel it is important to note the existence of an Attic white *lekythos* fragment with a strikingly similar iconography to that of the Phylonoe stele and the Missouri *lekythos*. The fragment, now in the British Museum,[9] is attributed to the Bosanquet Painter and dates to ca 440 BC. The deceased mother is shown seated (most likely on the steps of her own grave monument) to the left, with one leg crossed over the other. Her right arm is bent, and she is resting her chin on the right hand.[10] Facing her stands a partly preserved woman holding a naked baby boy. The latter extends his arms in the direction of his mother.[11] Just like Phylonoe, the deceased does not react to her son's gesture, but remains detached and melancholic, fully alienated from the world of the living.

Let us now consider the remaining classical Attic grave reliefs of dead mothers accompanied by a standing female holding their baby (*fig. 4*).[12] On most of these two-figured reliefs the seated mother is depicted as on the Missouri *lekythos* (*fig. 2*),[13] performing the *anakalypsis* gesture,[14] once shown with her head strongly inclined.[15] On another stele, the deceased is holding an open box on her lap with both hands.[16] Unique among this group of funerary reliefs is the grave stele of a woman raising her right hand in a speaking gesture towards the standing female holding her baby, thus not appearing detached and isolated like the other dead mothers.[17] In only two cases is the deceased women's pose reminiscent of Phylonoe and the Bosanquet Painter mother.[18] Nevertheless, in great contrast to the Phylonoe and Missouri reliefs, where the infants are desperately trying to attract their dead mother's gaze, the infants on all other reliefs remain motionless,[19] hardly paying any attention to the deceased women whose early death will have such a serious impact on their lives.

Turning to multi-figured scenes where the deceased mother and the female holding the infant are accompanied by one or more family members (*fig. 5*),[20] it is important to note that such reliefs place special emphasis on family unity and the relationship of the dead women

Fig. 3. Grave stele of Selino. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 901 (photo National Archaeological Museum, Athens by Klaus Valtin von Eickstedt). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 4. Grave stele of Kleariste. Brauron, Archaeological Museum BE 92 (photo and copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs / Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica).

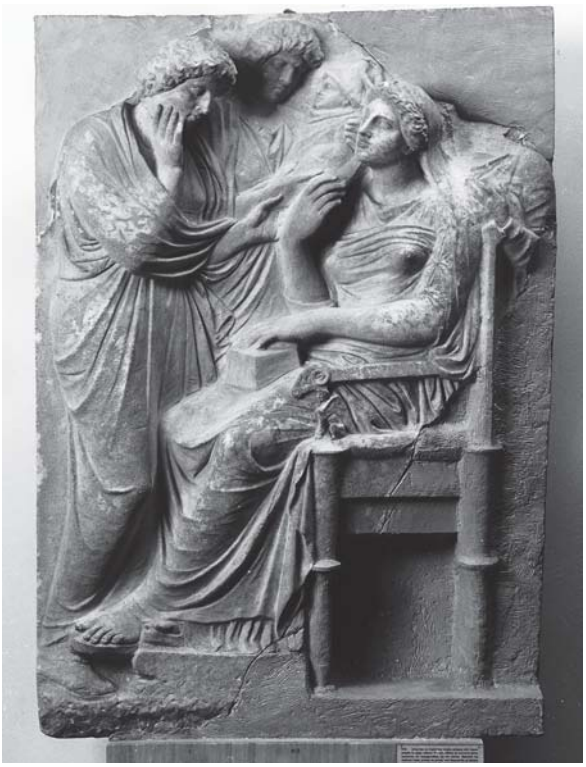

Fig. 5. Grave stele. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 819 (photo National Archaeological Museum, Athens by Ilias Iliadis). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

with the bereaved members of their family. On these reliefs, the dead mothers are not always seated, but are occasionally shown standing.[21] They usually shake hands with another figure (*dexiosis*), more often male than female.[22] The gesture of *anakalypsis* also appears quite frequently, since half of the deceased women are holding the edge of their himation at shoulder height.[23] One of the dead mothers is depicted in the act of removing an item from the box she is holding,[24] while another rests her hand on a box that is placed on her lap (*fig. 5*).[25] Unlike the two-figured scenes, the female holding the infant never faces the deceased on multi-figured reliefs.[26] She is standing either in the background between the main figures,[27] or behind them,[28] sometimes looking with sadness at the unfortunate little orphan in her arms.[29]

It is therefore obvious that the Phylonoe, Missouri, and Selino reliefs (*figs 1-3*) stand out among all the other grave reliefs with similar iconography. The major difference between them concerns the depiction of infants. In most two-figured as well as multi-figured scenes, the infants are shown swaddled and inert in the arms of the female figures holding them, without even casting a glance at their deceased mothers.[30] Only the infants of the Phylonoe, Missouri, and Selino reliefs are gesturing to their mother, trying in vain to communicate with her. The presence of infants on all other funerary reliefs merely serves to indicate that the deceased is a wife and mother,[31] who has most likely died in childbirth, or shortly afterwards.[32] This is even more apparent in the case of multi-figured scenes, where the iconography focused foremost on the relationship between the dead woman and the adult members of her family,[33] while the female holding the infant occupies a less prominent position, appearing either in the background, or behind one of the main figures. No other reliefs besides the Phylonoe, Missouri, and Selino ones give prominence to the powerful

Fig. 6. Grave stele. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum 23.176 (photo and copyright The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore).

ties of love and affection between mother and child, emphasizing the tragic fate that has separated them forever.

Infants occasionally appear more closely linked with the deceased, as a group of funerary reliefs dating to 420-350 BC demonstrates (*fig. 6*).[34] In these scenes, the babies are not held by a living female relative or a servant-maid, but are instead depicted in the arms of their dead mothers.[35] The deceased women are usually shown seated,[36] most often holding their offspring in their arms.[37] The *dexiosis* and *anakalypsis* gestures are not very frequent,[38] and only one of the dead mothers is portrayed holding an object.[39] The infants are always depicted swaddled and motionless in their mothers' arms, with the possible exception of an early 4th century grave stele, where the baby seems to be extending one or both arms in the direction of its mother (*fig. 6*).[40] The latter's attention is clearly focused on the infant.[41] She does not even look at her older child, a boy standing before her, trying in vain to attract her gaze by showing her the bird he holds in his right hand.[42] On a contemporary marble *lekythos*, the deceased is shown with her first born child on her lap, while a standing female figure holds an infant.[43] It is therefore apparent that in both cases the unfortunate mothers died during the birth of their second child, or shortly afterwards. The rather unusual iconography of another grave stele reveals that the young mother died while giving birth to twins, and is therefore depicted holding one infant, while her young servant-maid is holding the other.[44]

The obvious question that arises from examining these reliefs is whether the fact that the infants are held by their deceased mother, and not by a living female figure[45] might in some cases acquire a special meaning, namely that both mother and offspring are dead.[46] Such a concept is far from unreasonable, given the high infant mortality rates in ancient Greece[47] and the mortal perils women faced during childbirth.[48] The theme of the deceased female holding a dead infant appears on the grave stele of Ampharete (*fig. 7*), one of the most famous funerary reliefs of the Kerameikos Archaeological Museum.[49] Seated on a *klismos* to the right, Ampharete rests her right arm over the back of the seat, holding a bird in her hand. She is dressed in chiton and himation, the latter drawn over the back of her head. The edge of the himation also covers the small body of an infant she holds with her left hand. The infant extends its right arm in her direction. As we learn from the epigram, Ampharete is the baby's grandmother, and they are both dead:

> τέκνον ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς τόδ' ἔχω φίλον, ὅμπερ ὅτε αὐγάς ὄμμασιν ἠελίο ζῶντες ἐδερκόμεθα, ε(ἶ)χον ἐμοῖς γόνασιν καὶ νῦν φθίμενον φθιμένη 'χω.[50]

As several scholars have pointed out, the iconography of the stele would have been most suitable for a young mother.[51] It is therefore possible that at least some of the funerary reliefs in question may depict a deceased mother holding her dead infant, just like Ampharete holds her dead grandchild. Infants are not named on classical Attic grave reliefs, so the absence of relevant name inscriptions on the reliefs under consideration does not indicate that those infants are alive.[52] Rather exceptional is the marble *lekythos* of Phile, where the deceased is holding her older child on her lap, while the infant is held by a female relative.[53] Per-

Fig. 7. Grave stele of Ampharete. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 695 / I 221 (photo Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens - Kerameikos Museum by S. Mavrommatis). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs.

Fig. 8. Marble lekythos *of Xenokrateia. Athens, Agora I 7031 (photo and copyright: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Photo Craig Mauzy).*

haps here it is the first born child that followed its mother in Hades, whereas the infant outlived them both. Equally remarkable is the grave stele mentioned above, depicting a deceased mother holding an infant, and a servant-maid holding the infant's twin.[54] This might signify that only one of the twins survived, although it is impossible to tell with certainty. In two cases however, the iconography reveals that the infants did not die, but were left behind to grow up without a mother.[55] On these *stelai*, the dead mothers are portrayed in the act of handing over their infants to a servant-maid or a female relative. Lacking the ambiguity of all other reliefs in this group, such scenes emphasize the tragic outcome of childbirth that has forever separated the unfortunate mothers from their young offspring.

Fig. 9. Grave stele. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 722 (photo National Archaeological Museum, Athens by Ilias Iliadis). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The *pathos* of the orphan child is not a theme confined to the Phylonoe, Missouri, and Selino reliefs. On an Attic marble funerary *lekythos* from the Athenian Agora (*fig. 8*)[56] dating to the first quarter of the 4th century BC, the deceased Xenokrateia[57] is shown standing before her seated mother, with whom she shakes hands (*dexiosis*). The mother extends her left hand in a speaking gesture towards her daughter, who is accompanied by a servant-girl. It is only at a second glance that the spectator notices the semi-naked toddler at the seated woman's feet. Turned in the direction of the standing female, undoubtedly its mother, the toddler raises its head and both arms towards her, in the familiar manner of a child wishing to be picked up. Even though the toddler's presence is not particularly conspicuous, it is nonetheless an essential part of the iconography. Not only does it indicate that the deceased was a wife and

mother,[58] but it also adds a dramatic note to the scene. The toddler's yearning for its mother's embrace is in complete contrast to the dead woman's impassivity. The child's need for motherly love and attention remains unfulfilled, its arms raised in vain towards the deceased, who does not even look at her offspring. The relief may primarily focus on the relationship of the dead woman with her bereaved mother, but it is the toddler's touching gesture that reveals the tragedy behind the death of Xenokrateia, namely that the woman died early, leaving behind a young child to grow up without a mother.

Besides the little orphans of the Phylonoe, Missouri, Selino, and Xenokrateia reliefs, older children also appear desperate to attract their dead mother's gaze on a number of classical Attic grave reliefs (*fig. 9*).[59] In most of these scenes the deceased women are shown seated,[60] sometimes performing the *anakalypsis* gesture.[61] They are usually accompanied by another adult,[62] male or female, with whom they frequently shake hands (*dexiosis*).[63] Their offspring are depicted as close to them as possible, often leaning against their legs. Most of these dead women are mothers to a single child, boy or girl, but there are a few cases where more than one child,[64] or a child and an infant are shown (*fig. 6*).[65] The children extend one or both arms towards their deceased mother,[66] some of them also holding a bird in their raised hand (*figs 6, 9*).[67] On classical Attic funerary reliefs, birds being shown or handed over by a child to another child, an adult to a child, or vice versa, are the equivalent of the *dexiosis* for children, linking them with adults and even with one another.[68] It is however in vain that the orphan children of the reliefs under discussion are trying to catch their mother's eye by reaching out for her, or showing her their pet birds.[69] The dead women do not pay any attention to their offspring's agonising gestures. Instead, they shake hands (*dexiosis*) with an adult member of their family, or are occasionally depicted melancholic, fully detached and isolated from the world of the living.[70] In one case, the deceased remains focused on the act of removing something from the open box held by a woman that stands before her, and does not respond at all to the close presence of her little daughter, who is trying to capture her mother's gaze by showing her the bird she holds (*fig. 9*).[71] There is indeed nothing more heartbreaking in those scenes than the contrast between the child longing for the mother it has lost, and the mother's inability to provide the love and tender care her offspring needs.

Even though dead mothers usually appear distant and remote from their children on classical Attic funerary reliefs, there is a small number of grave *stelai* that present an entirely different picture. In these scenes, the deceased is not oblivious of her child's presence, but responds to it. Sometimes the mother's reaction is very discreet - a mere indication that she can see the orphan

Fig. 10. Grave stele of Polyxene. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 723 (photo National Archaeological Museum, Athens by Ilias Iliadis). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

she has left behind. This is the case of an Attic grave stele in the Piraeus Archaeological Museum,[72] dating to the first quarter of the 4th century BC. The dead woman is portrayed seated on a *diphros* to the right, her feet resting on a footstool. Her daughter, a girl leaning against her legs, extends both arms to her mother. She acknowledges the child's presence by gesturing to her with her right hand, while grasping the edge of her himation at shoulder height with the left one (*anakalypsis*). Here, the interaction between mother and child is rather subtle, lacking any great display of motherly love and affection. Nevertheless, its difference from the fully detached mothers of the funerary reliefs previously discussed is still pronounced.

The well-known stele of Polyxene in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (*fig. 10*) takes the dead mother's response to her child's presence one step further.[73] Dressed in chiton and himation, the latter drawn over the back of her strongly inclined head, the deceased is seated on a *diphros* to the right, with her feet resting on a footstool. Her right hand, now missing, once performed the *anakalypsis* gesture. A boy leans against her left leg, holding a ball or fruit in his right hand. The child has placed both hands on his mother's thighs, and raises his head to look at her with longing. Polyxene does not look at her son. She is isolated and melancholic, deeply immersed in the solitude of death. Only her left arm, which is placed around the boy's back, betrays the motherly love and affection she feels for her child. However, her arm remains slack and lifeless, the hand hanging loosely behind the boy's left arm, revealing the tragedy of the mother's early death that has forever separated her from her son. Polyxene cannot fully embrace her son, having left the world of the living for the dark realm of Hades.

Fig. 11. Grave stele. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I 903/2.1 (photo and copyright Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, NL).

Moving on to funerary reliefs of dead mothers thoroughly interacting with their offspring, we shall first examine a late 5th century grave stele in Leiden Rijksmuseum (*fig. 11*).[74] Here the deceased is seated on a *klismos* to the left, her feet resting on a footstool. Facing her stands a female figure holding a semi-naked infant, the latter also facing the dead woman and extending its left arm to her. The standing female is about to hand the infant over to its seated mother, who extends both arms to receive it. Unlike the infants of the Phylonoe, Missouri, and Selino reliefs, the baby of the Leiden stele extends its arm towards a mother that responds to it, the tragic aspect of this particular scene lying in the fact that the mother cannot receive her offspring in her arms ever again, and the infant can never be reunited with its mother. The mother's arms will therefore remain empty, and the orphan baby will not be lovingly enfolded in a maternal embrace.[75]

The most affectionate mother of the funerary reliefs under consideration bears the name of Asia. Her grave stele in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (*fig. 12*)[76] is contemporary to the Piraeus relief, dating to the first quarter of the 4th century BC. The deceased is shown seated on a *klismos* to the right, her feet resting on a footstool. A naked boy stands before her, leaning against her legs. The child is standing on tiptoe, raising both arms to his mother. In contrast to the orphans on other reliefs, this boy's longing for a mother's embrace is fully reciprocated. Asia does indeed embrace her son with one hand, supporting his left forearm with the other. Her head is strongly inclined, as she looks at her boy. Their gazes meet, but the mother's face is battered and her facial expression is lost forever. The tender scene does not eliminate the grim reality of Asia's

Fig. 12. Grave stele of Asia. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 767 (photo National Archaeological Museum, Athens by Eleutherios A. Galanopoulos). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

early death and the loss her son has suffered, but rather enhances the viewer's compassion for the sad fate that has befallen mother and child. The touching image of Asia embracing her son is a firm reminder of what has been lost, and can never be recovered.

On several Attic grave reliefs the deceased mothers are also depicted interacting with their children by showing or handing over to them the bird they are holding in their right hand (*fig. 13*).[77]

Fig. 13. Grave stele. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3610 (photo National Archaeological Museum, Athens by Kostas Konstantopoulos). Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Most of these women are portrayed seated,[78] some of them grasping the edge of their himation at shoulder height with their left hand (*anakalypsis*).[79] The children, boys and girls of various ages, usually extend their right arm towards the bird, eager to receive it. On three marble funerary *lekythoi* dating to 420-375 BC, two children are shown instead of the usual one.[80] Equally noteworthy is the grave stele of Nikeso, in the Piraeus Archaeological Museum.[81] Here the seated mother is resting her right hand on the body of a duck that sits on her lap, while her son Protarchos caresses the bird. As mentioned above, birds being shown

or handed over by an adult to a child are the equivalent of the *dexiosis* for children on classical Attic funerary reliefs, linking them with the adult figures holding the birds.[82] The same is true for the late 5th century BC grave stele of Megisto, who is depicted standing, performing the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand.[83] She is not holding a bird, but a hare, possibly entrusting it to her son Eratoxenos. In this instance, the hare performs exactly the same function as that of a bird, linking the deceased to her young son. The togetherness of mother and offspring in such scenes[84] highlights their strong loving relationship that death has so brutally terminated.[85] These charming images of playful interaction between mother and child(ren) enhance the tragic aspects of maternal death by portraying together for one last time those whom death has forever separated.

Having discussed the iconography of the grave reliefs under consideration, a question remains open: given the often ambiguous nature of Attic funerary relief scenes, can we be certain that the reliefs examined here were indeed erected in honour of Athenian mothers who had died leaving their offspring behind? Anyone who has studied the iconography of classical Attic grave reliefs knows that it is often very difficult to identify the deceased among the figures depicted in scenes of two or more figures.[86] However, in the majority of the reliefs examined here the dead persons can be identified with reasonable or even absolute certainty, through the study of iconography,[87] or (more rarely) inscriptional evidence.[88] Probable but not certain cases of reliefs honouring deceased mothers are also included in this paper. These are limited in number compared to the certain cases, and are all mentioned in the notes.

Since funerary reliefs were more often bought ready-made, it was the added inscriptions that actually 'transformed' each relief into the *sema* of a specific person or persons.[89] This can be clearly seen in the grave stele of Ampharete,[90] discussed earlier in this paper, but also in the stele of young Mynnia,[91] who is depicted standing, shaking hands with a seated woman named Euphrosyne, as the name inscriptions above the figures' heads indicate. The latter is portrayed with the himation drawn over her bowed head, fully isolated and detached. She pays no attention to either of her daughters, the deceased Mynnia standing before her, and Artemisias, a young girl shown kneeling at her mother's feet, extending in vain her right hand to Euphrosyne. Here the seated woman is undoubtedly the focus of attention. The stele would have therefore been most suitable for marking the grave of a mother, if it wasn't for the epigram stating that 'here lies Mynnia, who will be missed by her mother'. Thus, the inscription imposes a different reading of the scene than that dictated by the relief's iconography. The standing daughter is therefore identified as the deceased, shaking hands with her bereaved mother.

Could these two extraordinary *stelai* cast a shadow of doubt on the interpretation of all funerary reliefs with similar iconography as *semata* of deceased mothers? I believe not, although they certainly prove caution is essential in interpreting grave relief scenes. The *stelai* of Mynnia and Ampharete are the only ones among the reliefs studied in this paper that bear epigrams. As mentioned above, these epigrams impose a different reading than the one dictated by the iconography of the *stelai*, and by doing so they differentiate the two reliefs from all others with a similar iconography that bear no epigrams. In other words, the epigrams were essential in order to mark the two *stelai* as extraordinary, by stating that Ampharete and Mynnia were not mothers, as the iconography indicated, but grandmother and maiden daughter, respectively. Thus, the existence of these two exceptional reliefs cannot be used as an argument against the interpretation of all the funerary reliefs under consideration as *semata* of deceased mothers.

On classical Attic funerary reliefs, mourning the loss of a loved one is a characteristic of adult or adolescent figures alone. An adult figure, the mother, father, husband, wife, or other close relative of the deceased, can be depicted sorrowful, melancholic, and in mourning.[92] But a child is never shown in mourning.[93] One might wonder why children do not mourn for their mothers, given the fact that a mother's death is severely traumatic and irreparable to her child. On grave reliefs of untimely lost mothers, children[94] appear either totally unaffected by their mother's death,[95] or desperate to attract the deceased's gaze.[96] In the former case, the presence of children merely signifies motherhood, indicating that the dead women are mothers who have left their offspring behind. In addition to that, the appearance of infants on these reliefs reveals that the deceased has most likely died in childbirth, or shortly afterwards. The emphasis here lies exclusively on the mother's death, while the sad fate of the orphan children is completely ignored.[97] This is not the case with funerary reliefs that depict children extending one or both arms to their deceased mother.[98] Such scenes do not focus on the early death of these young women alone, but also on the relationship

between mother and child that death has so abruptly severed, as well as the tragic orphaned state of the children that will grow up without their mother's loving care and affection. The children's agonising attempts to catch their dead mother's eye by either gesturing, or showing their pet birds to them,[99] arouse the spectator's sympathy, compassion, and pity. By extending their arms to the deceased women, the orphans fully express their *pathos* and longing for the mother they have lost. On classical Attic grave reliefs, those gestures are the children's equivalent of the adults' mourning gestures, both revealing the pain and sorrow felt by the bereaved family members for the loss of their loved ones.

How do the deceased mothers react to their children's obvious need for motherly love and attention in such scenes ? Many of them are not even looking at their offspring, but appear engaged in some task, usually the shaking of hands with another adult figure (*dexiosis*).[100] Only on a small number of grave reliefs the deceased women respond to their children's beseeching arms,[101] some shown more restrained than others. In some cases though, it is not easy to tell whether the mother can see her child, or not. This is what happens with Phylonoe, Selino, and the Missouri relief mother, among others.[102] They are all looking in the direction of their offspring, but it is impossible to discern whether they can actually see and recognize their children, or they are absorbed in the solitude of death, completely detached from the world of the living. The fact remains, however, that the unanswered gestures of these orphans betray the sad truth, namely that their mothers are forever gone. The same is true for all funerary reliefs on which the dead mothers do not pay any attention to their offspring's presence and extended arms. Such scenes do not emphasize the tragic early death of the mother alone, but also the orphanhood of the children she has left behind. The touching image of the child trying in vain to interact with its deceased mother is a firm reminder of the fact that these children shall never feel the warmth of their mother's embrace ever again. In contrast to those scenes, where the mother and child relationship is shown severed by death, the grave reliefs that depict the dead mothers interacting with their offspring[103] focus on the exact same relationship. Hence, almost all of them are two-figured scenes, portraying the mother alone with her child, with no other family members present.[104] The sculptors of these reliefs have chosen to present the tragedy of a mother's death by showing what has been lost for ever, that is to say, the powerful loving relationship and tender interaction between the mother and her child that death has so cruelly separated.

In conclusion, the grave reliefs under consideration place special emphasis not only on the death of these unfortunate young women, but also on the sad orphaned state of their offspring, that are depicted trying in vain to attract their dead mother's gaze. Such reliefs highlight the maternal role of the deceased women and the bitter consequences of their death, namely that a mother's untimely descent to Hades leaves behind one or more orphans to grow up without her love and tender care. This is in contrast to all other funerary reliefs of dead mothers, where the emphasis lies solely on the early death of the young women, while the presence of their children merely serves to indicate that the deceased females were wives and mothers. Far from reducing the sadness for a mother's loss, focusing on the orphaning of her offspring actually enhances it, by presenting its negative impact on those children's lives. A mother's death means that her children will be forever deprived of her. This tragic separation of mother and child is very vividly expressed in the iconography of the above mentioned funerary reliefs, through the touching scenes of dead women responding to their offspring's beseeching gestures for one last time, tenderly interacting with them, or handing over their infants to a living female,[105] and the depiction of children desperately struggling to communicate with their deceased mother that can no longer see and embrace them. Maternal death and orphanhood - these are the themes of such reliefs that evoke the viewer's pity and compasion for the untimely death of Athenian mothers like Phylonoe, Selino, Xenokrateia, Polyxene, and Asia, as well as their orphan children that are shown with extended arms, longing for the motherly love they have lost for ever.

Catalogue

Infant held by female relative or maidservant

a. Infant trying to attract mother's attention

1. Grave stele of Selino, 430-420 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 901. CAT 2.590.
2. Marble *lekythos*, 400-375 BC. Columbia, University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology 79.143. CAT 2.783.
3. Grave stele of Phylonoe, ca 370 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3790. CAT 2.780.

b. Infant not reacting to mother's presence

Two-figured scenes

4. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 18.1865. CAT 2.719.
5. Marble *lekythos* of Phile, 400-375 BC. Athens, Roman Agora 748. CAT 2.725. *Double entry (also no 44).*
6. Marble *lekythos* of Chairippe, 400-375 BC. Munich, Glyptothek DV 32. CAT 2.759.
7. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. Québec, Laval University Collection D 41. CAT 2.778.
8. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. New York, White-Levy Collection. CAT 2.780a.
9. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. London, British Museum 1894.6-16.1. CAT 2.786.
10. Marble *lekythos*, 400-375 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1928. CAT 2.789.
11. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Chalkis, Archaeological Museum 104. CAT 2.806.
12. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Paris, Louvre Ma 2872. CAT 2.810. *Double entry (also no 50).*
13. Grave stele of Eirene, 375-350 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3582. CAT 2.849.
14. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 784. CAT 2.880b.
15. Grave stele of Praxagora, 375-350 BC. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6187. CAT 2.893a.
16. Grave stele of Kleariste, 350-330 BC. Brauron, Archaeological Museum BE 92. CAT 2.909.
17. Grave stele, 350-330 BC. Pisa, Campo Santo. CAT 2.919.

Multi-figured scenes

18. Marble *lekythos*, 420-400 BC. Brauron, Archaeological Museum. CAT 4.670. *Double entry (also no 80).*
19. Marble *lekythos*, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 814. CAT 4.680.
20. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 322. CAT 2.761.
21. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. Houston, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts 37.25. CAT 2.795.
22. Marble *lekythos* of Lysistrate, 400-375 BC. Cleveland, Museum of Art 25.1342. CAT 3.745. *Dubious*.
23. Marble *lekythos* of Menekrato, 400-375 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 50. CAT 3.751. *Dubious*.
24. *Hydria-loutrophoros* on base/trapeza decorated with relief scenes, 400-375 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4498. CAT 4.270.
25. Marble *lekythos* of Hippostrate, 400-375 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3499. CAT 4.770.
26. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Present whereabouts unknown. CAT 2.868a. *Double entry (also no 66).*
27. Grave stele of Medontis, 375-350 BC. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 233 / I 167. CAT 2.894.
28. Grave stele of Phaidra, 375-350 BC. Athens, Agora Archaeological Museum I 7131. CAT 3.822.
29. Marble *lekythos*, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. CAT 3.842.
30. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Marseilles, Musée Château Borély 1596. CAT 3.866.
31. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 991. CAT 3.875.
32. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. CAT 3.885. *Dubious*.
33. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Broom Hall, Elgin Collection. CAT 3.889.
34. Marble *lekythos* of Demokrateia, 375-350 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Pergamon Museum) 1870. CAT 4.850. *Dubious*.
35. Grave stele of Malthake, 350-330 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenmuseum 1977.5. CAT 3.919.
36. Grave stele of Phanagora, 350-330 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3657. CAT 3.932.
37. Grave stele of Kleagora, 350-330 BC. Rhamnous, Museum 460. CAT 3.933.
38. Grave stele of Bako, 350-330 BC. Paris, Louvre Ma 3113. CAT 4.910. *Double entry (also no 74).*
39. Grave stele, 350-330 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum. CAT 4.920.
40. Grave stele, 350-330 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 819. CAT 4.930.

Infant/young child held by mother

41. Grave stele, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 792. CAT 1.691.
42. Grave stele of Hagnostrate, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1895. CAT 2.640.
43. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 23.176. CAT 1.714. *Double entry (also no 55).*
44. Marble *lekythos* of Phile, 400-375 BC. Athens, Roman Agora 748. CAT 2.725. *Double entry (also no. 5).*
45. Fragmentary funerary relief, 400-375 BC. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 169. CAT 2.727.
46. Fragmentary funerary relief, 400-375 BC. New York, Metropolitan Museum 52.11.3. CAT 2.770.
47. Grave stele with *hydria-loutrophoros* in relief, 400-375 BC. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 663. CAT 3.703.
48. Grave stele of Arkesis, 375-350 BC. Lyme Park, Stockport, Cheshire. CAT 1.819.
49. Grave stele of Chrysis, 375-350 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1567. CAT 1.844.
50. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Paris, Louvre Ma 2872. CAT 2.810. Double entry (also no. 12).
51. Grave stele, 375-350 B.C. Marathon, Archaeological Museum BE 102. CAT 2.815.

Child/toddler trying to attract mother's attention

52. Marble *lekythos*, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1053. CAT 3.672.
53. Marble *lekythos*, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 816. CAT 3.680.
54. Marble *lekythos*, 420-400 BC. Paris, Louvre, Ma 3403 (MND 785). CAT 3.681.
55. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 23.176. CAT 1.714. *Double entry (also no. 43).*
56. Marble *lekythos* of Kallistomache, 400-375 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Theseion 77. CAT 2.745.
57. Marble *lekythos* of Xenokrateia, 400-375 BC. Athens, Agora I 7031. CAT 2.749.
58. Grave stele of Chairippe, 375-350 BC. Athens,

National Archaeological Museum, Theseion 138. CAT 2.816. Dubious.
59. Grave stele of Archestrate, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 722. CAT 2.820.
60. Marble *lekythos*, 375-350 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Pergamon Museum) 1109. CAT 2.844b.
61. Grave stele, 375-350 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 762. CAT 2.851.
62. Marble *lekythos*, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2561. CAT 2.851a. *Dubious*.
63. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 908. CAT 2.853.
64. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Paris, Louvre Ma 808. CAT 2.858. *Dubious*.
65. Marble *lekythos*, 375-350 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1527. CAT 2.861. *Dubious*.
66. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Present whereabouts unknown. CAT 2.868a. *Double entry (also no. 26)*.
67. Grave stele of Euphrosyne, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 865. CAT 3.873. *Dubious*.
68. Grave stele of Pythokrite, 350-330 BC. Rhamnous, Museum 405. CAT 2.914.
69. Grave stele, 350-330 BC. London, British Museum 1816.6-10.196. CAT 2.915.
70. Grave stele, 350-330 BC. Geneva, Musée d'art et d'Histoire 70. CAT 2.920.
71. Grave stele of Manyka, 350-330 BC. Paris, Musée Rodin 33. CAT 2.941.
72 Marble *lekythos* of Diphila, 350-330 BC. Present whereabouts unknown. CAT 3.918.
73. Grave stele of Glykera, 350-330 BC. Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Antikensammlung Alg. 4. CAT 3.954.
74. Grave stele of Bako, 350-330 BC. Paris, Louvre Ma 3113. CAT 4.910. *Double entry (also no. 38)*.

Mother responds to/interacts with child

75. Grave stele, 420-400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2579. CAT 1.662.
76. Grave stele, 420-400 BC. Paris, Louvre Ma 814. CAT 1.694.
77. Grave stele of Megisto, 420-400 BC. Houston, Du Menil Foundation 70-32-DJ. CAT 1.695.
78. Grave stele, 420-410 BC. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 9327. Moormann 2000, 104-105, no 125, pl. 57a.
79. Grave stele, 420-400 BC. Leiden, Rijksmuseum I 1903/2.1. CAT 2.652.
80. Marble *lekythos*, 420-400 BC. Brauron, Archaeological Museum. CAT 4.670. *Double entry (also no 18)*.
81. Grave stele of Asia, 400-375 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 767. CAT 1.700.
82. Grave stele of Patrokleia, 400-375 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1422. CAT 1.723. *Dubious*.
83. Marble *lekythos*, 400-375 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1089. CAT 1.763.
84. Marble *lekythos*, 400-375 BC. Athens, Third Ephoria. CAT 1.782.
85. Grave stele, 400-375 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 260. CAT 1.785.
86. Grave stele of Kallippe, 400-375 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3610. CAT 1.786.
87. Grave stele of Nikeso, 375-350 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 266. CAT 1.842.
88. Grave stele of Nikomache, 375-350 BC. Present whereabouts unknown. CAT 1.859. *Dubious*.
89. Grave stele of Ada, 375-350 BC. Athens, Third Ephoria M 1961. CAT 1.871.
90. Grave stele of Polyxene, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 723. CAT 2.850.
91. Marble *lekythos* of Amphainete, 350-330 BC. Paris, Musée Rodin 39. CAT 1.950.

Children not paying attention to mother

92. Marble *lekythos* of Nikostrate, 420-400 BC. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 34. CAT 2.670.
93. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Pergamon Museum) 761. CAT 1.894.
94. Grave stele, 375-350 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2083. CAT 2.830b.

NOTES

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1 'I am left young and cut adrift from my dear mother. Oh, I have suffered terrible grief … And since you have gone, Mother, the house is utterly destroyed' (Eur. *Alc*., transl. D. Kovacs).

2 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3790: cat. no 3 (a catalogue of all funerary reliefs studied here can be found at the end of the paper). Clairmont 1970, no 51, Pl. 24; see also Bergemann 1997, 161, Naiskos no 123, Taf. 20,2 and 48,4; Kaltsas 2002, 183, no 362.

3 Phylonoe's posture recalls the depiction of seated Penelope in classical art, and is also reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze seated Demeter: Neumann 1965, 136-145; see also Sojc 2005, 77-82. For the seated Penelope motif, see LIMC VII (1994), s.v. Penelope, 291-294, no 2-8, 10, 16, 18, 33, Pl. 225-230 (C. Hausmann); see also Kaeser 1998, 102-111. For the seated Demeter of the East Parthenon frieze, see LIMC IV Addenda (1988), s.v. Demeter, 879, no 423, Pl. 595 (L. Beschi); see also Mark 1984, 327.

4 Columbia, University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology 79.143: cat. no 2.

5 For the bridal gesture of *anakalypsis* and its meaning, see Καρούζος 1965, 257, 271-278; see also Κοντολέων

1965, 366-372, 381, 394-395, 398; Fehr 1971, 110; Dentzer 1982, 484-489; Oakley 1982, 113-118; Meyer 1989, 227-228; McManus 1990, 231; Stears 1995, 119-120; Scholl 1996, 169-170; Blundell 2002, 159-161; Leventi 2003, 48, 68-69; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 98-110, 114.

[6] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 901: cat. no 1. Scholl 1996, no 102.

[7] For the *dexiosis* motif on classical Attic funerary reliefs, see Johansen 1951, 149-151; see also Schmaltz 1983, 214-215; Davies 1985; Pemberton 1989; Lawton 1995, 36-38; Stears 1995, 126; Bergemann 1997, 61-62; Hoffmann 2006, 62, 71-72.

[8] This paper is not a complete corpus of all existing classical Attic grave reliefs marking the tombs of dead mothers. It is however based on the study of such reliefs, 88 in total, all but one (cat. no 78) included in C. Clairmont's extensive corpus of *Classical Attic Tombstones*.

[9] London, British Museum 1905.7-10.10. *ARV*^{2} 1227.10; *Add*^{2} 350; see also Reeder 1995, 145-146, no 13; Oakley 1997, 242; Castor 2006, 626; BAPD no 216338.

[10] As in the case of Phylonoe, the deceased woman's posture reflects the representations of seated Penelope and Demeter: Sojc 2005, 80-81. For more examples of the Penelope motif as it appears on white *lekythoi*, see Athens, National Museum 1908: *ARV*^{2} 1385.19; BAPD no 217833. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1927.4463: *ARV*^{2} 761.14; BAPD no 209434. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.212.8: *ARV*^{2} 1231.2; *Add*^{2} 352; BAPD no 216392. Athens, National Museum 1755: *ARV*^{2} 1385.17; *Para* 486; BAPD no 217839. Munich, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlungen 6254: *ARV*^{2} 1022.139; *Add*^{2} 316; see also *CVA, München, Antikensammlungen* 15, 69-71, Beil. 11.4, 22.3-4, fig. 27, Pl. (4615, 4617, 4619) 35.5, 37.3-4, 39.1-4; BAPD no 214320. Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire A 2289: *ARV*^{2} 1238,25; see also *CVA, Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantenaire)* 3, III.J.B.4, Pl. (134) 5.7A.7B.7C; BAPD no 216492. Sydney University, Nicholson Museum 41.03: *ARV*^{2} 1386.33; BAPD no 217858. Cracow, Czartoryski Museum 1251: *ARV*^{2} 1168,127; see also CVA, Cracow, Collections de Cracovie, 16, Pl. (067) 13.8A.8B; BAPD no 215479.

[11] One cannot tell with absolute certainty whether the infant can actually see its dead mother, or it merely extends one arm towards her grave.

[12] Cat. nos 4-11, 13-17. Catoni 2005, 32-34. It should be noted that fragmentary, weathered, or lost reliefs for which no photos or accurate descriptions exist are not included in the body of material studied in this paper, for obvious reasons. The reliefs examined here are therefore representative of a larger corpus of material.

[13] For the dead mother of cat. no 5, who is holding her first born child in her lap, see p. 91. Another special case is that of cat. no 12. Here the deceased has obviously given birth to twins, and is depicted holding one infant, while a young servant-maid is holding the other. For this grave stele, see p. 91.

[14] Cat. nos 4, 6-8, 13, 15-17.

[15] Cat. no 7. For more on this stele, see Francis 2004.

[16] Cat. no 9.

[17] Cat. no 11. For the representation of the deceased as detached, melancholic, and isolated on the Attic grave reliefs of the classical period, see Himmelmann 1956 (Versunkenheit, Entrückung, Verklärung).

[18] Cat. nos 10, 14. Both reliefs date to the first half of the 4th century BC. On the first one, the dead mother supports her strongly inclined head with her right hand, while on the second she has placed her right hand against her chin.

[19] All these babies are depicted swaddled up, and not moving freely as those of the Phylonoe and Missouri reliefs.

[20] Cat. nos 18-21, 24-31, 33, 35-40. Perhaps cat. nos 22-23, 32 and 34, as well. Men appear on a little more than half of these funerary reliefs: cat. nos 19, 22-25, 28, 30, 32-36, 39, 79. The presence of an older child on cat. nos 18, 22, 26, 34, 38, and possibly also on no 21, reveals that these unfortunate mothers died in the birth of their second offspring or shortly afterwards.

[21] Standing dead mothers: cat. nos 18, 20, 22, 24-25, 27, 34. Perhaps also on cat. nos 29 and 31, where it is not easy to identify with absolute certainty which of the two female figures is the deceased.

[22] Shaking hands with males: cat. nos 22-24, 30, 33-36, 39, and perhaps also cat. no 28. Shaking hands with females: cat. nos 20, 25, 27, 29, 31, 38. The females shaking hands with the dead women are probably their mothers, and the males are either their husbands, or their fathers.

[23] Cat. nos 18, 22-23, 25-28, 33, 37, 39-40.

[24] Cat. no 19.

[25] Cat. no 40.

[26] In the case of cat. no 26, where the woman holding the infant stands before the deceased, the latter is turned towards her older child, paying no attention to the woman who raises her right hand in a speaking gesture towards the dead mother. The fragmentary cat. no 21 bears a similar scene. Here however, the standing female's right hand is not extended in a speaking gesture, but rests near the chin of her inclined head.

[27] Cat. nos 23, 30, 32-33, 35-37, 39-40.

[28] Cat. nos 18-20, 22, 24-25, 27-29, 31, 34, 38.

[29] Cat. nos 20, 22, 27, 29, 31. On cat. no 18 the woman is very tenderly embracing the infant, while on cat. no 34 the servant maid holding the infant squats on the ground in a pose of mourning.

[30] Cat. nos 4, 6-11, 13-17, 19-20, 23-25, 27-40. See also, Grossman 2007, 310.

[31] Thus, the infants depicted in these scenes serve as attributes of motherhood, indicating that the deceased women have fulfilled their duties in life by giving birth to them. For the importance of giving birth to children in ancient Greece, see Eur. *Ion* 472-491; see also Blundell 1995, 124; Brulé 2003, 63, 69, 160-161; Oakley 2009, 207-208.

[32] In the case of older infants, like that of cat. no 18, the mother may have died a few months after giving birth.

[33] This is true for all but two reliefs in this group. On cat. no 26 the deceased is turned away from the woman holding her infant, while on cat. no 18 the dead mother extends the hand in which she is holding a bird to her child.

[34] Cat. nos 5, 12, 41-43, 45-49, 51. According to Clairmont, the mother holding her baby on cat. no 42 is most likely the dead person honoured by the stele. However, the possibility of the male figure being the deceased cannot be excluded. No further male figures are shown in this group of reliefs.

[35] Catoni 2005, 32-33.

[36] Only the deceased mothers of cat. nos 12 and 47 are depicted standing.

[37] Cat. nos 5, 43, 45, 47-49, 51.

[38] Only Hagnostrate, the dead mother of cat. no 42 is shaking hands with a standing male. He is too young to be her father, so he is most likely her husband. The *anakalypsis* gesture appears on cat. no 46, and perhaps also on cat. no 12.

[39] Cat. no 41. It is not easy to identify this object. Clairmont believes it could possibly be a distaff.

[40] Cat. no 43.

[41] Equally absorbed by her baby is the deceased of cat. no 48. Unlike cat. no 43, the mother is here depicted alone with her infant.
[42] For this child, see also p. 93.
[43] Cat. no 5. The child held by the dead mother is a very small one. It may not be an infant, but it is not much older than a toddler, and is therefore included in this group of funerary reliefs with similar iconography.
[44] Cat. no 12. Oakley 2003, 185, fig. 26; see also Dasen 2005, 49 and 202-203, fig. 132.
[45] See pp. 87-91.
[46] Compare with a white *lekythos* from Vergina, as interpreted by Oakley 2009, 210 (and note 12).
[47] Garland 1990, 108-111; 2008, 76, 95, 99, 160; see also Golden 1990, 83; Sallares 1991, 116-117, 444 (note 144); Oakley 2003, 163; Brody 2006, 1.
[48] Eur. *Med*. 248-251; see also Keuls 1985, 138-139; Garland 1990, 65; 2008, 77; Demand 1994, 71-86; Blundell 1995, 110; Stewart and Gray 2000, 261. For representations of women dying in childbirth on classical Attic grave reliefs, see Demand 1994, 122-134; see also Stewart and Gray 2000; Catoni 2005, 36-53.
[49] Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 695 / I 221. CAT 1.660.
[50] *IG* II 2 10650. 'I hold this beloved child of my daughter on my knees, as when we were both alive and saw the light of the sun with our eyes. And now, being dead myself, I hold the dead child' (transl. K. Margariti).
[51] Demand 1994, 126; see also Stears 1995, 111-112; 2000, 214; Pomeroy 1997, 132; Oakley 2003, 184; Sutton 2004, 330; Catoni 2005, 33-36; Grossman 2007, 311.
[52] Grossman 2007, 312; see also Oakley 2009, 222. For a possible explanation on why infants on grave reliefs are never named, see Garland 1985, 80.
[53] Cat. no 5.
[54] See note 44.
[55] Cat. nos 47, 51.
[56] Athens, Agora I 7031. Found in the garden west of the Hephaisteion. Cat. no 57. Schmaltz 1970, A 61, Pl. 22. Schmaltz 1970, A 61, Pl. 22; Grossman 2013, 137-138, no 163, Pl. 50.
[57] For the identification of the deceased, see p. 96, and notes 86-88.
[58] The married status of the deceased is also indicated by the fact that the himation is drawn over the back of her head: Dentzer 1982, 489; see also Bectarte 2009, 236; Dillon 2010, 111, 113; The child's presence reveals that she was not only married, but also a mother.
[59] Cat. nos 26, 38, 43, 52-54, 56, 58-65, 67-73. It should be noted that in the cases of cat. nos 58, 62, 64-65 and 67, it is very possible but not absolutely certain that the mother is the deceased. Male figures are depicted on more than half of these reliefs: cat. nos 52-54, 58, 62-65, 68, 70-73.
[60] Only the dead mothers of cat. nos 38 and 52-54 are portrayed standing. The seated mother's pose on cat. no 60 is somewhat reminiscent of the Phylonoe and Bosanquet Painter ones. Likewise, the standing deceased of cat. no 54 is depicted with one hand held close against the chin of her inclined head, looking particularly sad and detached.
[61] Cat. nos 26, 38, 52, 63-64, 69.
[62] This is true for all reliefs under discussion, besides the multi-figured cat. nos 38, 52-54, 67, 72-73, as well as the grave stele cat. no 43, where the dead mother is depicted alone with her children. It should be noted that any reference to adult figures in the present paper also includes the servant-maids of cat. nos 38, 52, 56, 73.
[63] The deceased women usually shake hands with males: cat. nos 52-54, 58, 62-65, 68, 70-73. Only on cat. nos 38, 61, 67 and 69 they shake hands with females.
[64] Two children appear on cat. nos 61, 63, and three on cat. no 62.
[65] Cat. nos 26, 38, 43. See also note 20.
[66] The children usually extend one arm, always the right one, towards their mother. Only those of cat. nos 56, 64, and 71 extend both arms. In the cases of cat. nos 62 and 63, where more than one child is present, only one of the children - the youngest of all - extends its arm towards the deceased.
[67] Cat. nos 43, 53, 58-59, 61, 73. Possibly also cat. nos 70-72. On cat. no 61, each of the two children is holding a bird.
[68] Pemberton 1989, 49. Cat. nos 18, 43, 59, 61, 73, 75-76, 83, 86-87, 89, 91-92. For further examples, see also, CAT 1.630, 1.660, 1.688, 1.690, 1.708, 1.715, 1.789, 1.868, 1.869, 1.870, 2.630, 2.763, 2.771, 2.821, 2.872a, 2.874b, 3.810, 6.850. On classical Attic grave reliefs children are hardly ever depicted shaking hands: Pemberton 1989, 49; see also Stears 1995, 126; Roccos 2000, 260; Beaumont 2012, 189. Only 12 such cases are recorded by Clairmont: CAT 291, 0.910, 1.687, 1.689, 1.759, 1.822, 1.843, 1.845, 2.423, 2.753, 2.791, 3.726. On CAT 0.910 and 2.753 two children are involved in a handshake, while on the other reliefs a child is shown shaking hands with an adult.
[69] For birds on classical Attic funerary reliefs, see Woysch 1982, 39-52. For birds as pets in ancient Greece, see Gosling 1935, 111-113; see also Lazenby 1949a, 249-250; 1949b, 300-301; Pollard 1977, 87-95, 135-140; Lewis 2002, 159-166; Beaumont 2012, 190-192. For birds as symbols of the human soul, see Vermeule 1979, 18; see also Bremmer 1983, 94, note 61; Harrison 1991, 200-201; Clairmont 1993, I, 398; Ogden 2002, 12-14; Oakley 2004, 211-212; Beaumont 2012, 190-191.
[70] Cat. nos 26, 56, 60. The deceased of cat. no 43 appears fully absorbed by the infant she holds, and does not pay any attention to her son, who is standing before her. For this particular relief, see p. 91.
[71] Cat. no 59. Foley 2003, 134, fig. 27.
[72] Cat. no 85.
[73] Cat. no 90. The stele dates to the second quarter of the 4th century BC.
[74] Cat. no 79. Reeder 1995, 136-137; see also Foley 2003, 133, fig. 25. Dating to 420-400 BC. Compare with the white *lekythos* by the Achilles Painter in Berlin: Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F 2443: ARV^2 995.118, 1576; Para 438; Add 2 312; see also *CVA, Berlin, Antikenmuseum* 8, 25-26, Beil. 6.2, Pl. (3050, 3051, 3052) 9.3-5, 10.1, 11.4-5; BAPD no 213940.
[75] On a contemporary grave stele in Amsterdam (cat. no 78), the mother extends both arms towards the infant held by a standing female. The woman holds the baby protectively, and does not respond to the mother's gesture. Thus, the mother's arms remain empty, and her desire to hold her baby unfulfilled. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of *BABESCH* for pointing out this stele to me, as it is not included in Clairmont's corpus.
[76] Cat. no 81. Oakley 2003, 184, fig. 24.
[77] Cat. nos 18, 75-76, 83-84, 86, 89, 91. Possibly also cat. nos 82 and 88. With the exception of no 91, all reliefs date to 420-350 BC. The theme is well known from the famous grave stele of Ampharete (see p. 91). Besides the family scene shown in cat. no 18, all reliefs depict the mother alone with her child or children.
[78] Only on cat. nos 18 and 75 the dead women are depicted standing.
[79] Cat. nos 18, 76, 82-83, 89.

[80] Cat. nos 18, 83-84. The second child on cat. no 83 is not much older than a toddler, and is portrayed with both arms raised in the direction of its dead mother. On cat. no 18 an infant is held by a standing female figure, while an older child interacts with the deceased (see pp. 89-90).

[81] Cat. no 87.

[82] See p. 93.

[83] Cat. no 77.

[84] Besides the multi-figured cat. no 18, all reliefs in this group depict the dead mothers alone with their children, with no other figures present. The emphasis is therefore clearly placed on the special relationship between mother and child.

[85] This is most obvious in the case of cat. no 84, where the mother's free hand is affectionately placed on the shoulder of her little daughter.

[86] For the ambiguity of classical Attic grave reliefs and the problems of identifying the deceased among the figures depicted on them, see Johansen 1951, 29-48; see also CAT introd. vol. 119-121.

[87] Leaving aside the obvious cases in which a mother is depicted alone with her children (for example, cat. nos 12, 41, 43, 45-46, 76, 86), or accompanied by no other figure than a maidservant (cat. nos 8, 51, 56), the deceased can be also indicated by the fact that she is the focus of attention (such as cat. nos 3, 39, 57, 61) or in a rather prominent position as compared to the other figures in the same scene (for instance, cat. nos.17, 30), shown in the act of removing an item from a box held by another female (cat. no 59), portrayed holding a box or a pet (for example, cat. nos 9, 18-19), depicted utterly isolated and detached from the world of the living (such as cat. nos 7, 14), or even handing over her baby to another female (cat. no 47). In other cases, the dead women are shown together with grieving maidservants or relatives, whose mourning gestures or caresses leave no doubt as to the identity of the deceased (for instance, cat. nos 16, 37, 40, 90, 93). More rarely, a female figure or maidservant is portrayed right behind the dead woman, holding the latter's baby as she shakes hands with a family member (cat. nos 24-25).

[88] Cat. nos 15, 27-28, 35-36, 38, 72-73, 92.

[89] Ridgway 1987, 405; see also CAT introd. vol. 64, 66-72; Foley 2003, 131.

[90] See p. 91.

[91] CAT 2.718. Reeder 1995, 336-337, fig. 104; see also Stears 1995, 119; Scholl 1996, 341, no 445, fig. 9,1; Foley 2003, 132, fig. 23; Sojc 2005, 110, 114, fig. 17.

[92] For example, CAT 16, 40, 2.177, 2.301, 2.390, 2.930, 3.252, 3.350, 3.405a, 3.433, 3.454, 3.466, 3.880, 3.881, 4.190, 4.420, 4.430, 4.414, 4.472.

[93] This does not apply to slaves, since servant boys and girls are quite often shown sad or even mourning for their dead masters or mistresses on classical Attic grave reliefs: for instance, cat. no 93, and CAT 1.797, 1.855, 1.856, 1.880, 2.949, 2.950, 2.954, 3.284, 7.330.

[94] The word 'children' is here used to denote children of all ages, including infants.

[95] For example, cat. nos 4, 6-11, 13-17, 19-20, 22-23, 25, 27-37, 39-40, 92-93. Perhaps also cat. no 94, where the identity of the deceased is uncertain.

[96] Cat. nos 2-3, 26, 38, 43, 52-54, 56-64, 67-71, 73, 81, 85.

[97] The death of a woman in childbearing age constitutes a major loss for the *oikos* and the polis: Grossman 2007, 312. For death in labour, childbirth, and motherhood in classical Greece, see Demand 1994.

[98] See especially p. 87-88 and 92-96. In Greek art, children are often portrayed reaching out towards their mother with both arms, seeking the safety of maternal embrace: Euripides *Ion* 961; see also Oakley 2003, 184; 2009, 210. On Attic vases depicting the birth of Erichthonios, the infant is shown extending both arms to the goddess Athena: *LIMC* IV.1 Suppl. (1988), s.v. Erechtheus, 930, 933, no 11, 30, Pl. 632-633 (U. Kron). Munich, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlungen 2413: *ARV*^{2} 495.1, 1656; Para 380; *Add*^{2} 250; see also *CVA, München, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst* 5, 39-40, Pl. (967-970) 252.1-2, 253.1-5, 254.1-4, 255.1-2; BAPD no 205571. Cleveland, Museum of Art 82.142: *CVA, Cleveland, Museum of Art* 2, 35-37, fig. 5, Pl. (1818-1820) 72.1-4, 73.1-2, 74.1-2; BAPD no 10161. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F 2537: *ARV*^{2} 1268.2, 1689; *Add*^{2} 356; see also *CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium* 3, 13-14, Pl. (1042, 1044-1046, 1061) 113.1-2, 115.2, 116.2, 117.1, 132.4.8; BAPD no 217211. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 2365: *ARV*^{2} 1339.3; *Add*^{2} 367; see also Reeder 1995, 263, no 72; BAPD no 217525. Reeder 1995, 137; see also Castor 2006, 625-626.

[99] See pp. 87-88, 92-96.

[100] Cat. nos 38, 52, 54, 57-58, 61-65, 67-71, 73. The deceased of cat. no. 60 is depicted detached and alienated from the world of the living, while that of cat. no. 59 is focused on the act of removing an item from the open box held by the woman standing before her.

[101] Cat. nos 79, 81, 85, 90.

[102] Cat. nos 26 and 56 also fall into this category.

[103] Cat. nos 18, 75-76, 79, 81, 83-86, 89-91.

[104] Cat. no 18 is a multi-figured family scene, therefore placing no special emphasis on the relationship between mother and child. On the stele of Polyxene (cat. no 90), a third figure appears. She is however a mere servant-maid, a secondary figure standing in the background, while the deceased and her boy dominate the scene.

[105] Cat. nos 47, 51. See p. 92.

Special Abbreviations

BAPD = Beazley Archive Pottery Database. http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm

CAT = Clairmont, C. 1993, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 8 vols, Kilchberg.

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Elite ideology in Praeneste
On the imagery of pear-shaped mirrors and cistae

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Abstract

This article aims to cast light upon the mindset of the Praenestine elite during the second half of the 4th century BC by focusing on the engraved scenes on 206 pear-shaped mirrors and 90 cistae *(toiletry boxes). Mauro Menichetti's* paideia *theory implying that* cista *scenes show rites of passage of men and women will be examined, also with reference to the mirror scenes. It will be shown that in both media Dionysiac, bathing-, victory-, and love themes are the leitmotifs rather than rites of passage. The paper also includes several new interpretations of images. Appendix I lists the* cistae *and Appendix II the mirrors.**

Introduction

What were the main ideas behind the images represented on the bronze Praenestine mirrors and *cistae* produced in the second half of the 4th century BC? These mythological and non-mythological representations appear on 206 engraved, pear-shaped mirrors of bronze,[1] and 90 bronze *cistae*.[2] The piriform shape of Praenestine mirrors is unique; it differs from the circular form of Etruscan handle and tang mirrors. Etruscan influence on the Praenestine engravings is marginal.[3] With one exception upper exergues are absent on Praenestine mirrors. When the provenance is known the *cistae* have been found in the necropoleis of Praeneste with very few exceptions.[4] The origin from Praeneste of 73 of the 206 mirrors is known with certainty. Nineteen of the mirrors were found in eleven different places, in Southern Etruria, Latium and Campania.[5] Due to unscientific excavations at Praeneste in the 19th century the find spots of the other mirrors are uncertain or unknown.[6] Praeneste was the main production center of both types of artifacts. The bold numbers of *cistae* and mirrors in the following text correspond to those in Appendices I and IIa/b. Here only *cista* bodies are dealt with. It can rarely be proven that the added elements (the three cast feet, engraved lids and cast lid handles) were meant to show one iconographic program together with the theme(s) of the *cista* body's main frieze. In addition, recent research has demonstrated that several lids do not belong to the body with which they are displayed. Matching lids were often not engraved by the artists who decorated the bodies. As mirrors and *cistae* were present in a very low percentage in the thousands of tombs at Praeneste, it is likely that they were elite possessions. As far as is known, they have only been found in female tombs. Their imagery, however, not only relates to the *mundus muliebris* but also to the world of men. This is not surprising since, as three inscriptions show, the engravings were made by men.[7] In addition, men may have ordered the artifacts for their wives, mothers or daughters. Sometimes a mirror was found in a *cista*.[8] In that case, however, both artifacts seem not to have been engraved by the same artist.

Most *cistae* and pear-shaped mirrors with figural scenes have now been shown to belong to the second half of the 4th century BC.[9] The end of the Latin War in 338 BC did not influence the choice of themes,[10] which is not surprising as the Praenestines did not become Roman citizens at that time. They even refused Roman citizenship in 216 BC after they held Casilinum for Rome against Hannibal,[11] which points to a strong need for self-identity. *Cista* bodies often show an upper and/or lower border with a (sometimes partial) animal frieze (*Tierkampf*) which is also present in South Italian red-figured vase-painting and in the upper painted border in the front room of the Tomba François at Vulci, dated by M. Cristofani between 340 and 310 BC.[12] Production of mirrors and *cistae* ended gradually, in the first decades of the 3rd century, after South Italian and Faliscan red-figured vases ceased to be produced.[13] While it seems likely that such vases provided visual examplars for the Praenestine production, it is important to note that such influence seems to have been indirect, since red-figured vases with figural scenes have not been found in Praeneste.

In 1979 and 1990, G. Bordenache Battaglia and A. Emiliozzi published the corpus of Praenestine

cistae.[14] With few exceptions they do not date them,[15] but fortunately, they describe find contexts.[16] They interpret the engraved scenes in a prudent way, often suggesting that scenes and figures were juxtaposed in a generic, decorative, meaningless or enigmatic way (see Appendix 1). In addition, some stock figures were used in an interchangeable way.

In 1995, Menichetti analyzed almost all *cista* scenes, the reliefs on the feet, the engraved lids and the handle figures, using a theoretical model.[17] In his opinion all figured scenes allude to the *paideia* of men and of women. The main occupations of a man were sport, an interest which would, in turn, prepare each man for war and allow him to show *virtus*, marrying and begetting offspring. Quintessential occupations for a woman were bathing, becoming beautiful and seductive in order to marry and give birth to children. Menichetti states that 'the basic language of *cista* and mirror scenes functions as the celebration of a matrimonial ideology'.[18]

However, Menichetti's *paideia* theory is not convincing for several reasons.[19]

First, he presumes that *cistae* belonged to married women.[20] There is, however, no archaeological (contextual) and epigraphic evidence. According to the inscription on the handle base of the famous *cista* Ficoroni (**68**) 'Dindia Macolnia gave (me, the *cista*) to her daughter' (*dindia . macolnia . fileai . dedit*).[21] The reason of the gift is not mentioned. Dindia can just have given it to keep it in the family as, for example, sometimes happened with Etruscan mirrors.[22]

Second, some inscriptions are misinterpreted. The inscribed personification of *veritus* (Virtus; Courage) on *cista* **101** has been misread.[23] One should read *i̯ventus* (Iuventus; Youth).[24] The semi-draped person labeled *rit* on mirror **103** has incorrectly been reconstructed as (*ve*)*rit*(*us*). There are no traces of letters before and behind *rit* as Franchi De Bellis has pointed out.[25]

The personification of *doxa* (Fame; Glory) holding a bird, standing beside Iphigenia or Diana (and a deer) but labeled as *ladumeda* on *cista* **45** (cf. **82** without inscriptions) proves that not only the courage of men but also of women is illustrated. If the inscription *leces* in the label on a column means *leges* (Laws), it can be read as another ethical message implying the importance of justice. None of these inscriptions fits into Menichetti's model.

Third, many *cista* body scenes do not refer to the *paideia* of men or women. They show battle scenes between Greeks and Amazons, Centaurs, Giants and, in one case, griffins in order to fill the full space of the frieze. These and other mythological scenes, usually of Greek origin, have no message apart from the possible one that gods and heroes are stronger than their opponents. Many battles, moreover, show falling or dying men, and can hardly have had an exemplary meaning (**26**, **47**, **79** (showing a warrior with a Samnite helmet), **86**, **104**, **110**, **121**). Dionysiac *thiasi* were well suited to fill all or part the frieze. Usually, Dionysus, sometimes accompanied by a panther, silens, satyrs and maenads, holding a *thyrsus*, ivy branch, wine vase, musical instrument or torch are the participants. Such *thiasi* do not refer to the *paideia* of men or women.[26]

Many other scenes do not fit into Menichetti's model either, like, for instance, kitchen scenes (**12**), Atlas supporting the heavens (**39**), the sacrifice of Iphigenia (**45** and **82**), a man (Mercurius?) carrying the nude corpse of a child (**52**), Aiax in the act of contemplating his suicide (**74**, cf. mirror **45**), and Tyro recognizing her sons (**85**). There are only four probably non-mythological sports scenes (**93, 94, 95** and **112**). There are no birth scenes, no images referring to procreation. There is only one possible reference to rebirth: the famous *cista* **5** showing *menerva* caring for a young *mars* above a *dolium* with fire or a boiling liquid.[27] A mother with a child appears only twice: once with a frightened child (**27**) and another time with two offering children (**76**). As for the afterlife or underworld, one *cista* shows a psychostasy (**101**) and another a demon, possibly a deity of death (**106**).[28]

Finally, Menichetti pays no attention to the importance of the transmission of models and whether these models are valid, in other words whether scenes have visual parallels in 4th century BC South Italian, Etruscan and Faliscan red-figured vases and other artifacts. Some scenes may have been transmitted by artists who visited or migrated to Praeneste. Apart from visual models oral communication has played a role, as shown by mythological names in several inscriptions of Greek origin.[29]

In view of these observations, it is worthwhile to compare the imagery of mirrors with that of *cistae*. Do the mirror scenes sustain Menichetti's theory? What are the main themes, in other words what is the underlying significance of the representations in both media? What do they say about the ideology of Praeneste's elite? I start with a global comparison between the imagery of *cistae* and that of mirrors. Instead of Greek mythological names, I use Latin equivalents, since all inscriptions are written in Latin or the Praenestine Latin dialect.

The Themes of the *Cistae*

The ninety *cista* bodies show approximately one-hundred-twenty different figural scenes (see Appendix I). Twenty-five have Dionysiac images: seven of these show a *thiasus* and seventeen show one or more Dionysiac characters who have been added to or inserted into mythological scenes (see below). Twenty- one show mythological and non-mythological battles, and nine show warriors, who are leaving for or returning from war. Sixteen scenes show a successful male god or male heroes: Apollo (and Marsyas), Achilles (4 times), Pollux (and Amycus; 5 times), Perseus (and Medusa; 3 times), Bellerophon (and the Chimaera; twice), and Meleager. Eleven show toilet scenes, bathing women, nine times at a *labrum* (round washbasin). Eight scenes are related to love. There are four abduction scenes: Thetis carried off by Peleus (twice), Helena by Alexander (Paris), and probably Cleopatra by Apollo. Alexander's Judgment occurs three times. Venus alone, driving a *biga*, is present once. To conclude, Dionysiac *thiasi* and figures, fighting scenes (battles, warriors, heroes), and bathing women are the main themes. These themes cover approximately seventy percent of the total imagery. Apollo giving an oracle occurs once. There is one recognition scene (i.e. Tyro and her sons). Trojan scenes, apart from the sacrifice of the Trojan captives by Achilles, occur three times. Nine *cistae* show series of gods, sometimes with heroes, in a paratactic composition. Four *cistae* show sport activities and one *cista* realistic kitchen scenes. The remaining scenes are fragmentary or show generic series of unidentifiable characters, often men.

The Themes of the Mirrors

There are 206 pear-shaped mirrors with figural scenes, some of which, however, may have a false engraving (see Appendix IIa). Most frequent are those with a Dionysiac content (at least 40 times). Twenty scenes show the second popular subject: 12 show women bathing at a *labrum*, and 6 without a *labrum*. Victoria occurs in mythological scenes 30, Hercules 25, Amor 19, and Minerva 17 times. Warriors are present 8 times. As on the *cistae* the following god and heroes are present more than once: Apollo and Marsyas (4), Bellerophon attacking the Chimaera (4), Pollux binding Amycus (4). Peleus and Thetis are depicted 4 times. The Dioscuri, apart from the Amycus scenes, are present 8 times. Alexander's Judgment too occurs 8 times. Mirrors show the following gods or heroes who are not present on *cistae*: Aurora, Sol, Cadmus, Daedalus, Orestes meeting Electra holding an amphora (the urn with the presumed ashes of Orestes) at Agamemnon's grave, Hypsipyle (?), Telephus taking Orestes hostage on an altar, *taseos* attacking *lyqorcos* (Lykourgos) who takes *pilonicos taseio filios* (P(h)ilonikos, son of T(h)aseos) hostage on an altar, Theseus attacking an Amazon, Ulixes and Diomedes stealing the Palladium, Neptunus abducting Amymone, and Romulus and Remus nursed by the she-wolf. Perseus and Meleager are absent on mirrors.

Bathing scenes at a *labrum* are frequent both on *cistae* and on mirrors. Dionysiac scenes are relatively more frequent on mirrors than on *cistae*. The number of fighting scenes and warriors, however, is relatively lower on mirrors than on *cistae*.

In the following I will first pay attention to bathing scenes for a final test of Menichetti's theory.[30] Then I will list and discuss Dionysiac scenes, scenes with Victoria, and scenes with Amor in both media in order to show that these, together with toilet and fighting scenes, are the main leitmotifs.

Bathing at a *Labrum*

Menichetti interprets the bathing scenes on eleven *cistae* which show women at a *labrum* under a lion head spout.[31] These are illustrations of women who want to become beautiful, so that they can try to seduce men in order to marry and get children. In his view, the images illustrate a crucial moment in their *paideia*. I do not exclude that in the view of the engravers, customers and users of *cistae*, the nudity of women was *thought* to attract men, mostly satyrs. A detailed analysis, however, shows that in these scenes women do not try to draw the attention of men. On the contrary, usually men take the lead in seduction. On *cista* **74**, the centaur Chiron is leading Peleus to women who stand between columns. The draped woman to the right seems to be amazed. There is, however, no indication that the nude women try to attract Peleus' attention. On the fragmentary *cista* **75** three nude women stand between Peleus and a seated woman who may be Thetis. Behind her stands a draped Victoria who makes an inviting gesture. She may hint at the future, successful marriage between Peleus and Thetis. However, Peleus' direct attention goes to the nude women, two of whom hold a mirror. One of the scenes on the exceptional rectangular *cista* **100** shows two winged women, one nude holding a mirror and one draped, flanking a *labrum* under which a

seated silen is touching the genitals of one of the women.[32] Again, it shows that a male takes initiative. As the other three sides of the *cista* show Mercurius, a draped male with laurel wreath, probably Apollo, between two semi-draped young men, and Hercules holding the apples of the Hesperides, the *labrum* scene may show women undergoing an imaginary Dionysiac initiation rite. In any case, the wings, like those of a Victoria, suggest success. The matching flat lid of the *cista* shows a religious scene too, probably a divination scene: five men two of whom are armed are consulting a seated boy who is holding a *sors*, probably referring to a local oracular practice. The meeting of an old, draped silen with draped women on *cista* **96** does not have an erotic connotation. The woman in front of him raises her hand probably to welcome him. Two *labrum* scenes show women with the inscribed names of mythological women, on **9**: *ateleta, alsir,* and *felena*, and on **83**: *creisita* and [-]*elena*, although ancient authors do not mention Atalanta, Helen and Chryseis in a bathing context. The inscriptions were probably added to suggest that beautiful mythical women used a *labrum*. A silen under a *labrum* is also present in almost identical *cista* scenes (**50** and **51**) where he is playing pipes. The adjacent scene, a draped woman who opens her mantle in the presence of a nude, winged woman holding a parasol, may symbolize the successful transition from maiden to woman. On *cista* **22** Dionysus and satyrs are approaching from two sides four nude and one draped woman between columns. The women are passive. The satyr on the left seems to be amazed or anxious. The woman at the far right makes an ambiguous gesture. She faces to right and seems to open her dress to bare herself for the satyr as Menichetti suggests,[33] but she is held back by the nude woman beside her. So probably she holds her mantle up to protect herself against the male assault.[34] The *epinetron* on the ground refers to textile activities of women, not to seduction. The motif of a satyr approaching a semi-draped woman with a mirror standing at a *labrum* is already visible on a Paestan red-figured calyx-krater which is attributed to Assteas and dated to 370/360 BC.[35] The vase comes from a male grave. *Cista* **24** may show a lesbian scene (see below). The rest of the frieze, warriors leaving for or returning from war in front of a couple, probably has no connection with the toilet scene.

Twelve pear-shaped mirrors show *labrum* scenes, but without inscriptions.[36] They seem to have been chosen for different reasons: some show bathing only (washing hands, wringing out hair, and/or making toilet with a mirror and perfume dipper), others illustrate love, some heterosexual (**42**, **176**) and some perhaps lesbian love showing a woman touching another woman or presenting her a dove (**64**, **116**, **145**, **200**). One mirror (**4)** shows a nude woman holding a wreath, which may be intended as a gift to her female bathing partner at the *labrum*.[37] On mirror **200** a shawl-like fillet is hanging over the scene suggesting the interior of a building.[38] This motif is also present in a mirror scene without *labrum* (**166**), which shows a draped woman resisting an assault-

Fig. 1. Mirror **17**, *Berlin, Misc. 6240 (courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; photo Saturia Unke).*

ing, semi-draped man. On mirror **17** (*fig. 1*) a nude male athlete with strigil offers an *alabastron* to a nude woman who pours out water over a kneeling, nude woman. The vase may be a gift as men usually used *aryballoi* during bathing. As in Greek bathing scenes, the women use *alabastra*.[39] The athlete plays the role of seducer. The kneeling, nude woman looks up at him. In a similar scene (**42**) a nude man with strigil touches the upper arm of the standing, nude woman. On mirror **176** he is approaching prudently, holding an *oenochoe* and strigil. In two cases the *labrum* scene has an explicit sexual connotation. On another mirror (**52**) a sexually aroused Pan seems to take the initiative and touches or grasps a draped woman above the *labrum*. She makes an imploring gesture, probably trying to ward him off. On mirror **64** a dancing little satyr, who is ithyphallic, is looking upward raising his hands in amazement. A voyeuristic element is visible on mirror **146** where an astonished satyr spies two nude, possibly lesbian women from above a rock. This motif has a South Italian antecedent. A squat, Paestan, red-figured *lekythos* attributed to Assteas (350-340 BC) in the Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman collection in the Getty museum shows a silen spying from above on a draped woman at a *labrum*.[40] As for possibly lesbian love, mirror **24** shows an almost nude woman seated on a throne (Venus?) between two standing, nude women. On the ground stands a metal wash-basin; a *cista* and an *oenochoe* are suspended to an imaginary wall. The woman on the right, with her left arm under the arm-pit of the seated woman, lays her hand on the right shoulder of the latter.

In sum, when a real or mythological man is present in bathing scenes, he is the one who plays the role of seducer. This is confirmed by a scene without a *labrum* on mirror **18** (*fig. 2*) showing a semi-draped young man taking a semi-draped young woman by the right underarm while she is wringing out her hair. Overall, women on *cistae* and mirrors are portrayed from the male perspective, sometimes with a voyeuristic gaze.[41] There is no evidence for ritual, prenuptial bathing as Menichetti suggests.[42] Nowhere can a bride be identified. The scenes are seemingly realistic, they do not show a female rite of passage. The women are situated in the open air or between columns or pillars, sometimes even including rocks (e.g. *cista* **74**). The scenes are, however, imagined, in other words fictional. As we have seen, some compositions have been influenced by *louterion* scenes on South Italian red-figured vases. Eros is often present in the latter from ca 370/360 to

Fig. 2 Mirror **18***, Berlin, Misc. 6241 (courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; photo Saturia Unke).*

330/320 BC[43] but, interestingly, he is absent in Praenestine scenes. The nude, winged man holding an *alabastron* and dipstick on *cista* **74** is not an Amor. He may be a hermaphrodite. The typical *Kreuzschritt* and attributes remind us of Etruscan, Aphroditic Lasa figures.

In the following I pay attention to Dionysiac scenes and figures, Victoria and victory, and to Amor and love scenes, which are, in my opinion, the other main leitmotifs.

Dionysiac Scenes

Seven *cista* bodies show a *thiasus* (**1**, **11**, **14**, **22**, **31**, **72**, and **116**). *Cista* **4** shows Jupiter, Dionysus and Diana standing by an altar. Dionysus (inscribed *Liber*) is one of the ten gods who is present on the famous Mars *cista* **5**. *Cista* **40** shows Dionysus riding a panther and together with Minerva, Vulcanus and Neptunus who are successfully fighting three giants, and on **81** Dionysus is fighting together with Hercules and Minerva four giants. On **71** Dionysus is a talking to a warrior. Some *cistae* show additions or insertions of one of more Dio-

Fig. 3 Mirror **9**, *Berlin, Fr. 64 (courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; photo Saturia Unke).*

nysiac figures. *Cista* **45** shows Iphigenia or Diana labeled *ladumeda* with a stag and Greek heroes,[44] and a satyr labeled *silanus* dancing with a nude maenad. To the right of a similar Iphigenia scene on **82** we see a seated silen playing pipes between a dancing young nude satyr and a standing nude woman who is looking into her mirror. A standing silen playing pipes accompanying boxing and wrestling athletes is visible on **102**. On **66** (cf. **72**) *silanos* is carrying a wine bag on his shoulder. An old, draped silen standing between draped women at two *labra* is visible on another *cista* (**96**). *Cista* **38** shows two satyrs, one of whom imitates a boxer. The latter reminds us of the mimicking silen on the *cista* Ficoroni (**68**). The addition is not typically Praenestine. Satyrs (and maenads) are already present on a Lucanian red-figured *hydria* of the Amykos Painter (ca 400 BC) which shows the Argonauts, their ship and Amykos bound to a rock from which emerges a fountain.[45] The head of a silen peeping from behind a rock is visible on **52**. *Cistae* **50** and **100** show a satyr seated under a *labrum*. Marsyas challenging Apollo is visible on **70**. An isolated, draped maenad with *thyrsus* stands between warriors on **77**. A Dionysiac attribute is visible on **9** where *crisida* (Chryseis) holds a *cantharus* in her left hand. In sum, twenty-four of the ninety *cista* bodies show Dionysiac elements.

Mirrors show a greater variety of Dionysiac themes and symbols than *cistae*. Mercurius carrying off baby Dionysus is visible on mirror **142**. Mirrors **86** and **90** show a triumphant Dionysus riding a *biga*. Dionysus holding up a wine cup for a panther occurs on **193**.[46] The couple Dionysus and Ariadna is present on **27**, **28**, **47**, **78**, **90**, **106**. Silens, satyrs and maenads, Pan and maenads, satyr(s), maenad(s) alone, a Priapic herm or thyrsus are other elements found on mirrors **2**, **9** (*fig. 3*), **10** (*fig. 4*), **20**, **23**, **29**, **50**, **56**, **75?**, **93**, **98**, **102**, **135**, **160, 161?**, and **175**. A dancing *marsuas* beside a *krater* on a base imitated by a high jumping *painiscos* (Paniskos) is visible on **151**. The scene may show a fictive initiation if the object in Marsyas' hand is a whip which could be used to punish the little Pan. We see a silen with *caduceus* offering a wreath to a draped woman with a twig on **160**. The presence of a satyr or Pan in bathing scenes (**52, 64, 145**) has already been mentioned. Mirrors **3** and **57** show realistic Dionysiac banquet/symposium scenes.[47] Mirror **122** shows an almost nude woman lying in bed assaulted by two hairy-suited silens and a Pan-like man. She seems to open her dress. Mirror **69** shows *telis* (Thetis) caring for *aiax'* armor in the presence of *alcumena* playing *cithara* and a seated silen drinking wine from a *patera* sits to the right. It is one of the few mirrors which shows an afterlife scene.[48] Filippo Coarelli suggests that Aiax receives the arms of Achilles, which he could not get in real life. His interpretation is based on the presence of *alcumena* (Alcmena) who became, after her first marriage, wife of Radamanthys, one

of the three judges of the Underworld.[49] Some mirrors refer to Dionysus by a symbol alone. On mirror **46** Hercules holds a *cantharus* in his right hand. The fillet hanging above him refers to one of his victories. Wine is his reward. On **127** Hercules drives, as Dionysus usually does, a *biga* drawn by two centaurs, moving toward a bunch of grapes. He receives a vegetal crown from Victoria (or Amor) who is flying toward him. Mirror **55** probably shows a seated man facing a nude winged Victoria leaning on a Priapic herm. Mirror **180** most likely shows Antiopa and her sons. In this scene, the head of a silen is peeping from above a rock and a wine barrel is visible in the right upper corner.[50] My interpretation is based on the myth that Jupiter seduced Antiopa in the guise of a satyr. A satyr peeping from above a rock is also visible on mirror **182** where Neptunus is abducting Amymona. Less understandable is the presence of a boy on a base carrying a wine barrel in a scene where Amor holds back Menelaus who is attacking Helen who takes refuge at a statue on an altar (**110**). The seated boy in front of the altar looks like the satyr on mirror **69**, which was mentioned earlier. Unique is the *anodos* of Venus flanked by two nude *Amores* on **105**.[51] The *amphorae* below them may refer to the world of Dionysus. The scene depicting a dwarf or Pygmy with a large penis[52] encouraging a staggering he-goat (**120)** may have a Dionysiac background as, for example, a Lucanian red-figured bell-krater (Louvre K 525, ca 380 BC) shows a silen opposite a he-goat in a similar scheme.[53]

Fig. 4 Mirror **10**, *Berlin, Fr. 65 (courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; photo Saturia Unke).*

Victoria

The Latin personification or goddess of victory is often present both on *cistae* and mirrors. She is visible on 24 of the 90 *cista* bodies, two or three times with her name inscribed,[54] and on 25 of 206 mirrors, twice with inscription. Not all winged women are *Victoriae*. Minerva on *cistae* **16** and **46**, Iris on **69** and Thetis on mirror **117**, Aurora holding a *situla* on mirror **147** and a Lasa-like woman with twigs on mirror **150** have wings too.

The *cistae* show Victoria with or without a wreath in the presence of Achilles (**55**, **101**), Bellerophon/pegasus (**32**,[55] **73**), the Dioscuri (**27**, **31**,[56] **66**, **108**), Meleager (**6**), Pollux (**8**, **68**), and in a Trojan war scene (**42**). She symbolizes the (future) victory of a hero in a duel, war, or sport (**93**). She is also present in scenes which show success in love: Alexander's Judgment (**9**), Helen and Alexander (**2**, **89**), and probably Thetis (**75**). The famous *cista* **5** shows a unique scene with inscriptions: *menerva* (Minerva) caring for a young *mars* above a *dolium* with fire or a boiling liquid in the presence of other gods. *Victoria* is present twice, standing behind *menerva* holding an ivy wreath and again without inscription, on a tiny scale, flying above *menerva*, to illustrate *mars*' victory over death as just above him Cerberus is visible. It is not clear whether the scene represents Mars' initiation (a fire-baptism?; lustral bath?), birth, rebirth, liberation from or protecting him against the underworld.[57] The scene

Fig. 5 Mirror **159** *(ES V 21).*

probably shows a local myth that is not known from ancient written sources. Two *Victoriae* are present, draped and nude, in an elaborate Olympic banquet/symposium (**59** (upper frieze) where they have the same status as the other gods. The main frieze illustrates the imminent Sacrifice of the Trojans. A draped Victoria and an armed Minerva stand at the far right. Victoria is also present in the battle scene of the lower frieze. In one case a dancing or descending Victoria may receive offerings from an athlete (probably a horseman), about to crown him with two twigs (**94**).

Twenty-five mirrors show Victoria in other contexts. Like her Greek counterpart Nikè she is about to kill or dominate a bull (**67** and **156**). She is present in scenes showing the triumphant Dionysus riding a *triga* and *quadriga* (**86** and **91**), Apollo and Marsyas (**107**), Hercules (**108**, **109**, **170**, **127** (above a *biga* drawn by centaurs)[58], **99**, **139**), Sol passing Triton (**21**), Aurora riding a *triga* with a star behind her (**100**), and Jupiter? (**74**). Sol and Aurora represent the victory of light over darkness. The owl

Fig. 6 Mirror **2**, *Musée d'Annecy, 3433.1 (courtesy Musées de l'agglomération d'Annecy).*

and snake on mirror **21** may refer to Sol's voyage during the night.[59] Unique is the winged woman playing flutes beside a dancing woman with castanets and a dancing boy, who may be Amor (**75**). The scene is Dionysiac if the woman playing castanets is a maenad as on *cista* **116**.[60] Victoria is also present in love scenes: as a companion of Venus (mirrors **121**, **137**), and of Alexander/Paris (**62** with Minerva) and **163** (inscribed). On mirror **103** a standing, dressed *vitoria* (Victoria) lays her left hand on the shoulder of a seated, semi-draped woman (Anima/Psyche as pendant of Cupido?) or a hermaphrodite in view of the male hair, labeled with the enigmatic *rit*. To the left *venos* holds her right hand in a protective way above *cupido*. Victoria is standing with a swan opposite

a draped man or a woman with a twig (**97**). The winged Victoria on mirror **38** holds a shield that is the usual attribute of Minerva. A draped woman touches her shoulder. On mirror **55** a man or woman seated on a chair is greeting Victoria who is standing beside a Priapic herm. Mirror **159** (*fig. 5*) shows Victoria holding twigs, standing opposite a seated, draped woman with a *sakkos* as headcover.[61] In the background stands, turned to left, a veiled, draped woman.[62] The scene may be situated in a divine or celestial context, judging by the rosette and tiny circles which may symbolize stars. This interpretation is corroborated by mirror **2** (*fig. 6*) showing a similar veiled woman, here with her mouth covered, a central, relaxed, draped woman, a maenad as we will see, with stippled sleeves holding a shield, flanked by big stars, and a nude Victoria. The relaxed woman with stippled sleeves, here certainly a maenad,[63] is also present on mirror **10** (*fig. 4*) facing a dressed woman, whilst Pan on the right turns away. Between these ladies is a star. On **20** (*fig. 7*) a woman with stippled sleeves embraces a young satyr. She opens her veil in front of a silen who holds a fillet. Based on these comparisons mirror **159** probably shows a Dionysiac setting. The same may hold true for mirror **5** where a nude female in the center, probably Venus, is flanked by a draped woman whose left hand holds a twig and whose right index finger is pointing upwards and by a veiled woman whose mouth and part of her nose are covered.

Fig. 7 Mirror **20**, *Berlin, Misc. 8488. (courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; photo Saturia Unke).*

There are hardly compositional similarities between the Victoria scenes on *cistae* and those on mirrors. Only Alexander/Paris crowned by Victoria is present in both media. Further, *cista* and mirror scenes showing persons or birds with a wreath, a fillet or one or two twigs symbolize the idea of victory too.

On mirrors **57**, **71** and **166** a wreath or fillet is hanging above the scene. A fillet hangs above Hercules who holds a club and *cantharus* on mirror **46**. On *cista* **1** a bird with a fillet flies towards Perseus who is holding the head of Medusa. As no Victoria, Minerva or winged Minerva is present,[64] the fillet must symbolize the hero's success. On *cistae* **50** and **51** a bird with a twig flies toward two nude women at a *labrum* under which a seated silen is playing flutes.[65] On mirror **18** a semi-draped young man holding a wreath grips a semi-draped woman who is wringing out her hair. As for Amor with one of the attributes mentioned see below.[66] On mirror **83** Apollo playing lyre holds a wreath. On **47** a nude Ariadna is crowning a seated, semi-draped Dionysus with a wreath in the presence of Minerva. On **78** she probably receives a wreath from a maenad. A nude Venus (?) offers a fillet to a nude warrior on **48**. Mirror **49** shows three nude women in a toilet scene. The central woman holds a twig. Mirror **82** (inscribed) shows Juno, with a twig, and Jupiter, on an altar, touching each other, and Hercules with his club. The scene may illustrate Hercules' reconciliation with Juno, with a reference to fertility (herms showing vagina and phallus). On **160** a nude silen holding a *caduceus* offers a wreath to a draped woman with a twig standing beside a garlanded object on a base which looks like an *epinetron* (protective knee cover) used for textile activities. On **199** a seated, draped woman offers a twig to a standing, nude warrior with spear and shield. The idea of victory is also visible on **72**. Victory is celebrated in a realistic scene, in which a semi-draped young man and a semi-draped young woman are both seated and playing at a

tabula lusoria in a room. The inscriptions read: *opeinor* to the left of the man and *devincam ted* to the right of the woman. Franchi De Bellis assumes that the woman says 'I will beat you' and that the man replies 'I think so.'[67]

Amor

The personification of love, whom the Greeks called Eros and the Romans Amor, is mentioned on mirror **103** where he is labeled *Cupido*. Leaning on a pillar the young, nude winged boy is protected by *Venos*. In the following section I use the conventional name Amor.

On *cistae* Amor is a rare character. In only six cases he can be identified with certainty. He is present on *cista* **2** showing Alexander meeting Helen, on **69** with the Judgment of Alexander, on **126** with Minerva and Alexander, and on **116** with Dionysus and Ariadna. On **69** and **72** Amor is holding a *patera* for a libation. In the monumental two level-battle scene on **54** he is probably encouraging a warrior with stippled sleeves who drives a *triga*. On **71** (toilet scene) and **74** (*labrum* scene) the identity of the winged person is uncertain. Judging from the context, he may be a hermaphrodite rather than an Amor.

Amor is frequently present on mirrors, in about ten percent of all scenes. It is probable that not all *Amores* have wings. In two similar mirror scenes (**110** and **111**), which show Menelaus threatening his nude wife Helen, Amor tries to hold him back. In one instance he is wingless and in the other he is winged. This may be due to negligence or lack of understanding by the engraver. As may be expected, Amor is often present in love scenes. On mirror **7** Amor and a draped woman play with a ball. The seated semi-nude woman at the left is turning the *iynx*, a magic wheel which causes a woman to fall in love.[68] The lyre on the ground may indicate that she is a Muse. The victory of Amor is symbolized by the wreath with fillets hanging above the scene. Two mirrors show Amor and Anima/Psyche (**8**) and (**25**). On the latter the *alabastron* on the rocks may be a gift of Amor to Psyche or refer to a preliminary toilet of Anima. The first option is attractive as on mirror **136** a semi-draped woman, probably Venus, leaning on a pillar holds an *alabastron* which she got from Amor. At first sight mirror **15** (*fig. 8*) shows an explicit sexual activity. The gesticulating, ugly, old woman in the window, however, reminds us of a well-known visual motif known from Paestan red-figured vase-paintings.[69] She probably has the function of a matchmaker (*lena*)

Fig. 8 Mirror **15**, *Berlin, Fr. 159 (courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; photo Saturia Unke).*

as seen more than a century later in the comedies of Plautus. The flying Amor offers a wreath and fillet to the man who, on his knees, undrapes the woman who is lying on her stomach, looking back at him. Probably she is not a prostitute as the two doves above the scene may symbolize real love. A flying Amor offering a wreath to a man is also visible on mirror **104**. The latter most probably is,

Fig. 9 Mirror **19**, *Berlin, Misc. 8431 (courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; photo Saturia Unke).*

as Denise Rebuffat-Emmanuel suggests, Alexander (Paris), semi-draped and leaning on a staff, who tries to seduce Helen who is seated on a throne. The veil indicates her married status. A third, flying Amor is present on mirror **143** offering a fillet to a seated couple of unknown identity. On mirror **19 (***fig. 9*) Amor probably gets a fillet himself. He is touching the knee of a seated, draped woman (probably Venus), in the presence of Minerva. The identity of the woman holding the fillet above Amor is unknown. On mirror **28** a flying Amor (with *bulla*) holds a fillet which is destined for the couple Dionysus and Ariadne (or a maenad). Mirror **53** shows a nude wingless boy holding an arrow and bow standing beside Hercules and Minerva. The star on **53** symbolizes a divine sphere which makes the presence of Philoctetes unlikely. On **121** a winged Amor holding an arrow faces a woman who is seated on a stool, facing a seated semi-draped man holding a stick or lance. The latter two may be Venus and Mars. Mirror **60** probably shows Helen between the Dioscuri. On the right stands a nude boy without attribute. His horsetail may identify him as Amor. Mirror **63** is more problematic. The scene shows a nude boy with a strange head-cover (Amor?) who moves away from two nude women. The winged one is seated on an altar. In front of her stands a woman holding a lance. Mirror **197** probably shows Leda putting a large egg into a chest in the presence of a nude Venus with fillet and a winged Amor clinging to her. The scene on mirror **75** may have a Dionysiac character. A Victoria-like, draped woman playing flutes and a dancing woman holding castanets are accompanied by a dancing nude boy (Amor?) who holds a mantle which is blowing up in the wind. Dancing too and holding a fillet is Amor on mirror **114** to the left of a winged Lasa-like woman and a winged Venus holding a mirror. Probably meant as humorous is the exceptional scene on mirror **128** where nine winged *Amores* are surrounding and fighting a lion. On another mirror showing a wingless Amor who is about to deprive a sleeping Hercules of his sheath is similarly amusing (**138)**.[70] On **198** an adult Amor holding a long branch or a split staff faces a seated warrior. In most scenes where Amor is offering a wreath or fillet the addressee is a man. This suggests that these images were created from a male perspective. Amor with wreath or fillet has in these cases a function which is comparable to that of Victoria. On **105** probably two *Amores* (or *Genii*?) are flanking the *anodos* of Venus, mentioned before. In sum, Amor is far more present on mirrors than on *cistae*. There are no compositional similarities between the scenes on *cistae* and those on the mirrors. From the thematic point of view, the engravers share the interest in Amor's relationship with Alexander/Paris and with Dionysus.

Conclusion

There is no evidence that the Praenestine engravers chose their themes to show examples of male and female *paideia* as Menichetti suggests. Scenes showing a fictional initiation are extremely rare.[71] There are four frequent themes: most frequent are Dionysiac scenes, shown by 25 of the 90 *cistae* and by at least 40 of the 206 mirrors. Victoria occurs in love, sport, and war scenes (24 *cistae* and 25 mirrors); Amor in beauty contest, love, Dionysiac, war and hunting scenes (6 *cistae* and 22 mirrors). Bathing scenes are present on 11 *cistae* and 12 mirrors, all without Amor. The four leitmotivs together are present on 66 of 90 *cistae* and on 99 of 206

mirrors. The themes sometimes overlap. Satyrs are not only present at orgiastic dinners and approaching women in bed, they also meet or spy on women at a *labrum* and they may be present in afterlife scenes. A victorious Hercules may be associated with the blessings of Dionysus. Women on *cistae* and mirrors are often portrayed from the male perspective, sometimes with a voyeuristic gaze. As for the *labrum* scenes, there is no evidence for prenuptial bathing as Menichetti suggests. No bride is visible.

Appendix I

List of 90 *cistae* with figural scenes (ca 350-300/280 BC). The numbers refer to *Ciste* I.1 (1979) and I.2 (1990). False *cistae* are not mentioned. Only inscriptions are rendered in cursive, after FDB = Franchi De Bellis 2005. New publications have been added. M = Menichetti 1995. G = Gilotta 2002.

1 Thiasus, birth of Pegasus, Perseus holding head of Medusa. M 107, fig. 65. G 66.
2 Eros, Alexander and Helen, Alexander abducting Helen, Victoria flying above triga with male driver (Aeneas?). M 61, pls 25-26.
3 Battle. M 109, fig. 67a.
4 Helen and Paris (not Venus and Adonis); man with horse (Dioscur?), Jupiter, altar, Dionysus and Diana. M 104, fig. 62.
5 *iuno* and *iovos*, *mercuris* and *hercleṣ*, *apolo* and *leiber*, *victoria*, tiny flying Victoria, *menerva* (sinistrorsus) caring for *mars, diama* (sinistrorsus), *fortuna.* Van der Meer 1988; M 80, 95, fig. 42; Menichetti 1999, 491-497; G 59; FDB 143-147, no 563.
6 Meleager and Atalanta, Venus, Mars?, Diana fleeing, Apollo abducting Cleopatra, Latona, Dioscuri, Victoria with hammer and boar's head at palm tree. M 72, fig. 38.
7 Jupiter (?) or (local?) triumphator on quadriga (with two boys riding the equi funales) led by attendant, military commander (Amphitryo; Aeneas; Ascanius; ancestor?) and bearded, veiled man making libations (Aeneas?), two assistants, man with lituus. Adam 1989; Gilotta 1992; M 113-116, 125, fig. 81; G 72; Menichetti 2012.
8 Pollux binding Amycus to tree, Argonauts and Victoria. M 98, fig. 50; G 70.
9 *casentra* (sinistrorsus), *crisida*, *aiax*, *oinumama*, *alṣes*, *alixentr*[*os*], *ateleta, alsir, felena* (on the pertaining lid: *venus*, *aucena*). M 58, 74, 76, 78, fig. 12; Menichetti 2006; FDB 165-174, no 566.
11 Thiasus. M 64, fig. 34.
12 Kitchen scenes: *con*[*fi*]*ce . piscim, coenalia* (?), *cofeci, feri . porod, made mire cie, misc sane, asom fero.* M 133, fig. 95; FDB 121-129, no 560; Emiliozzi 2010.
14 Thiasus. M 64, fig. 35.
15 Gryphomachy (Amazon and men against griffins). M 117, fig. 80.
16 Battle including winged Minerva. M 109, fig. 67b.
17 Battle, Hercules fighting centaur, Jupiter and Ganymedes?
22 Bathing at labrum, thiasus including draped woman and two warriors. M 62, fig. 13; G 67; Menichetti 2006.
23 Battle. M 109, fig. 69.
24 Bathing at labrum, warriors, dextrarum iunctio. M 50, 76, fig. 14 and 27a.
26 Centauromachy. M 111, fig. 72.
27 Man with horse, [*c*]*astor* with horse, *pater. poimilionom* with falx and club, Minerva, Victoria, woman with two children, man. M 79, 102-103, fig. 59; G 70; FDB 185-189, no 569; Harari 2004, 178-179, fig. 5.
28 Battle (gigantomachy?).
29 Sacrifice of Trojan captives. M 123, fig. 90; G 73-74.
31 Couple (Pluto and Proserpina?), Victoria and decursor, thiasus. M 104, fig. 61; G 68.
32 Bellerophon and Pegasus, warrior, Victoria making libation, old warrior and woman. M 105, pl. 33-35.
37 Warriors and staggering horse. M 109, pl. 36.
38 Bathing at fountain, boxing satyr, Marsyas?, Dioscuri, satyr. M 19, 65, fig. 16. G 74; Menichetti 2006.
39 Atlas supporting celestial sphere, woman holding four horses on reins, woman, man holding horse on reins, man. M 105, pls 30-32.
40 Gigantomachy with Dionysus, Minerva, Vulcanus and Neptunus. M 112, fig. 77.
41 Warriors, two of them mourning, and Achilles (?) cutting ing his hair with a sword. M 100, fig. 53.
42 Warriors; upper frieze: battle including Victoria; main frieze: Greeks and Trojans; lower frieze: battle and animal frieze. M 124, fig. 91.
43 Amazonomachy including Hercules. M 111-112, pl. 40-41.
44 Amazonomachy.
45 *silanus* and nude maenad, *doxa* with dove, *ladumeda* with deer, *aiax.ilios*, two horses, *leces, soresios, istor, lavis* (on the pertaining lid: *ebrios*). M 118, 128, fig. 86; DBF 160-164, no 565; Krauskopf 1993; Colonna 2007 [2009].
46 Gods, male figures, Perseus and Medusa. M 107, fig. 66; G 70.
47 Centauromachy. M 111, fig. 73a.
48 Victoria, Venus driving biga drawn by colossal swans, Victoria. M 115, fig. 83.
49 Pollux binding Amycus to tree, Argonauts. M 99, fig. 51; G 74.
50 Veiled woman facing winged woman with parasol, warrior with horse, kneeling bound, nude man, bathing at labrum and satyr playing flutes. M 69-70, fig. 17. G 63-64, 77.
51 Woman facing winged woman with parasol, warrior with horse, war captive, warrior, bathing at labrum and satyr playing flutes. M 69-70, fig. 18. G 63-64, 77.
52 Mercurius carrying nude corpse of a boy, Hercules and winged horse, Bellerophon and Pegasus (?), winged man, seated man and veiled woman, satyr head. M 106, fig. 63.
54 Battle on two levels (Alexander/Paris (?) riding quadriga, pushed by Amor). M 110, fig. 71; G 70.
55 Armour for Achilles, Thetis and Victoria. M 99, fig. 52.
56 Thiasus.
57 Warriors, divination scene (auspicium)? M 101, fig. 57.

58 Animal frieze. M 55, fig. 11.
59 Upper frieze: banquet of gods; main frieze: imminent Sacrifice of Trojan captives; lower frieze: centauromachy; battle. M 122, fig. 89; G 77.
62 Man behind Acheloos, griffin, sphinx.
66 [*dies*]*pater*, [*dia*[*n*]*a*], *porlou*[*ces*], *castor*, [*vi*[*c*]*toria*], *silanos.* M 104-105, fig. 60; G 66; FDB 181-184, no 568.
68 Pollux binding Amycus to tree, Argonauts, silen imitating boxing Argonaut, Orpheus at fountain, Lynceus. Dohrn 1972; M 125, fig. 92; G 73; Dupraz 2006.
69 Alexander's Judgment, abduction of Chrysippus, Creon (?) consulting Apollo's oracle. M 60, fig. 29-30.
70 Apollo and Marsyas, Muses, gods and onlookers. M 63, fig. 32. Bonamici 1993, 3, 7-8 figs 5-6.
71 Woman with mirror, winged hermaphrodite (?), Dionysus and warriors. M 76, fig. 39.
72 Thiasus including two Amores (one with butterfly wings). M 64, fig. 36. G 67 n. 59.
73 Minerva, Victoria, winged horse, Amazon in biga drawn by horses, one with and one without wings. M 115, fig. 82.
74 Aiax' suicide, Peleus and Chiron, bathing at labrum, winged hermaphrodite. M 70, fig. 20. G 66.
75 Peleus and Chiron, bathing (at labrum), Thetis?, Victoria, bathing assistants. M 70, fig. 21.
76 Perseus holding head of Medusa, Minerva, Peleus wrestling Thetis, onlookers. M 71, fig. 37. G 69.
77 Gods, Achilles attacking Troilus?, head (anodos?). M 121, fig. 87.
78 Amazonomachy including Hercules. M 112, fig. 74b.
79 Amazonomachy including warrior with Samnite helmet. M 112, fig. 75.
80 Battle (Amazonomachy?)(fragment). M 42, fig. 76. G 62.
81 Gigantomachy including Dionysus, Hercules and Minerva. M 112, fig. 78.
82 Iphigenia in Aulis, toilette scene including satyr. M 63, 65, 68, fig. 22; G 8.
83 *tondrus*, *seciolucus* with horse, *creisita* and [-]*elena* at labrum, *aciles* with horse, *simos, oreste*[*s*]. M 67-68, 75, 121, fig. 23; G 65; FDB 175-180, no 567; Menichetti 2006.
84 Bathing (woman at labrum), warriors. M 68, fig. 24.
85 Tyro recognizing her sons, mantled man, woman at altar, onlookers. M 79-80, fig. 41; G 78.
86 Arimaspi fighting griffons. M 113, fig. 79.
87 Battle. M 109, fig. 68.
88 Armed man facing woman or man driving quadriga. M 100, 110, fig. 70.
89 Helen and Alexander, winged draped woman (Victoria?) driving quadriga. M 61, fig. 31.
90 Warriors, horsemen (Dioscuri?), young women. M 101-102, fig. 58.
91 Warriors around seated man, man giving diptych or sors to veiled woman. M 100, fig. 54.
92 Warriors including woman with spear. M 100-101, fig. 56.
93 Victoria and athlete, warriors. M 98, fig. 49a.
94 Victoria, altar, athlete, two men with horses. M 98, fig. 49b.
95 Sport activities (boxing, wrestling). M 97, fig. 48.
96 Dressed women at two labra including standing, draped silen. M 62, fig. 25.
100 Mercurius, three men, Hercules, two winged women at labrum assaulted by silen. M 95-97, fig. 26.
101 *aiax, iventus, micos* with two horses, *aciles, victoria, fercles, diesptr, iuno,* psychostasy, *mircurios, iacor*. M 63, 116, 121, 128, fig. 84-85; FDB 148-159, no 564.
102 Sport activities (boxing) and satyr playing flutes. M 97, fig. 47.
104 Centauromachy. M 111, fig. 73b.
106 Thetis and Nereid bringing armour to Achilles, winged demon, Pegasus?, Achilles riding chariot. M 121, fig. 88.
110 Battle including Minerva. M 109.
112 Centauromachy. M 111, fig. 74a.
113 Generic scene.
114 Warrior facing woman.
115 Warriors (one with Samnite helmet). M 100, fig. 55.
116 Dionysus and Ariadna, and thiasus.
117 Thetis arming Achilles, Apollo, probably Vulcanus, Hercules and other figures.
118 Woman facing satyr (fragment). M 64, fig. 33 (not 44).

Appendix IIa: pear-shaped mirrors with figural scenes

The appendix lists the location, inventory number, provenance, a short description from left to right of the main scene and the figure in the exergue (the space under the ground-line), approximate date(s) BC proposed by *CSE* authors, other scholars and/or the present author (vdM), and literature (main sources).

1 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 15.000; nude Achilles (helmet, sword, shield) kneeling on (Latial) altar, attacked by armed Hector (?), Troïlus (*himation*, shield) falling back, bleeding and dying; 350 (Gilotta 2007, 32); 350-300 (Brijder, 2000, 2-3, fig. 2 and cover).
2 Annecy, Musée d'Annecy 3433; Praeneste?; veiled, draped woman (mouth and part of nose covered), star, frontal, draped woman with stippled sleeves holding shield (maenad), star, nude, winged woman (with *sakkos*); 350-325 (vdM); *ES* 246a; Ratié 1984, 74 no 153.
3 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.93; Praeneste; semi-draped woman seated on chair, playing flutes (*tibiae impares*), three men on couch: drunken, supine man, hairy-suited, old silen playing *kottabos*, holding *thyrsus*, drinking, semi-draped Pan blowing on *conchus*-shell, rectangular table with plate and food; box, bird of prey, fallen *kylix*, garlanded amphora; exergue: two nude, winged men flanking and holding fluted krater; 360-330 (Adam); *ES* V 43; Adam no 16; Wiseman 2000, 271, fig. 9; *Ciste* I.1, p. 130.
4 Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 1906.764; slightly piriform mirror; nude woman with garland, lion head fountain and *labrum*, nude woman (both women holding hands in *labrum*); obverse: frontal Sol in *quadriga*; 325-300 (Jucker); *CSE Schweiz* 1, 1.
5 Basel, Antikenmuseum Hess 71; draped woman holding twig and opening mantle, frontal, nude woman (Venus?), veiled, draped woman (mouth covered, nose partly); 350-325 (Jucker); *CSE Schweiz* 1, 10.

6 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung (SMB), Fr 45; Praeneste; star, Minerva attacking armed, nude, winged giant (Enceladus?) 325-300 (vdM); 250 (Zimmer); *ES* 286,1; *CSE BRD* 4, 26. Online: Bilddatenbank: Antike Bronzen in Berlin (ww2.smb.museum/antikebronzenberlin/).

7 Berlin, SMB Fr. 54; base, bird, frontal, seated, semi-draped woman (Muse?) playing *iynx*, *cithara*, garland above scene, winged Amor extending hands, draped woman holding up ball toward him; 350-300 (Zimmer); *ES* 328,1; Matthies 111; *CSE BRD* 4, 35. Bilddatenbank.

8 Berlin, SMB Fr. 57; frontal, draped, winged woman (Anima/Psyche) opening her mantle and frontal, winged Amor; 300 (Zimmer); *ES* 331,2; *CSE BRD* 4, 37. Bilddatenbank.

9 Berlin, SMB Fr. 64; Praeneste? (found with Fr. 65); two draped women (maenads?), between them *thyrsus* and male herm; exergue/extension: female head; 330-300 (Adam); *ES* 310; Adam no 24. Bilddatenbank.

10 Berlin, SMB Fr. 65; Praeneste? (found with Fr. 64); dog, draped women with stippled sleeves (maenad?), star, draped woman with branch, Pan turned to right; 350-325 (vdM); *ES* 311. Bilddatenbank.

11 Berlin, SMB Fr. 85; Praeneste?; draped, winged woman (Victoria), draped woman, seated, draped girl, exergue: star (cf. 38); 350-325 (vdM); *ES* 250. Bilddatenbank.

12 Berlin, SMB Fr. 122; Praeneste?; Ionic column, nude *mirqurios* (Mercurius; *himation*, winged hat and shoes), sleeping dog, seated *alixentrom* (Alexander/Paris in oriental dress) with spear, seated on rock; 360-350 (Adam); 350 (Gilotta 2007, 32); *ES* 182; Adam no 6; *CSE France* 1, III, p. 35; FDB 63-68, no 553. Bilddatenbank.

13 Berlin, SMB Fr. 149; Bomarzo?; seated, dressed woman (Electra) embracing pointed amphora (urn with presumed ashes of Orestes) at tomb or stele (of Agamemnon); nude, young man (Orestes) holding *himation*; 330-300 (vdM); *ES* 424; Matthies 112. Bilddatenbank.

14 Berlin, SMB Fr. 157; Praeneste?; standing, mourning (?), veiled, draped woman; 330-300 (vdM); *ES* 92,4. Bilddatenbank.

15 Berlin, SMB Fr. 159; Praeneste?; ugly head of old woman (with *sakkos*) in window, two birds (doves?), nude man unveiling prostrate, lying, nude woman, Amor with garland flying toward man; 350-325 (vdM); *ES* 423,1. Bilddatenbank.

16 Berlin, SMB Fr. 164; winged horse (Pegasus?); 300 (vdM); *ES* 430,2. Bilddatenbank.

17 Berlin, SMB Misc. 6240; Praeneste; hydria, nude man holding strigil and *alabastron*, squatting nude woman in back view, *labrum*, nude woman pouring water over squatting woman, base with cloths; 320-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* V 154. Bilddatenbank.

18 Berlin, SMB Misc. 6241; Praeneste; semi-draped, young woman wringing out her hair, semi-draped man with garland holding her right underarm; 350-325 (vdM); *ES* V 148. Bilddatenbank.

19 Berlin, SMB Misc. 8431; draped woman seated on rock (Venus?), Amor, draped woman with fillet, Minerva with spear and shield; exergue: frontal head of Mercurius; 350 (Heres); *ES* V N 5; *CSE DDR* 1, 33. Bilddatenbank.

20 Berlin, SMB Misc. 8488; silen with fillet, veiled draped woman with stippled sleeves (maenad) opening mantle, embracing satyr; 320-300 (Heres); *CSE DDR* 1, 34. Bilddatenbank.

21 Birmingham, Burmingham Museum and Art Gallery1961A477; Triton, dog, young man (Sol) with whip riding one of two staggering horses, flying, tiny Victoria with fillet flying toward him, owl, snake, dog (head of wind god in border decoration); 350-300 (vdM); 300-200 (Lloyd-Morgan); Lloyd-Morgan 1975, 78-79; pl. 1.

22 Bologna, Università 287 (damaged); table seen from above (?), nude woman, *labrum*, nude woman or man touching water; 320-300 (Sassatelli); *ES* 109, 2. *CSE Italia* 1, 4.

23 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.7525 (handle lost); *thyrsus* with fillet, dancing satyr, calyx-krater; 300 (De Puma); *CSE U.S.A.* 2, 12.

24 Brussels, Musées Cinquantenaires (MC) R 1256; Praeneste; standing, nude woman, hanging *cista*, nude woman (Venus?) seated on throne touched by standing, nude woman, hanging, fluted *oenochoe*, fluted basin on ground; 330-310 (Adam); 320-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* V 18; Adam no 32. Lambrechts no 6; Gilotta 2000b, 97-101.

25 Brussels, MC R 1259; Praeneste; Amor with wreath, Anima (Psyche) with fillet, touching each other, *alabastron* standing on rocks; 350-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* 331, 1; Adam no 25; Lambrechts no 9.

26 Brussels, MC R 1260; slightly piriform mirror; Praeneste?; Etruscan inscriptions; winged *menarva, fuflunus* (Dionysus) with *cantharus, artunrs* (Artemis) carrying off swaddled *esia* (divine (woman): Ariadna); 450-400 (Lambrechts); 350 (Sassatelli); Lambrechts no 10.

27 Brussels, MC R 1261; Praeneste?; nude Ariadna (opening mantle) touched by nude Dionysus (*himation*), draped maenad holding *thyrsus* and twig, all standing; 350-340 (Adam); 350-325 (Jucker); 320-300 (Lambrechts); 350 (Gilotta 2007, 32); *ES* 307; Adam no 13; Lambrechts no 11.

28 Brussels, MC R 1262; Praeneste; stag, nude Dionysus with drinking-horn, nude Ariadna with torch and fluted calyx-krater, hovering Amor with *bulla* holding fillet, all frontal; 350-300 (Lambrechts); 330-300 (De Puma); *ES* 303; Lambrechts no 12.

29 Brussels, MC R 1269; Praeneste; dancing, nude silen with *thyrsus*, dancing, draped maenad with *thyrsus*; rosette; 320-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* 315, 2; Lambrechts no 19.

30 Brussels, MC R 1271; Praeneste; draped, bearded man with *pileus* and *falx*, kneeling Cephalus caught by nude Aurora, two stars, nude man with mantle blowing up, making *Kreuzschritt*; 350/340 (Adam); 350-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* V 74; Adam no 14; Lambrechts no 21.

31 Brussels, MC R 1277; Praeneste (in a *cista*); nude man (Orion?), eight stars, crescent, dog, rabbit; 300(-250) (Lambrechts); *ES* 243A, 3; Lambrechts no 27. False engraving?

32 Brussels, MC R 1279; Praeneste; fallen, fluted calyx-krater, draped man(stippled sleeves, spear, helmet), nude Cadmus (helmet, spear) attacking dragon; background: Minerva, star; draped man constricted by dragon, armed, nude man (*himation*) attacking dragon; 350/340 (Matthies; Adam); 350-300 (Lambrechts); 330-300 (De Puma). *ES* 358; Matthies 108-110; Adam no 15; Lambrechts no 29.

33 Brussels, MC R 1284; Praeneste; centaur holding branch and shield moving to left; 300-280 (Lambrechts). *ES* 309,1; Lambrechts no 34.
34 Brussels, MC R 1285; Praeneste; winged horse (Pegasus?) moving to right; 320-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* 430,1; Lambrechts no 35.
35 Brussels, MC R 1287; slightly piriform mirror; Praeneste; standing, nude Iolaus, left foot on pillar, opposite nude Hercules seated on a rock, club; 300 (Lambrechts); Lambrechts no 37.
36 Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania Glencairn Museum 05.XX.52; slightly piriform tang mirror; seated woman (Minerva?) opposite seated, nude man with staff (Hercules ?); 300-250 (De Puma); *CSE U.S.A.* 4, 3.
37 Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr Colllege M-114; slightly piriform tang mirror; seated, nude man (Mercurius?; *himation*, *caduceus*?), left foot on rock, opposite seated, armed Minerva; 350-300 (De Puma); *CSE U.S.A.* 4, 7.
38 Budapest, Musée des Beaux-Arts 51.944; standing, draped woman touching shoulder of standing, draped, winged woman holding shield (Victoria), rosette; exergue: star (cf. 11); inscription in extension: *tm* (false?); 350-325 (Szilágyi); *ES* 246 A; *CSE Hongrie/Tchécoslovaquie* 1.
39 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (CCC), on loan in The Fitzwilliam Museum (FM), Ant. 1991/103.37; nude Hercules training winged horse (Arion), club, star, arrow, bow; exergue: dead lion (cf. 158); 330-300 (Nicholls). *CSE GB* 2, 5.
40 Cambridge, CCC, on loan in FM, Ant. 1991/103.38; slightly piriform mirror; semi-draped man on volute throne embraced by standing, draped woman, dove on pillar/column; draped woman (Venus?) seated on volute throne (cf. 58), opening mantle; 320-280 (Nicholls); *ES* 380,1; *CSE GB* 2, 2.
41 Cambridge, CCC, on loan in FM, Ant. 1991/103.36; Praeneste; nude woman, nude woman (*fasia*) on lap of semi-draped man (*mexio*), draped maidservant (*acila* (cf. *ancilla*), dog on altar; inscription: *ceisia . loucilia . fata . ret . iunio . setio. at[[i]]os . ret* ; 330 (Nicholls); *ES* V 151; *CSE GB* 2, 6; FDB 98-104, no 559.
42 Cambridge, FM GR.2.1976; swan, squatting, nude woman holding mirror and dipper, standing, nude man with strigil touching woman at right, lion head spout above *labrum*, hanging, little amphora, bird, standing, nude woman leaning on *labrum*; *hydria*; 330-320 (Nicholls); *ES* 317; *CSE GB* 2, 12.
43 Cleveland (Ohio), Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA) 16.2012; draped woman (Diana?), moon, draped woman with spear (Minerva?); 330-300 (De Puma). *CSE U.S.A.* 1, 13.
44 Cleveland, CMA 20.170; nude young woman retaining Telephus who takes Orestes hostage, kneeling, scared, old, dressed woman; 330-300 (De Puma); De Puma 1980, 5-28; *CSE U.S.A.* 1, 14.
45 Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum GM 363; vertical sword, lying shield; frontal, nude Ajax holding sheath about to commit suicide, draped, young man (Höckmann), both standing; 350-300 (vdM); 300-250; *CSE BRD* 1, 22.
46 Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum H 2157; Br. 157; Hercules (lion-skin) holding club and *cantharus*, sheath, above: fillet hanging on nails; 330-300 (Adam). *ES* 148; Adam no 26.
47 Dayton, Ohio, Dayton Art Inst. 70.34; Minerva, owl, dog, leafy tendril, standing, nude woman (Ariadna) crowning seated, nude Dionysus with *thyrsus*; 320-300 (de Puma); *CSE U.S.A.* 1, 20.
48 Debrecen, Déri Muzeum 1908/1014; said to be from Hungary; standing, nude woman holding up fillet before nude man with spear, right foot on rock; 330-310 (Szilágyi); *CSE Hongrie-Tchécoslovaquie* 11.
49 Detroit, Inst. of Arts 47.399; nude woman with mirror leaning on pillar, nude woman with leafy branch, Aeolic column, semi-draped woman seated on rock; 330-300 (vdM); 300-275 (De Puma); *CSE U.S.A.* 1, 21.
50 Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (SK) ZV 32; said to be from Bolsena; panther, nude woman opening her mantle, leaning on pillar, star, Pan laying arm around nude woman, seated, nude boy (satyr); after 350 (Heres); 330-310 (Lambrechts, see 27); *ES* V 46; *CSE DDR* 2, 12.
51 Dresden, SK ZV 1209; slightly piriform mirror; said to be from Tarquinia; pillar, squatting nude woman seated, nude woman leaning on *labrum* holding up oil flask, seated, nude woman; 350-300 (Matthies, Heres); *CSE DDR* 2, 17.
52 Dresden, SK ZV 2671; said to be from Naples; draped woman touching chin of Pan, hanging *amphoriskos*, lion head spout above *labrum*, *cista*, ithyphallic Pan; 350 (Heres); *CSE DDR* 2, 18.
53 Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte X15224; standing, armed Minerva, star, frontal, nude Hercules (club, lion-skin), frontal, nude boy holding bow and arrow (Amor); 330-300 (vdM); 300-250 (Höckmann); *CSE BRD* 1, 18.
54 Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (MAHG) I 777; nude Theseus attacking bull with sword; 325-300 (vdM); Rácz, *Antikes Erbe* (1965), pl. 103.
55 Geneva, MAHG MF 916; Praeneste; seated person with left hand raised (greeting?), dog, bird, nude, winged woman (Victoria), (Priapic?) herm; 330-310 (Adam); Adam no 30 (fig.).
56 Geneva, private collection; amphora, satyr approaching nude woman, seated, nude boy with *cithara*; 330-310 (Jucker); Jucker 1991, 125.
57 Gotha, Schloss Museum ABrS I; seated, semi-draped woman about to embrace (?) recumbent, semi-draped man with *patera*, both on bed (Iole and Hercules?), garland hanging from beam, *mensa tripes* with food; above inscription: *erui* (false?), exergue: bird; 320-300 (Heres); *ES* V, p. 196-197 ill.; *CSE DDR* 2, 20.
58 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1977, 94; vertical, undulating lines, armed Minerva leaning on pillar, owl, draped, young woman (Proserpina), semi-draped man holding scepter with eagle (Pluto) seated on boat-like throne (cf. 40); (320-)300-280 (Liepmann); *CSE BRD* 2, 17.
59 Hollywood, Stendahl Galleries?; three nude women, one wringing out her hair, another pouring water from vase over kneeling woman in front of low *labrum*; A. E. Stendahl, *Etruscan Art* (exh. cat.), Los Angeles 1963; 320-300 (Del Chiaro); Del Chiaro, Cat. *Etruscan Art from the West Coast Collections* 1967, 46, no 63.
60 Jerusalem, A.F.I.M IMJ 74.35.178; nude man with spear (Dioscur?), nude woman (Helen?), nude man with sheath (Dioscur?), boy with hair in pony-tail (Amor?); 350-300 (Jucker); Jucker 1991, no 124.

61 Leipzig, Museum des Kunsthandwerks 20.162; seated, draped woman playing flutes, semi-draped woman (or man?) (with vegetal crown) and semi-draped bearded man (with vegetal crown), both recumbent on bed, star, rectangular table with food; 325-300 (Heres); *CSE DDR* 2, 19.
62 London, British Museum (BM) 1814.7-4.787; Praeneste?; draped woman (Oinone?) with shield, above: owl, Minerva, flying small Victoria crowning seated Alexander/Paris in oriental dress with spear; (vertical) dog, bird; exergue: female head; 350 (Adam); *ES* 191; Adam p. 23 no 5.
63 London, BM 1814.7-4.916; W 699; Praeneste; winged woman (Victoria or Venus) seated on altar, standing, nude woman with spear, nude boy moving to right (Amor?); 350-300; *ES* 251a.
64 London, BM 1814, 7-4.922; W 723; nude woman holding bird, lion head spout above *labrum*, squatting, nude woman wringing out her hair, nude woman washing; small ithyphallic satyr (dancing?); exergue on obverse: head in vegetal setting; 350 (vdM); *ES* 108.
65 London, BM 1824, 0489.46.c; frontal, draped, winged woman (Victoria?) holding plants, flanked by two stars; 325-300 (vdM); *ES* 39.
66 London, BM 1824, 0489.82; W 706; Monterotondo; Greek warrior (Achilles or Theseus) attacking with sword falling Amazon with *pelta* (Penthesilea or Antiopa), pillar; 350-325 (vdM); *ES* 366.
67 London, BM 1856, 0625.10; W 720; Bomarzo (according to Matthies); draped Victoria (cross belt) with axe about to kill a bull, standing, nude man, dolphin, flying bird with fillet; 350-300 (vdM); 350 (Matthies); *ES* 91; Matthies 24, 103.
68 London, BM 1865, 7-12.5; W 705; Praeneste; Hercules' head, club; 325-300 (vdM); *ES* 335,1.
69 London, BM 1873, 0820.104; W 719; Praeneste; *telis* (Thetis) arming *aiax*, *alcumena* (Alcmena) playing lyre, seated satyr drinking from or looking into *patera*; 370-360 (Adam); 320-300 (Coarelli); *ES* V, 120; Adam no 4; *RMR* 276 (Coarelli); De Grummond 2000, 48-50; FDB 84-88, no 556.
70 London, BM 1884,6-14.53; W 635; mourning (?), draped woman (Antiopa?) between young men (her sons?), one draped and one semi-draped; 380-360 (Adam), 350 (Gilotta 2007); *ES* V 150; Adam 20 no 2.
71 London, BM 1897,10-30.2; W 695; Praeneste; bird, seated, semi-draped *oinomavos* (Oeneus?) with scepter, winged horse labeled *ario* (Arion), *melerpanta* (Bellerophon) holding diptych; exergue on obverse: Aurora above Victoria; 350 (vdM); *ES* 333, Matthies 97-98; Adam 21 no 3, FDB 69-77, no 554.
72 London, BM 1898, 07-16.4; said to be from Praeneste; seated, semi-draped man, *tabula lusoria*, seated, semi-draped woman; room wall; inscription: *opeinor devicam ted*; 325-300 (vdM); 300-200 (Emiliozzi); *ES* V 146; FDB 27-31, no 547. Emiliozzi 2010.
73 London, BM 1928, 1018.4; frontal head of woman (cf. 105); 350 (vdM); BM online/collection.
74 Louvain-la-Neuve, FM 434; semi-draped man, pillar, semi-draped Jupiter (?) with scepter seated on throne, crowned by Victoria; exergue: sea monster and bird; 325-300 (Lambrechts); *CSE Belgique* 1, 19.
75 Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts E 154/Br. 132; draped, winged woman playing flutes (Victoria?), dancing, draped woman holding castanets, nude boy holding blowing up mantle (Amor?); 360-330 (Adam), 350-325 (Jucker), 350-300 (Lambrechts); Adam no 9.
76 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 9824; owl; armed Minerva, Hercules holding club, nude boy with twigs (Amor?), all frontal; 350-300 (vdM); 250 (Blázquez Martínez); *ES* 345. Blázquez Martínez, *AEA* 3, 1960, 148-150 no 11, fig. 2, 4.
77 Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum 0.16730; mourning draped woman (Euridice) seated on chair holding child (Opheltes), draped woman (Hypsipyle), owl on plant; exergue: feline; 350-300 (vdM); 300-250 (Höckmann), *CSE BDR* 1, 31.
78 Morlanwelz, Musée Royal de Mariemont B. 205; upper level: seated, semi-draped woman (Ariadna?) crowned by draped woman (maenad); Dionysus with *thyrsus* and Ariadna with torch, panther; lower level: nude man falling back holding *pedum* and grapes, approached by feline; exergue: two crescents, four dogs; 360-330 (Adam 84), 320-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* 304; Adam no 17; *CSE Belgique* 1, 24.
79 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung (StAnt) 3421; Praeneste; Hercules (club, mantle) fighting lion assisted by frontal Minerva with large shield, skull and bone under lion; inscription in extension: *ter* (false?); 350 (Adam); *ES* V 55; Adam no 8.
80 Munich, StAnt (lost); seated, nude woman with mantle covering head (Latona), draped, nude Diana with spear leaning on nude Apollo seated on stool, playing lyre; 325-300 (vdM); *ES* 78.
81 Naples, Museo Archeologico 5556; standing, warrior and prostrate, nude warrior (*himation*, helmet) pierced by spear (Hector killing Patroclus?); 325-300 (vdM); *ES* 394, 1.
82 New York, Metropolitan Museum (MM) Gr 134; draped *iuno* (Juno) with twig, female herm with vagina, semi-draped Jupiter seated on (Latial) altar with inscription: *iovei* (Jupiter); phallus; nude *hercele* (Hercules) with club and mantle; all frontal; 320-280 (Bonfante); *ES* 147; *CSE U.S.A.* 3, 7; FDB 52-56, no 551.
83 New York, MM Acc. 21.88.29; standing, nude woman holding mantle (Diana?) and nude Apollo holding laurel wreath and lyre, both frontal, four stars/rosettes; 320-300 (Bonfante); *CSE U.S.A.* 3, 19.
84 New York, MM 41.160.406; draped Aurora driving *biga* moving to right; (330-)315-300 (Bonfante); *ES* 288, 2; *CSE U.S.A.* 3, 23.
85 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1991.896; mirror of silver; nude man riding horse moving to left, *spina* on base; 330-300 (vdM); 400-300 (De Grummond), *CSE GB* 3, 22. False mirror and/or engraving?
86 Palestrina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (MAN) 1508; Praeneste; Dionysus (with stippled sleeves, *nebris*) holding *thyrsus*, driving a *triga* drawn by panther, lion and panther, Victoria with wreath flying toward him; 350-325(-300) (Foddai); *CSE Italia* 6, II, 83.
87 Palestrina, MAN 1509; slightly piriform mirror; Praeneste (with context); tree; Bellerophon riding wingless horse attacking Chimaera; tree, bird; 350-325 (Bordenache, Foddai); *ES* V 73; *Ciste* I.2, 235-236; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 84.
88 Palestrina, MAN 1510; Praeneste; nude, winged

woman holding up mirror (*sakkos*, mantle) touched by draped woman, dog with collar; 350-325 (Foddai); *ES* 248A; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 85.

89 Palestrina, MAN 1512; Praeneste; seated, semi-draped bearded man with spear (Ulixes?) and draped woman (Penelope?) seated on stool, with spindle, touching his knee of man, foot-rest; exergue: double-headed snake; 325-300 (Foddai); *ES* 406; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 87.

90 Palestrina, MAN 1513; Praeneste; satyr kneeling on rock holding fillet?, frontal, standing Dionysus and seated, semi-draped Ariadna embracing each other, *thyrsus* between them; 350-300 (vdM); 375-350 (Foddai); *ES* 302; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 88.

91 Palestrina, MAN 1514; Praeneste; semi-draped *hiaco* (Iakchos (Dionysus)) driving *triga* drawn by panther, stag, griffin, lion or lynx, *victoria* with wreath flying toward him; above: owl, dog on rock, draped *fortuna* and *menerva* (Samnitic helmet, shield); exergue: Jason attacking snake; 350 (Foddai); Matthies 61 A II1; 98-100, *CSE Italia* 6, II, 89; FDB 110-114, no 2498.

92 Palestrina, MAN 1555; slightly piriform mirror; Praeneste; nude man on staggering horse riding to left; 300-250 (Foddai); *CSE Italia* 6, II, 90.

93 Palestrina, MAN 1556; Praeneste; silen with *thyrsus* alongside panther, both running to left; 320-300 (Foddai); *NSc* 1907, 479 no 2; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 91.

94 Palestrina, MAN 1557; Praeneste; seated, semi-draped, bearded man, *to[n]doros* (Tyndareus), flying swan, standing, draped woman (Leda) before door, above: hanging amphora. Other inscriptions: *ancis* (< Gr. *anakes*: Dioscuri); *noci opus / l.valeri*; in top of border decoration: satyr head; 320-280 (vdM); 300-250 (Foddai); Agnoli/Gatti 47; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 92. FDB 105-109, no 2497.

95 Palestrina, MAN 1558; Praeneste; two stars, head of Minerva in three-quarter perspective, turned to right, two stars and rosette; 320-280 (Foddai); *CSE Italia* 6, II, 93.

96 Palestrina, MAN 1559; Praeneste; veiled, draped woman facing veiled, draped woman (mouths covered); 320-280 (vdM), 300-250 (Foddai); *NSc* 1907, 497 no 4; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 94.

97 Palestrina, MAN 1561; Praeneste; swan, draped, winged woman (Victoria or Venus) facing seated, draped woman holding twigs, one with fruit; 320-280 (vdM) 300-250 (Foddai); *NSc* 1907, 497 no 3; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 96.

98 Palestrina, MAN 1562; Praeneste; nude Dionysus with *thyrsus* seated on throne touched by standing, semi-draped silen, stippled dog under throne; exergue: star; 325-300 (Foddai); *CSE Italia* 6, II, 97.

99 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Cabinet de Médailles (CM) 1286; swan, woman (Venus?) seated on rock, Victoria holding up plate with food, nude Hercules (club) seated on lion-skin (cf. 139); 330-310 (Adam); 320-300 (Rebuffat); *ES* 15; Rebuffat, *ME* 47-51, 624; 624, pl. 4.

100 Paris, BN CM 1323; Praeneste (from Cista Brønsted); star, rosette, Aurora with torch driving *triga* moving to right, Phrygian helmet under horses, Victoria with wreath and fillet flying toward her; below: dog; 360-330 (Adam); 330 (Rebuffat); *ES* 73; *Ciste* I.2, 178-179; Rebuffat, *ME* 214-219 no 14; 494-498, 624, pl. 72, 77, 109; Adam no 10.

101 Paris, BN CM 1335; warrior attacking and grasping hair of nude warrior (*himation*); 330-300 (Rebuffat); *ES* 391,1; Rebuffat, *ME* 264-268 no 53, 624, pl. 53.

102 Paris, BN CM 1339; satyr holding *thyrsus* with fillet and draped maenad with *thyrsus*, both seated on rock; 330-300 (Rebuffat); *ES* V 41; Rebuffat, *ME* 280-284 no 57, 624, pl. 57.

103 Paris, Musée du Louvre 1730; pillar, *cupido* leaning on pillar, draped *venos* (Venus) holding hand above him, pillar, draped *vitoria* (Victoria) touching shoulder of seated, semi-draped woman, man or hermaphrodite labeled *rit*; 350-300 (Rebuffat), 300 (Matthies p. 64, 95); *ES* 371; *CSE France* 1, I, 3. FDB 46-51, no 550.

104 Paris, Louvre 1732; slightly piriform tang mirror; standing, semi-draped man (Alexander/Paris), Amor with wreath flying toward him, veiled, draped Helen seated on throne; exergue: rabbit; 350 (Rebuffat); *ES* 375; *CSE France* 1, III, 10.

105 Paris, Louvre 1733; tang mirror; frontal head of Venus with emerging (Isiac?) plant or tree, flanked by two nude men and two *amphorae*, bird; 350 (Rebuffat); *CSE France* 1, III, 11.

106 Paris, Louvre 1735; Praeneste?; nude Dionysus with *thyrsus*; draped Ariadna with torch, nude satyr with fluted calyx-krater, all frontal; 350 (Rebuffat); *ES* 301; *CSE France* 1, I, 5.

107 Paris, Louvre 1737; frontal, kneeling young man (satyr?) with knife?, bird, *cithara*, semi-draped Apollo on throne, Victoria, Marsyas playing flutes; 350-300 (Rebuffat); *ES* 308; *CSE France* 1, I, 6.

108 Paris, Louvre 1739; said to be from Saïda (Sidon); armed Minerva standing on rock, Hercules (club, lion-skin), Mercurius (*caduceus*, winged hat and shoes) seated on rock; 330-300 (Rebuffat); *CSE France* 1, I, 7.

109 Paris, Louvre 1743; nude Hercules (club) seated on rock crowned by nude Victoria holding wreath and branch with fillets; 350-300 (Rebuffat); *ES* 343; *CSE France* 1, I, 10.

110 Paris, Louvre 1744; wingless, nude boy (Amor) retaining armed Menelaus who attacks nude Helen clinging to Palladium on altar, above: shield; frontal, seated boy under altar; boy (with *bulla*) carrying wine barrel, dog, both on base; (375-)350 (Rebuffat); *ES* 399; *CSE France* 1, I, 11.

111 Paris, Louvre 1745; Praeneste (from *cista* Révil); winged Amor retaining Menelaus who attacks nude Helen who clings to Palladium on altar, column (Ionic?); exergue: *hippocampi*; (375-)350 (Rebuffat); *ES* 236; *CSE France* 1, I, 12.

112 Paris, Louvre 1746; standing, semi-draped Fury with torch, mourning, semi-draped Orestes (at Delphi) seated on rocks with drawn sword, standing, semi-draped Apollo holding twig and laurel branch, big star; 360-300 (Rebuffat); *CSE France* 1, I, 13.

113 Paris, Louvre 1751; slightly piriform tang mirror; Tuscania; sleeping dog, draped, winged woman raising hands (Victoria?), draped woman, bending, about to lift or open a jar, rosette; 350 (Rebuffat); *CSE France* 1, III, 18.

114 Paris, Louvre 1763; nude boy with fillet (Amor, *bulla*), nude, winged woman (Venus?), semi-draped, winged woman with mirror; 350-300 (Rebuffat); *ES* V 20; *CSE France* 1, I, 24.

115 Paris, Louvre 1765; standing, nude Dioscur (Castor?) with spear, horse, star; exergue: female head; 350-300 (Emmanuel-Rebuffat), 330 (Adam); *ES* 254,1; Adam no 19; *CSE France* 1, I, 26.

116 Paris, Louvre 1797; *oenochoe*, nude woman, fountain and *labrum*, nude woman; exergue: felines; 350-300 or 300-280 (Rebuffat); *CSE France* 1, II, 55.
117 Rome, Antiquario Comunale; Bolsena; upper level: tree (*ficus ruminalis*); lying, nude, young man with *himation* and hat, left hand turned upward (Palatinus, Faunus, Tiberinus, Mercurius or Mars?), veiled, draped woman with fan (Rhea Silvia, Vestal priestess, Minerva or Acca Larentia?), central level: nude bearded man with *pedum* (shepherd Faustinus, Faunus or Lupercus?), Romulus and Remus suckled by she-wolf, draped bearded man with spear (shepherd Faustulus or king Latinus?); lower level: lion; 340-330 (Adam/Briquel 1982); 320-310 (Rebuffat; Lambrechts); 330-300 (Massa-Pairault); *ES* V, p. 172; Adam no 18; Massa-Pairault 2011.
118 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano?; Tuscolo, Tomb of the Rabirii; fragmentary mirror with remains of gold; star, semi-draped man riding staggering horse (Dioscur); 330-270 (Coarelli); *RMR* 308, no 452, pl. 105.
119 Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia (VG) 12971; Praeneste; seated, nude Dioscur (*pileus*), standing, nude Dioscur (*himation*) holding sheath, horse, two stars; 350 or 350-300 (Gilotta); *ES* 254, A1; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 12.
120 Rome, VG 12974; Praeneste; bird, hanging drapery, nude dwarf with large penis (Pygmy?) stretching out hands to staggering he-goat, rosette; above: drapery; 340-300 (Gilotta); *ES* 422,1; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 14.
121 Rome, VG 12975; Praeneste; semi-draped man seated on rock with staff (Mars?), Amor with arrow, draped woman (Venus?) seated on stool; 350-300 (Gilotta); *ES* 327; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 15.
122 Rome, VG 12976; Praeneste; nude woman (maenad?) lying on bed, opening her dress, assaulted by hairy-suited silen, curtain in background, *thyrsus* with fillet, hovering nude Pan playing mouth organ, hovering hairy-suited, ithyphallic silen holding torch and fluted amphora; *mensa tripes* with food (grapes); probably 350-325 (Gilotta); *ES* V 42; *CSE Italia* 6, 1, 16.
123 Rome, VG 12978; Praeneste; shield, nude Iolaus (*himation*, spear) standing opposite standing, nude Hercules (club, lion-skin), altar or base; exergue: bearded head; 350 or 350-325 (Gilotta); *ES* 337,1; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 17.
124 Rome, VG 12980; slightly piriform mirror with engraved circles; Praeneste; nude Aiax (*himation*) dragging kneeled, nude Cassandra from Palladium which falls forward from base or altar; 320-280 (vdM), 300-250 (Foddai); *ES* 400,1; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 3.
125 Rome, VG 12982; Praeneste; Amor holding up wreath, frontal, armed Minerva, Ionic column with ribbon, Paris in oriental dress seated on rock, dog; 350 (Adam); 330-300 (Gilotta 2007); Adam 78; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 19.
126 Rome, VG 12983; Praeneste; quatting satyr (Olympus?) clinging to Apollo and looking upward, frontal, semi-draped Apollo with large knife, above: large *cithara*, seated, bound Marsyas, pipe, draped woman (Diana (?)) holding snake; 350 or 350-300 (Gilotta); *ES* 296; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 20.
127 Rome, VG 12984; Praeneste; bunch of grapes; Hercules driving *biga* drawn by two bearded centaurs moving to left, dog, crowning Victoria (or Amor) flying to Hercules; 360-330 (Adam); 350-325 (Gilotta); Adam no 11; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 21.
128 Rome, VG 12987; Praeneste; nine *Amores* surrounding and attacking lion; *ES* 329; shortly after 360 (Adam); 350-300 (Gilotta); Matthies 115; Adam no 12; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 23;
129 Rome, VG 12988; Praeneste; boyish, semi-draped Hercules (club), semi-draped Jupiter with eagle scepter seated on rock, standing, draped Juno, draped woman (Iuventus) holding a flower; upper exergue: four stars and moon (crescent); lower exergue: head of Achelous; 350-300 (Gilotta); *ES* 347; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 24.
130 Rome, VG 12989; Praeneste; Alexander/Paris in oriental dress seated on rock, star, frontal, draped woman (Venus?) on rock, nude Helen; 360-350 (Adam); 350-325 (Jucker), not before 350-325 (Gilotta); *ES* 376; Adam no 7; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 25.
131 Rome, VG 12991; draped woman with spear, star, nude man (hat, *himation*) leading or touching her, rosette, draped woman opening her mantle, all frontally rendered; 350-325 (Gilotta); *ES* 352,2; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 26.
132 Rome, VG 12992; Praeneste; pondering, standing, nude Mercurius (*himation*) with right leg pulled up, draped woman seated on throne, little nude woman holding parasol; 350-300 (Gilotta); *ES* 404; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 27.
133 Rome, VG 12994; Praeneste; seated, draped woman, moon (crescent), frontal, nude boxer (Dioscur?), star, seated. nude man (Dioscur?); 350-300 (Gilotta); *CSE Italia* 6, I, 29.
134 Rome, VG 12996; Praeneste; slender, armed Minerva standing on rock, Hercules (lion-skin, club), right foot on rock; 330-310 (Adam; Foddai); *ES* 363,2; Adam no 27; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 4.
135 Rome, VG 12999; Praeneste; satyr (*himation*) catching fleeing, nude woman (maenad), panther; 350-300 (Gilotta); *CSE Italia* 6, I, 31.
136 Rome, VG 13000; Praeneste; standing, semi-draped woman (Venus) with hair wreath leaning on pillar, holding *alabastron*, winged Amor extending arms; 330-310 (Adam, Foddai); *CSE Italia* 6, II, 5.
137 Rome, VG 13001; Praeneste; standing, nude, young winged woman with fillet (Victoria), draped woman seated on a stool (Venus?); 350-300 (Gilotta); *CSE Italia* 6, I, 32.
138 Rome, VG 13002; Praeneste; wingless Amor stealing sheath from sleeping Hercules leaning on rock; 330-310 (Adam; Foddai); *ES* 335,3; Adam no 29; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 6.
139 Rome, VG 13188; Praeneste; seated woman (Venus) holding twig, swan, Victoria holding plate with small vessels (two *oenochoae*) leaning on pillar, torch, Hercules (club) seated on lion-skin (cf. 99); 330-310 (Adam; Gilotta), 300 (Ambrosini 2012-2013, 355-356); *ES* 342; Adam no 31; Gilotta 2000b, 97-101; Michetti 2003, 57-58; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 33.
140 Rome, VG 13189; Praeneste; standing, draped woman holding up opened box; pondering, draped woman seated on chair; 350-325 (Gilotta); *ES* 422,2; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 34.
141 Rome, VG 13190; Praeneste; two standing, draped men, seated, draped woman? (Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana?); 350-300 (Foddai); *ES* 415,3; *CSE Italia* 6, II, 64.
142 Rome, VG 15699; Praeneste; frontal, amazed, draped woman (Nysa?), nude man with *himation* (Mercurius?) carrying off swaddled infant (Dionysus?), lion; 350-325 (Gilotta); Matthies 110-111 (D II 8); *CSE Italia* 6, I, 36.
143 Rome, VG 15700; Praeneste; semi-draped, bearded

man with scepter embraced by draped woman both seated on rock, flying Amor with fillet; exergue: head of boy in acanthus; 350-300 (Gilotta); *CSE Italia* 6, I, 37.
144 Rome, VG 15702; Praeneste; nude man (*himation*, Phrygian helmet, sword, shield) attacking fantastic bird; not before 330-300 (Gilotta); Adam no 28; *CSE Italia* 6, I, 39.
145 Rome, VG 18901; Praeneste (with context); standing, nude woman, dove on left arm, *labrum*, satyr above rock holding hand to mouth, standing, nude woman touching *labrum*; 325-300 (Foddai); *CSE Italia* 6, II, 78.
146 Rome, VG 24864; Praeneste, from the same spot as *cista* Ficoroni; frontal *poloces* (Pollux, boxing-gloves) standing on base, moon (crescent), relaxed, standing *losna* (Luna) with staff, *amycus* (Amycus; boxing gloves) seated on altar or base, pillar with egg; 320-300 (Pacetti); *ES* 171; *Ciste* I.2, 225, De Grummond 2004, 364-365; *CSE Italia* 6, III, 1; FDB 40-45, no 549.
147 Rome, VG 24867; Aurora or a celestial water carrier holding a *situla* moving to left; 320-300 (Pacetti); *ES* 40; *CSE Italia* 6, III, 3.
148 Rome, VG 24871; nude man (Alexander/Paris?), standing, draped woman opening her mantle (Helen?), seated, nude young man with pony-tail (Amor?) opening his mantle; 325-300 (Pacetti); *ES* 210; *CSE Italia* 6, III, 6.
149 Rome, VG 24885 (attached handle missing); Praeneste; snake, kneeling, bound, bearded Dolon between nude Ulixes (*himation*) and nude Diomedes (*himation*); 350-300 (Pacetti); *ES* 353; *LIMC* Amykos 17; *CSE Italia* 6, III, 19.
150 Rome, VG 24890; Praeneste; nude, winged woman holding olive twigs, touching mirror (?), rosette; 320-280 (Pacetti); *ES* 245; *CSE Italia* 6, III, 23.
151 Rome, VG 24898; Praeneste; dancing, ithyphallic *painiscos* (Paniskos), dancing *marsuas* (Marsyas) with *aspergillum* (whip)?, garlanded, fluted volute *krater* on high base; vertical inscription: *vibis . pilipus . cailavit* (Vibis Pilipus engraved (me)); 320-280 (Pacetti); *ES* V 45; *CSE Italia* 6, III, 31; Wiseman 2000, 275 fig. 17; FDB 57-62, no 552.
152 Rome, VG 24902; standing, nude man (mantle on left shoulder), touched by frontal, draped woman with mantle blowing up (Antiopa (and sons) or Helen (and Dioscuri)), semi-draped man seated on rock; 350-325 (Pacetti); *ES* 209; *CSE Italia* 6, III, 34.
153 Rome, VG 26962; Vignanello, tomba dei Velminei; nude warrior with helmet and *himation* (Achilles?) riding hippocampus, dolphin; 300; *NSc* 1916, 79-80, fig. 45.
154 Rome, VG 42221; slightly piriform mirror; Praeneste (with context); Bellerophon riding Pegasus and fighting Chimaera; 320-250 (Bordenache, Foddai); *NSc* 1933, 182-191; *Ciste* I.2, 268-273 (*cista* 81); *CSE Italia* 6, II, 80.
155 Rome, VG 51106 (Castellani); Praeneste; low Ionic column; nude Hercules (lion-skin, *himation*) raising club against and grasping hair of kneeling, semi-draped Amazon with *pelta* (Hippolyta), Aeolic column, hanging sheath; 350- 300 (vdM); *ES* V 57.
156 Rome, VG? (Barberini); Praeneste; nude Victoria dominating bull; 350-300; *ES* 251A.
157 Rome, VG? (Barberini); Praeneste; vertical, undulating lines; dancing, draped woman playing with castanets, small altar; *ES* 312, 2; archaizing or false engraving.
158 Rome, VG? (Castellani); Tarquinia; Hercules with lion-skin (?) around hips taming staggering, winged horse (Arion), bow, club (cf. 39); 330-300 (vdM); *ES* 334, 1.
159 Roma VG? (Castellani); Praeneste; standing, draped, winged woman (Victoria?) with twigs, rosette, standing, veiled, draped woman, draped woman (*sakkos*) seated on rock; 350-325 (vdM); *ES* V 21.
160 Rome, VG? (Castellani); Praeneste; altar or base with garlanded *cista* or *epinetron*, frontal, draped woman (maenad?) with twig, satyr with *caduceus*, holding up wreath; 330-300 (Adam); *ES* V 44; Adam no 21.
161 Rome, VG? (Castellani); garland, dancing, draped woman, draped woman playing flutes (*tibiae impares*), dancing, draped woman with ornamental laurel, all frontal (maenads?); 330-300 (vdM); *ES* V 48.
162 Rome, VG? (Castellani); Praeneste; frontal, nude man lifting weight?, nude man holding mantle in back view, vertical, undulating lines, bare tree; below: head of Mercurius; 330-300 (vdM); *ES* V 91, 1.
163 Rome, VG inv. unknown (Castellani); slightly piriform mirror; Praeneste; owl, draped *victoria* (Victoria) about to crown with wreath draped *alixentros* (Alexander/Paris) seated on rock, holding staff, three rosettes/stars; exergue: sleeping dog; 400-350 (Matthies), not after 350 (Adam); *ES* V 106; Matthies 98; Adam 79; FDB 89-91, no 557.
164 Rome, VG? (Castellani); Praeneste?; plant, armed warrior stabbing nude warrior from behind; 350-300 (vdM); *ES* V 124, 1.
165 Rome,VG? (Castellani); Cerveteri, *scavi* Calabresi; draped woman, moon, frontal, semi-draped man, nude woman; 330-300 (vdM). *ES* V 152, 1.
166 Saint Petersburg, Hermitage B 508; nude man (*himation*) holding resisting, draped woman (with *sakkos*) leaning on column; above: hanging shawl-like fillet; below: *bucranium*; 350-300 (vdM); *ES* 418.
167 Saint Petersburg, Hermitage B 518; laurel branch, standing, draped woman, standing, semi-draped man with spear and sheath; 330-300 (Adam); *ES* 388,1; Adam no 20.
168 Stockholm, Medelshavsmuseet (MM) Acc 723; seated, draped woman, standing, draped woman, standing, draped woman, hanging shawl-like fillets; 350-325 (Wiman); *Medelshavsmuseet Bulletin* 17, 1982, 37-41, figs 2-3.
169 Stockholm, MM 13879; armed Minerva, nude woman (Venus?) with staff; 350-325 (Wiman); *Medelshavsmuseet Bulletin* 20, 1985, 64-66, figs 1-2.
170 Stockholm, MM 2123; semi-draped Jupiter with eagle scepter and lightning bold, semi-draped Victoria crowning nude Hercules with club and lion-skin; 320-300 (Wiman); *Medelshavsmuseet Bulletin* 20, 1985, 66-68, figs 4-7.
171 Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (MAN) RB 297; Tarquinia (according to G. Körte); standing, nude man (*himation*), semi-draped woman seated on stool opening her mantle, looking away; 330-310 (vdM), 350-300 (Neri); *ES* V 133, 2; Matthies 58, 89; Neri no 190.
172 Tarquinia, MAN RC 6269; swan or goose; semi-draped Venus with staff, bird, draped woman (Juno?); 320-300 (Neri); Neri no 191.
173 Tarquinia, MAN 4441; owl; Minerva with spear seated on shield and seated Mars or warrior with spear; 320-300 (Neri); Neri no 192.
174 Tarquinia, MAN (lost?); Tarquinia; Etruscan inscriptions. Semi-draped, bearded *atunis* (Adonis) holding scepter, left leg pulled up, seated, draped *turan*, in rocky landscape; 350 (Gilotta); *ES* V 27; *CIE* 10203; Gentili 2000, 134-135; Van der Meer 2013.

175 Teano, Museo Archeologico di Teanum Sidicinum (MA) 131711; Teano, tomb 79, context; seated or fallen, dressed, bearded man (silen) holding snake, above: hanging fillet, dancing, draped woman (maenad?) playing with castanets, little, bearded man (silen) grasping her; exergue: female head in acanthus; 350-325 (Adam); *MonAnt* 20, 1910, cc 134-135, fig. 103; Adam p. 72.
176 Teano, MA (lost); Teano, tomb 33, context; vertical undulating lines, fountain and *labrum*, standing, nude woman wringing out her hair, kneeling, nude woman wringing out her hair, man with *oenochoe* and strigil; 340 or slightly earlier (Adam); *MonAnt* 20, 1910, cc 79-88, fig. 48; Adam p. 72.
177 Toledo, The Toledo Museum of Art (Ohio) 80.1340; Praeneste; standing, nude *castor* (Castor) with *himation*, spear and *pileus* in back view, *amucos* (Amycus) bound to tree trunk, nude *polouces* (Pollux) with spear (laurel crown in hair), lion head spout; 300 (De Puma); *ES* V 90; *CSE U.S.A.* 1, 39; FDB 32-39, no 548.
178 Vatican, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano (MEG) 12276; draped, winged Thetis catched by Peleus (*himation*, cap); 320-300 (Mansuelli); *StEtr* 8 (1934) 131-132.
179 Vatican, MEG 12278; Grotte di Castro?; waves, draped, winged Thetis catched by nude Peleus (hat, *himation)*; 320-300 (Mansuelli); *StEtr* 8 (1934) 131-132.
180 Vatican, MEG 12646; Praeneste (from *cista* Peter); silen's head above rock; nude man (*himation*) seated on rock (Amphion?), standing, draped woman with Phrygian cap (Antiopa?) with thin staff, nude man (with sheath) seated on rock (Zethus?); barrel, duck?; exergue: dolphins; sea monster; 325-300 (Lambrechts), *ES* 350; *Ciste* I.2, cista 102.
181 Vatican MEG 12684; Grotte di Castro; winged, horned lion moving to left; Etruscan inscription on obverse: *śuθina*; 300 (Rebuffat); *CIE* III, 2, 10888; Rebuffat, *ME* 564.
182 Vatican, Museo Profano della Biblioteca Apostolica 5339; slightly pear-shaped; rock, lion head spout; *patera*, peeping satyr above rock, semi-draped Neptunus with trident carrying off semi-draped Amymona with mantle blowing up, hippocampus, fish; 350-300 (Lambrechts); *CSE Stato della Citt*à *del Vaticano* 5.
183 Vatican, Collezione di antichità dell'Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le mura SP 115; Capena; seated, draped woman taking drapes from chest held up by draped woman, draped girl, bird, column; 325-300 (Lambrechts); *CSE Stato della Città del Vaticano* 22.
184 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (KM) ANSA VI 1708; head of woman (Venus?) in three-quarter perspective turned to left; 350-300; *ES* V 156,1.
185 Vienna, KM ANSA VI 1695; snake, bird, nude Peleus (*himation*) abducting nude Thetis (*himation*); 320-300 (Mansuelli); *ES* 225.
186 Vienna, KM ANSA VI 2774; nude Hercules boy holding club, seated on rock, Minerva with shield, rosette/star, nude boy (Iolaus) seated on rock; 350 (vdM); *AA* 1892, 55 no 100.
187 Vienna, KM ANSA VI 4664; Bellerophon riding Pegasus, and fighting Chimaera; 350-300 (vdM); *ES* V 73a.
188 Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale X 77.438; fragmentary; sequestrated at Fabrica di Roma; draped person (at right); 350-300 (vdM), 400-300 (Barbieri); *CSE Italia* 5, 1.
189 ? (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano? < Museo Collegio Romano); standing, nude man between two seated, nude men, all with spears, bare tree; above: five rosettes/stars; 330-300 (vdM); *ES* 56, 3.
190 ?, Praeneste; relaxed, nude woman, fountain and *labrum*, nude woman with raised hand touching water; 330-300 (vdM); *ES* 109, 3.
191 ?; warrior seated on shield, walking, nude woman with *cithara* and *plectrum*, nude man with helmet and spear seated on clothes; 350-300 (see *CSE Hongrie-Tch*écoslovaquie, p. 23; Gilotta 2007, 32). *ES* 221.
192 ? (Rome, Villa Casali?); Monterotondo; nude Marsyas bound to tree, frontal, standing Scyth (stippled dress) holding knife, Ionic column, pondering, nude man (Apollo?) with *himation*; 330-310 (vdM); *ES* 295.
193 ? (once collection Thorvaldsen); standing panther, seated, bearded Dionysus holding up wine-cup, nude satyr (Ampelus?) holding up bunch of grapes; *ES* 309, 2. False engraving?
194 ? (once art market); tang mirror? ((later?) attached handle: nude, winged woman holding *alabastron*); frontal, nude, winged Daedalus with his instruments; *ES* 330. False engraving?
195 ? (once collection Westropp); seated, nude Iolaus, column, nude Hercules (club, lion-skin, quiver); 350? (vdM); *ES* 337, 2.
196 ?; helmeted, nude Greek with drawn sword fighting Amazon holding spear riding staggering horse; 350-300 (vdM); *ES* 367, 1.
197 ? (once art dealer Depoletti 1867); winged Amor clinging to nude woman (Venus?; crossed breast *catenae* and mantle) holding *fillet* (?) leaning on pillar, kneeled draped woman (Leda?) placing egg in opened chest; 330-300 (vdM); *ES* V 19.
198 ? (Roma, Galleria Borghese? < once collection Borghese); nude, winged man (hermaphrodite?) with branch, nude man holding wreath (?) seated on rock; 330-300 (vdM); *ES* V 129, 2.
199 ? (once art dealer Balboni); Praeneste; draped woman (with *sakkos*) holding wreath seated on rock, frontal, standing, helmeted, nude warrior with spear and shield; exergue: swan; 330-300 (Adam); *ES* V 133,1; Adam no 22.
200 ?; (once collection Martinetti) semi-draped woman leaning on *labrum* touched by draped woman with dove on right arm; around them hanging shawl-like fillet; 330-300 (vdM) ; *ES* V 152, 2.
201 ?; (once collection Spitzer, Paris); *oenochoe* on pillar, standing, nude woman, *alabastron*, lion head spout above *labrum*, frontal, standing, nude woman with mirror, hanging fillet, nude woman seated on rock wringing out her hair, cloths draped over beam; 320-300 (Lambrechts); *ES* V 154a.
202 ? ; (once art dealer Balboni); Praeneste; Minerva and Victoria; *ES* V ad 7 (not illustrated).
203 ?; (once art dealer, Rome); nude Ulixes with *himation*, sword, sheath, and *pileus* and nude Diomedes with *himation*, sheath, sword taking Palladium from pillar; 330-300 (vdM); DAI Fotothek Negativnumber 2942.
204 ? (once coll. Sangiorgi/coll. Sarti); Praeneste; nude Pollux (left knee bent) binding nude, bearded Amycus to tree; drapery; 325-300 (Adam); Adam no 23; *LIMC* Amykos 8.
205 ? (once coll. Sangiorgi/coll. Sarti); Praeneste; bird,

nude Pollux (left knee bent) binding nude, bearded Amycus to tree, fallen amphora, bird, nude youth (Castor?) seated on rock; hanging *alabastron*; 330-300 (vdM); Weis, *AJA* 86 (1982) 24 ill. 1; *LIMC* Amykos 7.
206 Depository of the Soprintendenza in Palestrina; Via della Selce a Cave (near Praeneste); *castor*, *h(erc)le*; Pizziconi 2012, 360-361, fig. 4; 366-367 (350-320 BC).

Appendix IIb

Circular, probably Praenestine tang mirrors

1 Paris, Louvre 1728; Orbetello; seated *venos* (Venus) hiding face, seated *diovem* (Jupiter) holding large thunderbolt, with finger pointing to *prosepnai* (Proserpina (Etruscan: Phersipnai)) who holds branch (myrtle?), below: closed chest (with invisible Adonis inside); exergue: dolphin; 410-400 (Matthies; Pfiffig, De Grummond), 360-350 (Rebuffat), 360-340 (Gilotta 2007, 32); *ES* 325; *CSE France* 1, III, 7; De Grummond 2004, 362-363; FDB 92-7, no 558; Van der Meer 2013, 166-167.
2 Paris, Louvre 1729; Praeneste; nude *taseos* (Taseos) attacking *luqorgos* (Lukourgos) who kneels on altar taking hostage nude *pilonicos . taseiofilos* (P(h)ilonikos, son of Taseos); 410-400 (Pfister-Roesgen), 375 (Foddai); 375-350 (Rebuffat), 360-340 (Gilotta 2007, 32); *ES* V 108; *CSE France* 1, III, 8; FDB 78-83, no 555.

Notes

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1 The authenticity of the silver mirror (Appendix IIa, **85**) and its engraving are uncertain. The two circular tang mirrors with Latin inscriptions (see Appendix IIb) were probably made in Praeneste. With few exceptions most piriform mirrors are handle mirrors. Tang mirrors are App. IIa, **36**, **37**, **104**, **105**, **113** and **194**(?).

2 *Ciste* I.1 and I.2. They are usually cylindrical, some are oval and one is rectangular. Some cylindrical *cistae* were transformed in oval ones.

3 See my forthcoming article in *Etruscan Studies* 18 (2016).

4 Two *cistae* from Tuscania and two from Picenum were probably engraved by the same itinerant Praenestine artist. According to its handle inscription the *cista* Ficoroni (App. I, **68**) and/or its engraving was made at Rome.

5 Bolsena, Bomarzo, Capena, Cerveteri, Grotte di Castro, Orbetello, Sutri, Tarquinia, Vignanello (Etruria), Monterotondo, Tuscolo (Latium), Teano (Campania). See Appendix IIa.

6 For previous and modern excavations in the necropoleis, see Adembri 1995, 1996; Baglione 1992, 2002; Gatti 2009; Lorenzini 2002; Pizziconi 2011; Quilicci 1992; Reggiani Massarini et al. 1993.

7 *Cista* **68**: *novios . plavtios . med . romai . fecid*; mirror **94**: *noci opus / l. valeri*; mirror **151**: *vibis . pilipus . cailavit*. For comment, see Franchi De Bellis 2005 nos. 361, 2497, 552.

8 *Ciste* I.1, 136 (**39**); I.2, 178-179 (**57**); 225-226 (**68**), 235-236 (**70**), 268 no 1 (**81**), 324-325 no 1 (**102**), 389 no 1 (**114**) (found with a circular mirror), 418 (**117**).

9 For chronology, see Matthies 1912, 24-28; Adam 1980 (with slightly too high dates); Emmanuel-Rebuffat 1973; Lambrechts 1978; Gilotta 2007, 30-36.

10 *Pace* Massa-Pairault 1992b, 154-171; mirror **117** showing Romulus and Remus, said to be from Bolsena, may have been made there in view of its unique composition in three registers. Its handle was bent according to Etruscan ritual. Mirror **78**, of unknown provenance, shows two registers.

11 Livy 23.17.19-20.

12 Cristofani 1967. Another *terminus post quem* is afforded by *cistae* **16, 42, 79**, and **115** showing warriors with a Samnite, plumed helmet which is present on South Italian red-figured vases and in Paestan tomb-paintings after ca 370/360 BC. See Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992, 42-43, figs. 27, 29-31, 36. The First Samnite War (343-341 BC) may have caused engravers to depict this helmet. It is also *menerva*'s headdress on mirror **91**.

13 For possible Faliscan influences, see Gilotta 2002a and b.

14 For a review, see Simon 1996.

15 An exception is the *cista* Ficoroni **68** which Bordenache Battaglia and Emiliozzi date around 338 BC. See, however, Gilotta (2002, 74; 2007, 32) who dates it around 375-350 BC.

16 Ciste I.1, nos **24, 31, 39, 41, 53**; I.2, nos **57, 66, 68, 70, 72, 81, 102, 113, 114**.

17 Menichetti 1995; 1999; 2006; 2008.

18 Menichetti 2006, 51.

19 For other criticisms, see Serra Ridgway 1998, Jannot 1999, Gilotta 2000b, 103 n. 60; 2002 (passim). Menichetti dates - in a too global way - the *cistae* to the fourth and third centuries BC.

20 Menichetti 1995, 12; 2006, 53; Massa-Pairault 1992b, 154 who also incorrectly states that Etruscan mirrors were wedding gifts, cf. Serra Ridgway 2000, 416; see, however, Van der Meer 1995, 13-27.

21 Dindia is not an Etruscan woman as Warden (2013, 363) suggests. The Etruscan equivalent of the Latin name would be *Tintia which is not attested. De Grummond (2004, 364) suggests that the *filea* is Korè (Proserpina). However, there are no other *cistae* or mirrors dedicated to an underworld goddess.

22 Dupraz 2006 (on the Saturnian verse character of the inscription); Van der Meer 1995, 51, 107 (on heirlooms).

23 Menichetti 1995, 117, 120, 123. Franchi De Bellis 2005, 148-159.

24 Franchi De Bellis 2005, 148-159.

25 Franchi De Bellis 2005, 50-51.

26 Wiseman (2000; 2004) holds that many Dionysiac scenes on *cistae* and some on mirrors were influenced by local, theatrical performances. His theory has rightly been rejected by Gilotta (2002). As for Dionysiac scenes on other Praenestine artifacts, see Gilotta 2003.

27 Van der Meer 1988.

28 The winged man with loin-cloth, *pileus* and hammer on *cista* **117** probably is not a demon but Vulcanus.

[29] For example *alixentrom* which derives from the accusative of Alexandros. For evidence of oral transmission in Etruscan mirror scenes, see Van der Meer 1995, 6 and 150.
[30] Menichetti 2006, 52-53 on the presumed nuptial function of bathing. Cf. Bonfante 2015, esp. 286, *fig. 3*.
[31] Appendix I, **9, 22, 24, 50, 51, 74, 75, 83, 84, 96, 100**. For bathing scenes on Greek vases, see Stähli 2013.
[32] An assault by a satyr is also visible on mirror (App. IIa, **122**).
[33] Menichetti 2006, 57 fig. 5.
[34] Cf. mirror **171** where a semi-draped woman seated on a stool and facing an almost nude man seems to open her mantle but covers her left breast and turns her head from him.
[35] Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992, 353 no 1 (with photo).
[36] See Appendix IIa, **4, 17, 22, 42, 51, 52, 59, 64, 115, 145, 176, 190, 200** and **201**.
[37] Jucker (see App. IIa, **4**) suggests that the wreath may point to an athletic victory which is not impossible in view of the fact that strigils have been found in female tombs.
[38] Cf. mirror **166**.
[39] Lee 2015, 62 n. 67. For *alabastra* on Etruscan mirrors, see Bagnasco Gianni 2012, 301-303.
[40] True/Hamma 1994, 146 no 65.
[41] For the male gaze, see Izzet 2007, 65-69.
[42] Menichetti 2006, 55.
[43] Trendall 1987, pl. 39a, 76a, 171b, 219e-f , 221c, 229a; Trendall 1989, fig. 212, 309, 426. Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992, 378 no 1; 389 no 7.
[44] On *cista* **82** Calchas (with stippled sleeves) is about to kill Iphigenia who bares herself. A stag stands behind him. If *ladumeda* on cista **45** derives from Latona (*Laton-(e)da), she is Diana.
[45] *LIMC* I, Amykos 11. See also Dohrn 1972.
[46] It may have a false engraving.
[47] Mirror **61** shows two men in bed, banqueting, with a star between them. A draped woman is sitting at the foot end as on **3** playing flutes (*tibiae impares*).
[48] Mirror **153** from Vignanello shows a warrior (Achillles?) riding a hippocampus on his voyage to the Underworld.
[49] *RMR* 1977, 276 (Coarelli); Franchi De Bellis 2005, 84-88.
[50] Bordenache Battaglia interprets the scene as Tyro recognizing her sons. There is, however, not a *skaphè* but a barrel. Mirror **70** too may show Antiopa between her sons.
[51] In Attic vase paintings Erotes are often present at the *anodos* of Aphrodite, e.g. on the 4th century BC amphora Louvre M 21 (with flanking Erotes). For the theme, see C. Bérard, *Anodoi*. Neuchatel 1979.
[52] Cf. *cista* **27** which shows *pater poimilionom* ('Father of Pygmies') with a large penis, holding a *falx* and club. For Pygmies, see Harari 2004.
[53] A.D. Trendal, *LCS* 79, 405; K. Schauenburg, *JdI* 102 (1987) 238, fig. 7.
[54] Franchi De Bellis 2005, 143 (*cista* **5**), 146 (*cista* **101**), and 181 (*cista* **66**).
[55] Victoria makes a libation in front of a warrior standing behind Pegasus.
[56] *Cista* 31shows a *decursor*, maybe one of the Dioscuri.
[57] Franchi De Bellis 2005, 144-145 (*cista* **5**). Van der Meer 1988.
[58] The difference between Victoria and Amor is hardly visible.
[59] For the owl as metaphorical image of the death, see Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992, 39, 89, figs. 23 and 24. See also mirror **44** where an owl is present in a mourning scene.
[60] Mirrors **75** and **157** show a woman playing castanets but not in a clearly Dionysiac context. The engraving of mirror **157** is archaizing or false.
[61] The closed bonnet is extremely frequent in South Italian red-figured vase painting.
[62] A female veil can signify a married woman (mirror **104**; *cistae* **69**, **70**), a deceased woman, a priestess (mirror **117**), probably a mourning woman (mirror **14**). A woman with a veil covering the mouth may be an initiate into the Dionysiac cult (*cistae* **31**, **50**, **51**, **72**). A Dionysiac initiation showing a woman threatening with a knife a girl held by a maenad, all without veil, is visible on *cista* **14**.
[63] Cf. mirror **20** showing maenad between silen and satyr, and **86** showing Dionysus.
[64] See *cista* 7**6** (Minerva) and *cista* **46** (winged Minerva). A winged Minerva is also present in the battle scene of *cista* **16**.
[65] For a similar silen, see *cista* **82**. A standing silen playing flute accompanies a boxing man on *cista* **102**.
[66] See mirrors **25**, **28**, **76**, **114**, **125**, **137** and **143**.
[67] Franchi De Bellis 2005, 27-31.
[68] Van der Meer 1995, 137, 195-196, fig. 94.
[69] Trendall 1987, pls 28a, 73a, 102 c, e, 105e, 150, 219d. Schauenburg 1972, 1973.
[70] As Gilotta suggests, the scene may be a reflection of a statue group of Lysippus as described in the *Anthologia Palatina* 16.103.104. See *CSE Italia* 6, II, 6.
[71] *Cistae* **14**, **50**, **51** and **100**. Gilotta 2002, 63-64, figs 4-5 (*cistae* **50** and **51**).

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Antike Dornausziehergruppen

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Abstract

The Cavaspina groups with one character pulling a thorn from the other's foot are one of the most popular ancient motifs. They were depicted in all genres of ancient art from the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity. Especially popular was the combination of a satyr and Pan, rendered in 18 statuettes and on 16 Dionysian sarcophagi from the Roman Imperial Age. In addition, there are Cavaspina groups made up of two satyrs, a satyr and an old woman, or two peasants, represented in different media of ancient art. These different variations of the group are analysed in the following article and collected in a catalogue. Since all depicted figures belong to the Dionysian sphere, by evaluating ancient literary sources, the Cavaspina group is interpreted as a votive sculpture illustrating the pain from which Dionysus can release his followers.[1]

Der Dornauszieher, insbesondere in der Gestalt des Spinario, gehört zweifellos zu den seit dem Altertum am häufigsten rezipierten Werken antiker Plastik. Als eine der wenigen Antiken Roms, die wohl niemals unter die Erde kamen, besaß diese Statuette in Kunst und Literatur über Jahrhunderte hinweg einen Wiedererkennungswert wie kaum ein anderes antikes Kunstwerk.[2] Diente der Dornauszieher im Mittelalter an Kirchen als abschreckendes Beispiel,[3] wurde der Spinario in der Neuzeit zum 'Ausdruck von holdem und göttlichem Ernst', wie Thomas Mann ihn im 'Tod in Venedig' beschreibt.[4] Der Dornauszieher entwickelte sich gar zur Chiffre für Antike schlechthin und die damit verbundenen Tugenden und Wünsche.[5] Noch heute wird er zitiert, wie jüngst in Wolfgang Tillmans' Fotografie 'Anders pulling a splinter from his foot' aus dem Jahr 2004.[6]

Bereits in der Antike erfreute sich das Sujet des Dornausziehens großer Beliebtheit. Acht vollplastische Repliken der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers sind aus der römischen Kaiserzeit überliefert.[7] Zusätzlich finden sich Darstellungen einzelner Dornauszieher seit dem Hellenismus und die gesamte Kaiserzeit über auf Reliefs, als kleinformatige Statuetten aus Bronze oder Terrakotta, auf Gemmen, Mosaiken oder sogar als Haarnadel- oder Lampenaufsatz.[8] Weit stärker verbreitet als die Einzelfiguren waren jedoch Dornausziehergruppen: Dem Verletzten, der sich den Dorn eingetreten hat, hilft eine zweite Figur, denselben zu entfernen. Es agieren zumeist Figuren der dionysischen Sphäre. Allein in der Kombination von Pan und Satyr ist die Gruppe in mindestens 18 Statuetten und auf 16 kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen mit dionysischem Dekor überliefert. Daneben gab es in anderen Medien Darstellungen des Motivs mit weiteren Figurenkonstellationen aus zwei Satyrn, Satyr und Greisin oder zwei Landleuten. Sie geben über die Bedeutung des Dornausziehermotivs und dessen Beliebtheit in der hellenistisch-römischen Kunst Aufschluss. Die folgende Untersuchung möchte einen Überblick über die verschiedenen Dornausziehergruppen geben. Im Zentrum stehen dabei typologisch-ikonografische Fragen, um die verschiedenen Figurenkonstellationen und Darstellungstypen der Dornausziehergruppen herauszuarbeiten und diese im Verhältnis zueinander einzuordnen. In Zusammenhang mit den vollplastischen Dornausziehergruppen soll auch der Aufstellungszusammenhang der Figuren in die Überlegungen miteinbezogen werden. Abschließend soll das Dornausziehen im dionysischen Kontext interpretiert werden.

Seit der Auffindung der Statuette Castellani 1874 in Rom, die anstelle des stilisierten klassizistischen, sorgfältig frisierten Kopfes des Spinario einen lebensnahen Knabenkopf mit kurzen Haaren und vor Anspannung verzogenem Gesicht trägt, wird in der Forschung über die Datierung der beiden Einzelfiguren des Dornausziehers sowie deren Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zueinander diskutiert.[9] Galt der Spinario zunächst als griechisches Original des Strengen Stils,[10] wurde er nun als Rückstilisierung eines hellenistischen Statuentypus verstanden.[11] Infolge wurden die acht rundplastischen Repliken der Figur zwei separaten Entwicklungssträngen zugeordnet.[12] Jüngst hat sich Amedick mit der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers beschäftigt und aufgrund der weitgehend übereinstimmenden Maße der Repliken überzeugend das Vorhandensein zweier separater Typen bzw. Überlieferungsstränge infrage gestellt.[13] Trotz sei-

ner Prominenz ist dem Dornauszieher und seiner Rezeption bisher jedoch keine umfassende Monografie gewidmet.

Von den Dornausziehergruppen sind bisher vor allem die rundplastischen Statuetten aus Pan und Satyr behandelt und in zwei verschiedene Varianten oder Typen ein und desselben Motivs unterteilt worden, die nach den besterhaltenen Stücken als 'Typus Louvre' und 'Typus Vatikan' bezeichnet werden.[14] Die bisher umfassendste Zusammenstellung stammt von Marquardt, die die Gruppen 1993 als ein Beispiel für 'Pan in der hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Plastik' besprochen hat.[15] Sie geht wie die meisten Forscher von einer gleichzeitigen Entstehung beider Varianten bzw. Typen aus, lediglich Wrede erkannte im Typus Louvre die ältere der beiden Kompositionen, eine Einschätzung, der ich mich im Folgenden anschließen möchte.[16] Amedick sah hingegen allein im Vorbild der Dornausziehergruppe aus Pan und Satyr in Cherchel (**A18**)[17] ein späthellenistisches Werk, von dem alle anderen Varianten der Dornausziehergruppen eine spätere Vereinfachung darstellen.[18] Auch der Zusammenhang zwischen den Statuetten und den auf Sarkophagen dargestellten Dornausziehergruppen wurde schon oft erkannt, blieb aber in der Regel auf ein Beispiel beschränkt.[19] Erstmals stellte Wrede 1991 eine ausführlichere Liste von Sarkophagen mit Dornausziehergruppen zusammen, die Marquardt erweiterte und in die beiden Typen der Vollplastik untergliederte.[20] Die Replikenlisten der vollplastischen Gruppen und der Sarkophage werden im Katalog im Anhang ergänzt. Die Darstellungen von Dornausziehergruppen mit anderen Figurenkonstellationen wurden in der Besprechung der freiplastischen Gruppen zwar vereinzelt herangezogen,[21] ein umfassender Überblick über dieses häufige Motiv steht jedoch noch aus.

Zwei Hirten

Am Anfang der Dornausziehergruppen stehen zwei Hirten. Im 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr. schildert Theokrit in seiner vierten Idylle, wie sich der Hirte Battos einen Dorn eingetreten hat, den ihm sein Kollege Korydon entfernen muss. Dabei wundert sich Battos, wie ein so kleiner Dorn einen so großen Mann bezwingen kann.[22]

In derselben Zeit, als Theokrit seine Idyllen verfasste, verorten einige Forscher bereits die Entstehung der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers.[23] Aufgriffe der Figur in anderen Gattungen belegen deren Entstehung, unabhängig ob im Typus Castellani oder Spinario, spätestens im 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr.: Die Terrakottastatuette eines Knaben mit derben Gesichtszügen in der Pose des Dornausziehers ist durch den Fundzusammenhang in Priene ins 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. datiert.[24] Alexandrinische Kleinbronzen von verkrüppelten alten Männern, die das Haltungsmotiv des Dornausziehers adaptieren, weist Himmelmann dem späten 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. zu.[25] Ein Relief in Liverpool, das in die 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts oder an den Anfang des 1. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. datiert wird, zeigt eine Figur in der Haltung des Dornausziehers zwischen Satyrn, die einem Leierspieler lauschen.[26]

Die Darstellung einer Dornausziehergruppe mit zwei als Hirten gekennzeichneten Figuren, sozusagen eine direkte Illustration der Textstelle Theokrits, ist nicht überliefert. Jedoch findet sich bei einigen Aufgriffen der Einzelfigur die Verortung des Dornausziehermotivs im Hirtenmilieu.[27] Der Terrakotta-Dornauszieher aus Priene trägt ein Fell und eine Mütze, die einem auf Gemmen häufig von Hirten getragenen Typus entspricht.[28] An der Kopie der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers in Cherchel aus dem 1. oder 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr. lehnt ein *pedum* am Felsensitz, und zu Füßen des Knaben steht ein Hirtenhund,[29] und auf Gemmen der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. sitzt die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers unter einem Baum, an dem *syrinx* und *pedum* hängen.[30]

Pan und Satyr I - Rundplastische Statuetten

Die Gruppen im 'Typus Louvre'

Die bekannten Darstellungen von Dornausziehergruppen sind zum Großteil der dem idyllisch-bukolischen Bereich nahestehenden dionysischen Welt zugeordnet, da die agierenden Figuren dem Thiasos des Weingottes angehören. Dies gilt besonders für die 18 vollplastischen Statuetten, die eine Dornausziehergruppe aus Pan und Satyr wiedergeben. Zumeist hat sich der Satyr den Dorn eingetreten, den ihm Pan herausoperiert. Die Statuetten lassen sich zwei verschiedenen Kompositionstraditionen zuweisen. Elf Statuetten zeigen den verletzten Satyr erhöht auf einem Felsen sitzen (*Abb. 1-5*). Aus den erhaltenen Fragmenten lässt sich folgendes Bild rekonstruieren: Der Satyr hat das gesunde rechte Bein aufgestellt und legt den verletzten linken Fuß auf das rechte Knie. Er lehnt sich zurück und stützt sich mit beiden Händen auf den Felsen hinter sich auf. Er wirft den Kopf in den Nacken, sein Gesicht ist schmerzerfüllt. Ein kleiner Pan, der zu seiner Linken auf dem Boden sitzt, operiert ihm

den Dorn heraus. Er hat die Beine vor dem Körper ausgestreckt, die Hufe überkreuzt. Mit beiden Händen fasst er den verletzten Fuß des Satyrs und stützt dabei die Ellenbogen auf den Knien ab. Mit der linken Hand hält er den Fuß des Satyrs fest und zieht mit der Rechten den Dorn heraus. Er reckt den Hals nach vorne und blickt konzentriert auf die Operation. Durch seine im Vergleich zum leidenden Satyr deutlich geringere Körpergröße und die tiefere Sitzposition wirkt der operierende Pan fast attributiv.

Zwei dieser Statuetten mit erhöht sitzendem Satyr - die als einzige vollständig erhaltene und somit namensgebende Statuette dieses Darstellungsschemas im Pariser Louvre (**A1**; *Abb. 1-3*) und eine Gruppe in St. Petersburg (**A6**; *Abb. 4*), an der die Oberkörper der Figuren mit Ausnahme der auf dem Felsen aufgestützten Hände des Satyrs modern ergänzt sind - sowie ein weiterer Satyr in Paris, von dem nur der Oberkörper mit dem wehleidig zurückgeworfenen Kopf erhalten ist (**A2)**, haben darüber hinaus einige stilistische und kompositorische Gemeinsamkeiten, scheinen also auf ein gemeinsames Vorbild zurückzugehen. Diese

*Abb. 1. Dornausziehergruppe (**A1**), Vorderansicht. Paris, Louvre MA 320 (Foto bpk/Réunion des musées nationaux et du Grand Palais des Champs-Elysées; Hervé Lewandowski).*

*Abb. 2. Dornausziehergruppe (**A1**), linke Nebenseite. Paris, Louvre MA 320 (Foto bpk/Réunion des musées nationaux et du Grand Palais des Champs-Elysées).*

drei Statuetten überliefern eine kompakte Gruppe mit geschlossener Kontur. Keine Gliedmaßen der Figuren greifen in den Raum aus, die Arme des Satyrs lösen sich nicht vom Körper. Die Figuren sind im spitzen Winkel zueinander angeordnet, wodurch sich eine tiefe Grundfläche ergibt und neben der frontalen Hauptansicht mindestens zwei Nebenansichten entstehen. Die vom Betrachter aus linke Nebenseite der vollständig erhaltenen Gruppe im Louvre (**A1**) rückt die Figur des Pan in den Vordergrund (*Abb. 2*). Dessen ganz auf die Operation konzentriertes Haltungsschema mit vorgebeugtem Oberkörper und angespanntem Hals, das Gesicht ganz nah am verletzten Fuß des Satyrs, kommt in dieser Ansicht besonders zur Geltung. Der verletzte Satyr tritt hingegen in den Hintergrund. Zwar lässt sich dessen Haltung erfassen, aber sein hilflos zur linken Schulter geworfener Kopf ist vom Betrachter abgewandt, so dass das schmerzverzerrte Gesicht verborgen

*Abb. 3. Dornausziehergruppe (**A1**), rechte Nebenseite. Paris, Louvre MA 320 (Foto bpk/Réunion des musées nationaux et du Grand Palais des Champs-Elysées).*

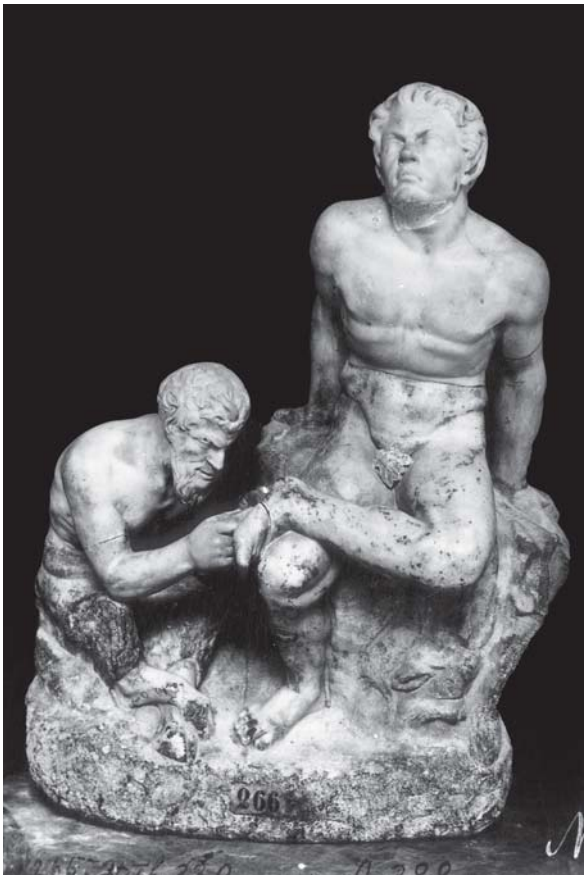

*Abb. 4. Dornausziehergruppe (**A6**). St. Petersburg, Eremitage A 382/266 (Foto The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg).*

bleibt. Die rechte Nebenansicht konzentriert sich hingegen ganz auf den wehleidig zurückgelehnten Satyr (*Abb. 3*). Sein zur Linken gewandtes Gesicht ist von dieser Nebenseite aus am besten einzusehen. Die Ursache seines schmerzerfüllten Gesichtsausdruckes ist jedoch nicht ersichtlich, denn die Figur des Pan und die Operation bleiben hinter dem Felsensitz und der Figur des Satyrs verborgen. Der Blick des Satyrs ins Nichts ähnelt so dem entrückten Blick der Trunkenen Alten, deren rauschhafter Zustand wohl als spezifische Verehrungsform des Dionysos zu verstehen ist.[31] Die beiden Nebenansichten eröffnen somit, wie auch an anderen kleinformatigen Gruppen, weitere Bedeutungsebenen und laden zum Umschreiten der Skulptur ein.[32]

An diesen drei Statuetten wird die kompakte Komposition der Gruppe durch den kräftigen Körperbau der beiden Figuren ergänzt (*Abb. 1-4*). Im Gegensatz zu den schmalen Satyrn mit eher schwammig ausgeprägter Muskulatur anderer kleinformatiger dionysischer Gruppen hat der Satyr des Typus Louvre einen viel fülligeren, ungewöhnlich kräftigen und stämmigen Körperbau, und seine Gesichtszüge sind breiter. Dadurch erscheint er weniger knabenhaft, worin er dem Barberinischen Faun ähnelt.[33] Die Massigkeit des Satyrs setzt sich in seinem breiten Felsensitz fort. Auch der Pan weist eine ungewöhnlich ausgeprägte, kräftige Muskulatur auf und wirkt durch sein Haltungsschema, vor allem in der Vorderansicht, außerordentlich kompakt.

Weitere Statuetten stimmen zwar in den Haltungsmotiven der Figuren und dem grundsätzlichen Aufbau der Gruppe mit erhöht sitzendem Satyr und attributivem Pan mit den drei besprochenen Stücken überein, unterscheiden sich aber in Details. Bei den Repliken in Arles (**A3**), in Geyre (**A4**) und im Vatikan (**A5**) sind die Figuren nicht mehr im spitzen Winkel zueinander angeordnet, sondern fast rechtwinklig und sind weiter auseinandergezogen. Dadurch wird das Geschehen

horizontal in der frontalen Ansichtsseite vor dem Betrachter ausgebreitet, als seien diese Statuetten anderen Aufstellungs- und Betrachtungsgewohnheiten angepasst, die eine Hauptansicht favorisierten. Außerdem sitzt auch Pan erhöht und ist so dem Satyr stärker angeglichen. Einige Satyrfiguren (**A7**-**A9**) überliefern eine Variation des Haltungsschemas, indem ihr Oberkörper nach vorne gebeugt und somit nach rechts geschwungen ist.[34] Außerdem sind die Satyrn an einigen Repliken (**A4**, **A7**, **A8**, **A10**) stärker den Figuren anderer kleinformatiger dionysischer Gruppen angepasst, indem ihr Körperbau wesentlich schmaler und knabenhafter ist (*Abb. 5-6*).

Die elf Gruppen, die den bisher besprochenen Aufbau und die Haltungsmotive der Figuren aufweisen, werden in der Forschung nach der besterhaltenen Statuette (**A1**) als 'Typus Louvre' bezeichnet.[35] Diese Statuetten setzen als motivisches Vorbild die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers voraus und scheinen deren Haltungsschema zu zitieren, denn Felsensitz und Haltungsmotiv der Beine des verletzten Satyrs stimmen mit der Einzelfigur überein.[36] Gegenüber der Einzelfigur hat sich der Satyr der Statuetten des Typus Louvre aufgerichtet, wodurch sein schmerzerfülltes Gesicht sichtbar wird. Da er sich den Dorn in dieser Haltung nicht mehr selbst herausziehen kann, erklärt nun allein die attributiv hinzugefügte Figur des operierenden Pan die Herkunft seines Schmerzes, wodurch aus der Einzelfigur der Gruppenzusammenhang entstand.[37] Pan war daher wohl von Anfang an integraler Bestandteil der Komposition. Dass zunächst nur die Einzelfigur des wehleidig zurückgelehnten Satyrs entworfen wurde, wie Wrede und ihm folgend Marquardt annehmen,[38] lässt sich nicht nachweisen. An der Einzelfigur des Satyrs in St. Petersburg (**A7**), die beide als Beispiel eines solchen Zwischenschritts für die Konzeption der Gruppe heranziehen, sind nämlich genau die Partien ergänzt, an denen die Figur des Pan ansetzte.

Die elf erhaltenen Statuetten dieses Typus Louvre sind chronologisch ganz unterschiedlich einzuordnen. Die frühste ist die namensgebende Gruppe (**A1**), die sich stilistisch in augusteische Zeit datieren lässt.[39] Zwei weitere Gruppen entstanden aufgrund von stilistischen Merkmalen wohl in flavischer Zeit (**A5**, **A9**), vier im 2. Jahrhundert (**A3**, **A6**, **A8**, **A10**) und drei im 3. Jahrhundert (**A2**, **A7**, **A11**). Das Stück aus Aphrodisias (**A4**), das einer im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr. tätigen Bildhauerwerkstatt zugewiesen werden kann, stammt wohl sogar aus dem 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr.[40]

Trotz aller Unterschiede weisen die elf Statuetten des Typus Louvre so viele Übereinstimmungen auf, dass sie auf ein gemeinsames Vorbild zurückgehen müssen. Dabei kann freilich nicht entschieden werden, ob es sich bei dem zugrunde liegenden Vorbild um ein griechisches 'Meisterwerk', ein 'Original', handelte oder um ein durch Gipsabgüsse, Modelle, Zeichnungen oder anderweitig verbreitetes 'Werkstattmodell',[41] doch auch letzteres lässt sich anhand von stilistischen Kriterien datieren.[42] Die mehransichtige Komposition, bei der sich an den verschiedenen Ansichtsseiten inhaltlich unterschiedliche Aussagen ergeben, den blockhaften, kompakten Aufbau und die Darstellung der Figuren bei einer konkreten, konzentrierten Tätigkeit hat zuletzt Kunze als charakteristisch für die Plastik des frühen und hohen Hellenismus herausgearbeitet.[43] Aufgrund der Abhängigkeit zur Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers dürfte das Vorbild der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Louvre gleichzeitig mit

*Abb. 5. Satyr einer Dornausziehergruppe (**A8**), die Hand Pans am rechten Fuß erhalten. Rom, Musei Capitolini, Magazin MC 1439 (Foto Musei Capitolini, Rom).*

*Abb. 6. Oberkörper des Satyrn einer Dornausziehergruppe (**A10**), fälschlich ergänzt und umgearbeitet zu einer stehenden Figur. Verschollen (Foto D-DAI-ROM-1974.0262; Rossa).*

den anderen hellenistischen Aufgriffen der Figur ebenfalls spätestens im 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. entstanden sein, worauf unten noch weiter einzugehen sein wird.[44]

Die Gruppen im 'Typus Vatikan'

Sieben rundplastische Dornausziehergruppen unterscheiden sich von den Statuetten des Typus Louvre vor allem in der Komposition der Gruppe deutlich. Fünfmal hat sich ein Satyr den Dorn eingetreten, den Pan herausoperiert (Abb. 7). Zwei Stücke in Cherchel (**A18**) und ehemals im Nationalmuseum von Neapel (**A17**) weisen hingegen die umgekehrte Figurenkonstellation auf: Ein Satyr behandelt einen verletzten Pan. Alle sieben Stücke vereint der flächige, reliefhafte Aufbau vor einem imaginären Hintergrund, der auf eine frontale Hauptansicht ausgerichtet ist. Befriedigende Nebenansichten entstehen hier nicht mehr.[45] Stattdessen sind die Handlung und die gesamte Aussage der Gruppe nun an der einzigen Ansichtsseite ablesbar. Gleichzeitig haben die meisten Statuetten dieses Kompositionsschemas, das nach dem bekanntesten Stück in der Galleria dei Candelabri (**A12**) als 'Typus Vatikan' bezeichnet wird,[46] an plastischem Volumen und Tiefe verloren.

Die beiden Figuren sitzen einander auf gleicher Höhe auf dem Boden oder auf kleinen Felsabsätzen gegenüber, wobei der Verwundete den deutlich größeren Teil der Fläche einnimmt. Lediglich bei der Replik in Ostia (**A13**; Abb. 7) ist der verletzte Satyr zusätzlich betont, indem er ähnlich dem Satyr des Typus Louvre gegenüber dem deutlich kleineren Pan stark erhöht auf einem Felsen sitzt.

Bereits in den Haltungsmotiven der Figuren ergeben sich zahlreiche Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Gruppen. Gemein ist ihnen, dass die Figuren, an die veränderte, einansichtige Komposition angepasst, nicht mehr nahezu frontal ausgerichtet sind, sondern der Verletzte den Oberkörper in Dreiviertelansicht dem Betrachter entgegendreht, während der Operierende im Profil dargestellt ist. Aus den vier nahezu vollständig erhaltenen Gruppen im Vatikan (**A12**), in Ostia (**A13**), Neapel (**A17**) und Cherchel (**A18**) ergibt sich folgendes Bild: Der Verletzte hat nun das dem Betrachter abgewandte verwundete Bein erhoben und streckt es dem Operierenden entgegen. Dadurch ist das Bein in der horizontalen Fläche ausgebreitet und bleibt für den Betrachter sichtbar, denn im Profil wäre das auf das rechte Knie gelegte Bein der Satyrn des Typus Louvre nicht mehr erfassbar gewesen. Der Verletzte hält das verwundete Bein mit der dem Betrachter abgewandten Hand fest. In drei Fällen stützt er sich mit der freien Hand hinter sich auf, um nicht nach hinten umzukippen (**A13**, **A17**, **A18**). Abweichend davon stützt sich der Satyr der namensgebenden Statuette im Vatikan (**A12**) mit dem ganzen Unterarm hinter sich auf einen Weinschlauch, der eine Brunnenöffnung aufweist. Der Verletzte stellt das gesunde Bein auf den Boden, dessen Fuß auch an den fragmentarisch erhaltenen Panfiguren im Vatikan und im DAI Rom (**A14**, **A15**) auf der Plinthe erhalten ist. Er legt den Kopf in den Nacken. Bei den Statuetten in Ostia und Neapel (**A13**, **A17**) wendet er zudem sein schmerzerfülltes Gesicht dem Betrachter zu.

Der Operierende sitzt dem Verletzten gegenüber und ist im Profil wiedergegeben. In drei Fäl-

len kniet er auf seinem dem Betrachter zugewandten Bein und hat das andere nach vorne ausgestreckt (**A12**, **A14**, **A15**). Beim operierenden Pan der Gruppe in Ostia (**A13**) sind die Beine vertauscht, so dass er auf dem vom Betrachter abgewandten Bein kniet und das vordere ausstreckt. Der operierende Satyr der Gruppe in Neapel (**A17**) sitzt erhöht auf einem Felsen und hat beide Beine vor sich aufgestellt, allerdings ist in Anlehnung an die auf dem Boden hockenden Figuren das vom Betrachter abgewandte Bein stärker ausgestreckt, das vordere hingegen leicht angezogen. Ähnlich war wohl auch die Haltung des leicht erhöht sitzenden operierenden Satyrs der Gruppe in Cherchel (**A18**), der jedoch das vom Betrachter aus vordere Bein ausgestreckt hatte. Bei den einzigen beiden Gruppen in Ostia und Neapel (**A13**, **A17**), an denen die verbindenden Arme bzw. Beine erhalten sind, umfasst der Operierende mit einer Hand den Fuß seines Gegenübers und zieht mit der anderen den Dorn heraus. Bei den anderen Operierenden lässt sich aus den erhaltenen Ansätzen der Arme dieselbe Haltung rekonstruieren (**A12**, **A14**, **A15**, **A18**). Der Operierende blickt nach oben, jedoch nicht wie bei den Gruppen des Typus Louvre konzentriert auf die Operation, sondern über diese hinweg (**A12**-**A17**). Wenn auch die Figuren der verschiedenen Gruppen sehr unterschiedlich sind, ist ihnen doch ein im Gegensatz zu den kräftigen und gedrungenen Figuren des Typus Louvre deutlich schmalerer und weniger muskulöser Körperbau gemein, wie er für andere kleinformatige dionysische Figuren typisch ist.[47]

Von den fünf Statuetten im Typus Vatikan mit verletztem Satyr können zwei stilistisch dem 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr. zugewiesen werden (**A12**, **A14**), eine der mittleren Kaiserzeit (**A15**) und zwei der severischen Zeit (**A13**, **A16**). Von den Gruppen mit verwundetem Pan lässt sich diejenige aus Pompeji (**A17**) stilistisch und aufgrund des Fundorts in flavische und diejenige aus Cherchel (**A18**) stilistisch in späthadrianisch-frühantoninische Zeit datieren.

Die Gruppen des Typus Vatikan weisen trotz Übereinstimmungen in ihren Haltungsmotiven viele Unterschiede und Variationen auf; zudem sind weniger aussagekräftige Fragmente erhalten, was das Herausarbeiten von Charakteristika eines bestimmten gemeinsamen Vorbildes erschwert. Allein die zwei Varianten mit verletztem Satyr oder Pan zeigen, dass hier eine oder mehrere ähnliche Vorlagen umgesetzt wurden, und zwar insgesamt sehr viel freier als bei den Statuetten des Typus Louvre. Sicher ist, sofern man von der Existenz eines einzigen gemeinsamen Vorbildes ausgehen möchte, dass die namensgebende Replik aus der Galleria dei Candelabri (**A12**) entgegen der Annahme von Marquardt[48] diesem nicht am nächsten steht. Schließlich kehrt das Motiv des auf einen Weinschlauch aufgestützten Unterarms weder bei einer anderen Replik des Typus noch bei einer anderen Darstellung einer Dornausziehergruppe wieder, weshalb es sich wohl eher um einen Zusatz handelt, um die Gruppe sinnvoll in eine Brunnenfigur umzuwandeln. Auch der geschlossene rechteckige Rahmen, den die Figuren der Gruppe im Vatikan mit ihren Gliedern umschreiben, findet keine Parallelen. Bei der Gruppe mit Pan als Verletztem handelt es sich um eine Variante des Typus Vatikan mit verwundetem Satyr, da sie den anderen Gruppen trotz vertauschter Rollen in ihrer Komposition vollkommen entspricht. Bei den Statuetten des Typus Vatikan wurde offenbar vor allem Wert auf die generelle Wiedererkennung des Motivs gelegt, die von den vielen Variationen nicht beeinträchtigt wird.

Die Gruppen im Typus Vatikan mit einem Satyr als Verletzten sind möglicherweise eine Weiterentwicklung des Vorbildes des Typus Louvre. Dafür sprechen die augenfälligen Übereinstimmungen zwischen beiden Typen: Motiv und Rollenverteilung sind identisch. Die Hand, mit der sich der Satyr hinter sich aufstützt, sein in den Nacken geworfener Kopf und sein schmerzerfülltes Gesicht entsprechen dem Satyr des Typus Louvre. Bei der Replik in Ostia (**A13**; *Abb. 7*) stellt der Felsensitz eine zusätzliche Verbindung her. Von der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers aber haben sich die Gruppen im Typus Vatikan kompositorisch und vor allem durch die abgewandelte Beinstellung des Verletzten noch weiter entfernt.

Die in die Fläche ausgebreitete Komposition der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Vatikan entspricht den als streng einansichtig bezeichneten Gruppen des Späthellenismus wie z.B. dem Laokoon oder den Drei Grazien, bei denen räumliche Werte wie bei den Repliken des Typus Vatikan durch Zwischenräume statt durch Distanz der Figuren zueinander ausgedrückt werden.[49] Die Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Vatikan könnten daher auf ein oder mehrere Vorbilder des 1. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. zurückgehen.[50] Krahmer sah in der namensgebenden Gruppe im Vatikan (**A12**) gar den Endpunkt der Entwicklung der einansichtigen Gruppen.[51]

Wie die vielen Variationen der rundplastischen Statuetten nahelegen, sind sie wahrscheinlich nicht auf ein gemeinsames statuarisches Vorbild des Hellenismus zurückzuführen, sondern sind eventuell sogar aus Darstellungen in der Flächen-

*Abb. 7. Dornausziehergruppe (**A13**). Ostia, Museo Ostiense 35 (Foto Museo Ostiense, Ostia; Sanguinetti).*

kunst abgeleitet, denen die vor einem imaginären Hintergrund ausgebreitete Komposition entspricht und in denen, wie in den folgenden Abschnitten zu zeigen sein wird, die Anordnung der Figuren und das Haltungsmotiv des ausgestreckten verwundeten Beines des Verletzten regelmäßig begegnen (*Abb. 8-9, 11-16*).[52] Entsprechend beobachtet auch Kunze bei den kleinformatigen dionysischen Skulpturen eine thematische und ikonografische Annäherung an Bildtraditionen der Flächenkunst, die er als Ausdruck einer neuen dekorativen Verwendung von Skulptur bei den Römern sieht.[53]

Aufstellungskontexte

Mit der Datierung ist die Frage nach dem Kontext der Statuetten verbunden. Geht man von einer hellenistischen Entstehung des Vorbildes der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Louvre aus, ist für dieses am ehesten eine Funktion als Votivstatue anzunehmen, denn wie Kunze überzeugend dargelegt hat, blieb bis in den Hellenismus Plastik im griechischen Raum an die traditionellen Funktionen der Votiv-, Grab- oder Ehrenstatue gebunden; eine ausschließlich dekorative Nutzung von Skulptur ist auch in den Palästen der hellenistischen Könige nicht nachweisbar.[54] Dornausziehergruppen eigneten sich wegen ihres Motivs wohl vor allem als Weihung an Dionysos.

Einen guten Vergleich bietet hier die Pantoffelgruppe aus Delos. Wie die Dornausziehergruppe im Typus Louvre zeigt sie eine dionysische Szene, in der nicht der Gott selbst, sondern nur eine Figur seines Thiasos - Pan - agiert. Diese Gruppe war laut ihrer Inschrift die Weihung eines Kaufmannes aus Berytos an die Götter seiner Heimatstadt, die dieser wohl gegen Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. in das Vereinslokal seiner Kaufmannsgilde stiftete.[55] Die Pantoffelgruppe ist nur ein gesichertes Beispiel der ab dem 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. verstärkt vorkommenden bürgerlichen Weihungen.[56] Wie Hesberg anhand der Baustiftungen gezeigt hat, nahmen im 2. und 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. vermehrt wohlhabende städtische Bürger Stiftungen vor, die jedoch wegen begrenzter finanzieller Mittel in Größe und Ausmaß hinter den königlichen zurückblieben.[57] Die vielen kleinformatigen, vor allem dionysischen Skulpturen dürften wie die Pantoffelgruppe mit dieser neuen Stiftergruppe in Verbindung zu bringen sein und könnten ursprünglich auch in ebenfalls von Bürgern gestifteten Räumen aufgestellt gewesen sein.[58] Die Aufstellung als Votiv veranschaulicht, zumindest für die dem dionysischen Bereich nahestehenden 'Genreskulpturen' - wozu schließlich auch die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers gezählt wird[59] -, ein frühaugusteisches bukolisches Relief in den Vatikanischen Museen, auf dem die Figur eines Geflügel herbeitragenden Bauern im Bezirk eines ländlichen Heiligtums wiedergegeben ist; anhand der Basis ist die Figur als Statue zu identifizieren.[60] In die Entwicklung kleinformatiger bürgerlicher Weihungen ab der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. könnte daher auch das Vorbild der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Louvre einzuordnen sein.

Eine sprunghafte Zunahme kleinformatiger Plastiken, die nun in Gärten von Villen und Häusern sowie in öffentlichen Anlagen als Ausstattungsskulpturen dienten, findet sich erst in römischer Zeit. Kunze hat daher die Vermutung geäußert, die kleinformatigen Plastiken oft bukolischen oder dionysischen Sujets könnten ursprünglich speziell für eine römische Käuferschicht geschaffen worden sein.[61] Eine dekorative Verwendung von Skulpturen lässt sich bei den Römern ab der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. nachweisen,[62] also in der Zeit, der wir sowohl die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers als auch das Vorbild der Dornausziehergruppe im Typus Louvre zugewiesen haben. Eine Kleinplastik als Votiv für ein Heiligtum zu schaffen wäre demzufolge im Späthellenismus nur mehr die Ausnahme gewesen.[63]

Die vier bekannten Aufstellungskontexte der römischen Statuetten der Dornausziehergruppen in Theatern (**A3, A11**), Thermen (**A18**) und einem Villengarten (**A17**) belegen ebendiese Verwendung als Ausstattungsfiguren. Aus einem Garten oder einer Therme könnte auch die namensge-

bende Gruppe im Vatikan (**A12**) stammen, die wie die Gruppe in Cherchel (**A18**) als Brunnenfigur hergerichtet ist. In den Thermen und Gärten sorgten die dionysischen Skulpturen dafür, eine heitere Stimmung zu verbreiten.[64] Ein gewisser kultischer Aspekt ist den Ausstattungsskulpturen jedoch nicht abzusprechen.[65] Plinius der Ältere berichtet, Bilder von Satyrn seien in Gärten und auf dem Forum gegen Verhexungen von Neidern geweiht worden.[66] Als Gartenplastik erinnern diese dionysischen Skulpturen an die sakralen Haine und ländlichen Heiligtümer Griechenlands und verwandeln den Garten in den Schauplatz eines imaginären Satyrgelages oder ähnlicher dionysischer Ereignisse.[67] Dieses ausgelassene Treiben, das Neudecker als vorrangiges Kriterium für die Motivauswahl dionysischer Gartenplastik in römischen Villen herausgearbeitet hat,[68] kommt in den Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Vatikan durch die flächige, leicht erfassbare Komposition der Gruppe, die labiler wirkende Haltung der Figuren und den knabenhaften, stärker an andere kleinformatige dionysische Figuren angeglichenen Körperbau des Satyrs weit besser zum Ausdruck als durch die insgesamt ruhigeren, statischeren Gruppen des Typus Louvre. Daher ist es durchaus plausibel, wie Kunze in den Dornausziehergruppen des Typus Vatikan an den Geschmack einer größeren, wohl schon römischen Käuferschicht angepasste Werke zu erkennen.[69] Vielleicht sind auch die knabenhaften Satyrn (**A3**-**A5**) und die in der Fläche ausgebreitete Komposition einiger Gruppen des Typus Louvre (**A4**, **A7**, **A8**, **A10**) eine genau an diesem Geschmack orientierte Weiterentwicklung des ursprünglichen Vorbildes des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., dessen Funktion noch die einer Votivstatue gewesen sein mag. Durchaus denkbar wäre, wie Amedick aufgrund der hochqualitativen, komplexen Komposition des Stückes in Cherchel[70] die Version mit verletztem Pan als originäre Bildschöpfung zu sehen, die später in Anlehnung an die Gruppen im Typus Louvre zu verletztem Satyr und Pan frei umgebildet wurde. Dies könnte auch die vielen Variationen innerhalb der Statuetten des Typus Vatikan erklären.

Wir können in den rundplastischen Dornausziehergruppen also möglicherweise zwei verschiedene Phänomene römischer Plastik fassen: Zum einen haben wir einige Statuetten - die Gruppen im Typus Louvre -, an denen sich genügend Übereinstimmungen feststellen lassen, um mithilfe der Kopienkritik ein Vorbild zu erschließen, das von den römischen Bildhauern gegebenenfalls an konkrete Aufstellungssituationen oder ein verändertes ästhetisches Empfinden angepasst wurde. Zum anderen haben wir eine Gruppe von Statuetten - den Typus Vatikan -, an denen wir eher ein freies Assoziieren nach einer oder eher mehreren nur noch vage auszumachenden Vorlagen beobachten können, die eventuell auch der Flächenkunst entstammen und die ebenfalls den jeweiligen Bedürfnissen oder dem Zeitgeschmack angepasst wurden.[71] In den folgenden Abschnitten werden die Darstellungen von Dornausziehergruppen in der Flächenkunst vorgestellt.

Zwei Satyrn

Parallel zu den Dornausziehergruppen aus Pan und Satyr treten auf Gemmen und Glaspasten Dornausziehergruppen aus zwei Satyrn auf. Belegt sind verschiedene Varianten dieses Motivs: Die Geläufigste ist hauptsächlich auf spätrepublikanischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen Gemmen und Glaspasten überliefert (**C1**-**C8**; *Abb. 8*).[72] Sie zeigt die beiden Satyrn einander gegenüber auf dem Boden sitzend. Beide sind jugendlich und unbärtig wiedergegeben, lediglich auf der Gemme aus der Sammlung Wyndham-Cook (**C8**) trägt einer der Satyrn einen Bart. Die Komposition ist in die ovale Form der geschnittenen Steine eingepasst, weswegen die beiden Satyrn gleichmäßig in der vorhandenen Fläche verteilt sind und einander in Größe und Gewichtung innerhalb der Gruppe entsprechen. Durch diese Ausbreitung in die Fläche erinnert die Komposition an die Statuetten des Typus Vatikan. Anders als dort ist der operierende Satyr auf den Gemmen jedoch in einer Art Knielaufschema hockend wiedergegeben. Der Verletzte sitzt, ähnlich wie bei der namensgebenden Gruppe im Vatikan (**A12**), nicht erhöht. Er hockt auf dem gesunden Bein; das verwundete, vom Betrachter abgewandte Bein streckt er seinem Gegenüber entgegen und legt den Fuß auf dessen aufgestelltem Knie ab. Mit beiden Händen hält er das schmerzende Bein auf Kniehöhe fest. Lediglich auf dem Glascameo in Berlin (**C2**) ist die Haltung des Verletzten dahingehend variiert, dass das vom Betrachter aus vordere Bein verwundet ist; der Verletzte hält es mit nur einer Hand auf Höhe des Knöchels fest, während er den vom Betrachter abgewandten Arm in einem Akklamationsgestus erhoben hat, wie er auch für die Dornausziehergruppen auf Sarkophagen geläufig ist.[73] Darin, dass sie ihr schmerzendes Bein umgreifen, entsprechen die verwundeten Satyrn auf den Gemmen den Verletzten der vollplastischen Statuetten des Typus Vatikan (*Abb. 7*). Jedoch stützen sie sich nicht mit einer Hand hinter sich auf, da der Felsensitz fehlt. Auf einigen geschnittenen

*Abb. 8. Karneol mit Dornausziehergruppe aus zwei Satyrn (**C3**). München, Staatliche Münzsammlung A.1958 (Foto Staatliche Münzsammlung, München).*

*Abb. 9. Glaspaste mit Dornausziehergruppe aus zwei Satyrn mit assistierendem Pan (**C10**). München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Foto Staatliche Münzsammlung, München).*

Steinen ist die Gruppe durch zusätzliches Beiwerk bereichert: Auf den Gemmen in München (**C5**), Berlin (**C6**) und Utrecht (**C7**) steht zwischen den beiden Satyrn eine bärtige Herme, auf jener aus der Slg. Wyndham-Cook (**C8**) ein Pfeiler mit einem Gefäß, aus dem Weinranken wachsen, und auf dem Cameo in New York (**C1**) ist oben der Ast eines Baumes zu sehen, an dem eine Syrinx hängt. Die Ähnlichkeiten zu den vollplastischen Gruppen sind aber so augenfällig, dass entweder die Darstellungen der dornausziehenden Satyrn auf den Gemmen von diesen abgeleitet und in ihrer Komposition lediglich an die Form des neuen Mediums angepasst sind oder umgekehrt. Zumindest aber dürften beide auf ein gemeinsames Vorbild zurückgehen.

Zwei formgleiche braune Glaspasten aus der späten Republik bis frühen Kaiserzeit in München und Berlin (**C9**, **C10**; *Abb. 9*) variieren dieses typische Darstellungsschema.[74] Der operierende Satyr ist wiederum auf dem Boden hockend dargestellt. Der verletzte Satyr sitzt wie bei den vollplastischen Gruppen erhöht auf einem Felsen, auf den er sich mit der dem Betrachter zugewandten Hand aufstützt. Den anderen Arm hat er wie der Verletzte der Glaspaste in Berlin (**C2**) in einem Klagegestus erhoben. Die Gruppe ist um eine weitere Figur bereichert: Pan steht zwischen den beiden Figuren, im Profil dem operierenden Satyr zugewandt, und hält das schmerzende Bein des Verwundeten. Dieses kann sich der verletzte Satyr, da er beide Hände anderweitig verwendet, nicht selber halten. Durch den erhöhten Sitz des Verletzten ähnelt die Komposition stark der vollplastischen Gruppe in Ostia (**A13**; *Abb. 7*), weshalb für beide ein gemeinsames Vorbild denkbar wäre.

*Abb. 10. Nicolo mit Dornausziehergruppe aus tanzendem und sitzendem Satyr (**C11**). Berlin, Antikensammlung (Foto Antikensammlung, Berlin).*

Das Dornausziehermotiv auf zwei Nicolo-Gemmen wohl des 2. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. in Berlin und London (**C11, C12**; *Abb. 10*) unterscheidet sich deutlich von diesen Darstellungen. Die beiden hochovalen Stücke zeigen am rechten Rand einen Baum, unter dem ein kleiner Satyr nach links gewandt auf einem Felsen sitzt. Dieser entspricht bis auf das fehlende übergeschlagene Bein in seiner

Haltung der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers. Vor ihm steht, ebenfalls nach links gewandt, ein tanzender Satyr mit *pedum*, der sein linkes Bein nach hinten abspreizt. Diesen erhobenen Fuß ergreift der sitzende Satyr, um daraus einen Dorn herauszuziehen. Offenbar dasselbe Motiv zeigt etwas vereinfacht auch eine verwaschene violette Glaspaste in Kopenhagen (**C13**). Beide Figurentypen, die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers und ein tänzelnd herbeieilender Satyr mit *pedum* und nach hinten abgespreiztem Bein, sind auch auf dem bereits angesprochenen hellenistischen Relief in Liverpool vereint.[75] Dort sind die beiden Figuren jedoch nicht in einem Handlungszusammenhang verbunden.

Dornausziehergruppen aus zwei männlichen Figuren, bei denen es sich um Satyrn handeln könnte, begegnen vereinzelt auch in anderen Gattungen. Auf einigen Terra-Sigillata-Gefäßen aus trajanisch-hadrianischer Zeit, die in Lezoux und Hattenville gefunden wurden, sowie auf einem Gefäß aus Colchester sind zwei nackte junge Männer ohne offenkundige Satyrattribute dargestellt (*Abb. 11*).[76] Das Motiv ist auf den Schüsseln und Bechern eines von mehreren, nicht ausgewiesen dionysisch-bukolischen Motiven. Der Verletzte sitzt auf einer Art Felsen oder Altar. Er hat das vom Betrachter aus vordere Bein ausgestreckt und das hintere verwundete Bein spitz angewinkelt erhoben. Mit der vom Betrachter abgewandten Hand umgreift er das Knie des verletzten Beines, mit der anderen stützt er sich hinter sich auf. Ein zweiter, deutlich kleinerer Nackter befindet sich hinter dem Altar oder Felsen. Er liegt beinahe, so dass sein Körper mit dem ausgestreckten gesunden Bein des Verletzten ein V bildet, und zieht in dieser Haltung dem Sitzenden einen Dorn aus dem erhobenen Fuß. Der erhöhte Sitz und die Haltung des Verletzten erinnern an die vollplastischen Statuetten sowohl des Typus Louvre als auch des Typus Vatikan ebenso wie an die beiden formgleichen Glaspasten in Berlin und München (**C9**, **C10**; *Abb. 9*). Die merkwürdige Positionierung des Operierenden lässt jedoch an ein Vorbild aus einer anderen Gattung denken, z.B. auf einer Henkelattasche, auf der der für die Gruppe zur Verfügung stehende Platz begrenzt war.

Eine weitere Dornausziehergruppe aus zwei männlichen Figuren, bei denen es sich vielleicht um Satyrn handelt, ist auf einem Goldmedaillon von 8,7 cm Durchmesser aus dem späten 6. Jahrhundert in Dumbarton Oaks bezeugt (**C14**). Das Medaillon zeigt in einem zentralen Bildfeld Dionysos mit zwei Gefährten. Dieses Bildfeld wird von einer belebten Weinranke gerahmt, in deren Schlaufen kleine, wohl dionysische Figuren eingesetzt sind, darunter im oberen Bereich der Umfassung die Einzelfigur eines Dornausziehers und in einer Rankenschlaufe im unteren Bereich die Dornausziehergruppe. Die beiden agierenden Figuren sehen identisch aus, Bocksbeine oder -hörner sind ebenso wie Satyrschwänzchen oder -ohren aufgrund des geringen Formats nicht zu erkennen. Der Operierende hockt wie auf den Gemmen auf dem Boden. Der Verletzte sitzt wie bei den vollplastischen Gruppen und den beiden Glaspasten in München und Berlin (**C9**, **C10**; *Abb. 9*) erhöht auf einem Felsen, auf den er sich mit der dem Betrachter zugewandten Hand aufstützt, während er die andere wie auf den beiden Glaspasten in einem Klagegestus erhoben hat. Wie auf dem Glascameo in Berlin (**C2**) wird nicht das dem Betrachter abgewandte Bein operiert, sondern das vordere. Da dieses ausgestreckt ist, kann nicht das überschlagene Bein des Typus Vatikan gemeint sein.

Abb. 11. Dornausziehergruppe auf gallischer Terra Sigillata (aus Déchelette 1904, Bd. 2, S. 63 Nr. 371).

Satyr und Greisin

Dass das vom Betrachter aus vordere Bein verletzt ist, ist ein typisches Merkmal einer weiteren Version des Dornausziehermotivs, die eine Frau als Operierende zeigt. Diese Variante ist aus-

schließlich aus der späten Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit überliefert und zwar in verschiedenen Gattungen. Ein frühkaiserzeitliches Relief kann aus zwei Fragmenten in Neapel und ehemals in Boston rekonstruiert werden (**D1**; *Abb. 12*). Die auf dem Neapler Fragment wiedergegebene Operierende ist durch ihr eingefallenes, faltiges Gesicht als Greisin gekennzeichnet. Sie kniet im Haltungsmotiv der Operierenden der Gemmen auf dem Boden und ist sorgfältig gekleidet: Auf dem Kopf trägt sie eine Haube, unter einem kurzärmeligen Chiton schauen ein langärmeliges Gewand oder separate röhrenförmige Ärmel hervor, und um die Hüften hat sie einen Mantel vorne zu einem großen Knoten zusammengebunden. Vor der Greisin sitzt auf einem Felsen ein junger Mann, dem sie einen Dorn aus dem Fuß zieht. Der Jüngling, der nur mit einem um die Schultern geworfenen Mantel bekleidet ist, entspricht in seinem Haltungsschema weitestgehend den Verletzten des Typus Vatikan: Er hat den Kopf in den Nacken geworfen, lehnt sich zurück und stützt sich mit dem vom Betrachter aus vorderen Arm hinter sich auf. Im Gegensatz zu den Verwundeten der Statuetten ist wie auf dem Berliner Glascameo (**C2**) und dem Goldmedaillon in Dumbarton Oaks (**C14**) das vom Betrachter aus vordere Bein verletzt, das er der Operierenden entgegen streckt und mit dem freien Arm festhält. An seinem Felsensitz lehnt ein *pedum*, davor sitzt auf dem Boden ein Hund. Hinter der Greisin ist eine Ziegenherde wiedergegeben. Der Verletzte wurde daher bisher meist als Hirte oder Jäger gedeutet,[77] und auch die Greisin wurde gelegentlich als Hirtin angesprochen.[78] Hingegen wurde die Gewandung der Alten von Hundsalz und Wrede als typische Tracht des dionysischen Kultes interpretiert.[79]

Für die Zuordnung der Alten zum dionysischen Bereich sprechen aber vor allem andere Darstellungen der Szene, auf die gleich noch einzugehen sein wird. Vorher sei noch auf die Henkelattasche einer bronzenen Schnabelkanne im Nationalmuseum von Neapel (**D3**) hingewiesen, auf der die Dornausziehergruppe des Neapel-Bostoner Reliefs eine fast exakte Entsprechung findet. Dort hockt die operierende Alte im gleichen Haltungsschema wie auf dem Marmorrelief auf dem Boden, und auch die Bekleidung stimmt, soweit an der abgeriebenen Oberfläche erkennbar, überein. Sogar der Gewandknoten ist deutlich auszumachen. Auch der Verletzte entspricht ganz der Figur des Marmorreliefs, lediglich sein Kopf ist aufgrund des Bildfeldes

*Abb. 12. sog. Cavaspina-Relief Neapel (rechts), Rekonstruktionsversuch Walter Amelungs mit Gipsabguss des Bostoner Fragments (links) (**D1**) (Foto D-DAI-ROM-07905).*

der Henkelattasche nicht zurückgeworfen, sondern nach vorne geneigt. Zudem trägt er, abweichend von der Darstellung auf dem Marmorrelief, eine Exomis. Die Ziegenherde und der Hund fehlen ebenfalls wohl aus Platzgründen,[80] was die Identifizierung der Figuren weiter erschwert.

Auch wenn die verwaschenen bzw. abgegriffenen Oberflächen des Bostoner Relieffragments und der Neapler Henkelattasche die genaue Benennung des Verletzten erschweren, ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass es sich um einen Satyr handelt.[81] Diese Identifizierung ermöglicht nämlich die Darstellung auf einem *fulcrum* aus Amiterno (**D2**). Die beiden tauschierten Füllungen des um die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. entstandenen Bettlehnenbeschlags zeigen Weinleseszenen mit Satyrn und Mänaden in einem ländlichen Priaposheiligtum. Auf dem rechten *fulcrum* ist unter diesen Darstellungen eine Dornausziehergruppe mit operierender Greisin zu finden. Die Alte, bekleidet mit einer Haube und einer langen, ärmellosen Tunika, hockt auf dem Boden. Vor ihr sitzt auf einem Felsen ein verletzter Satyr mit deutlich erkennbaren spitzen Ohren und Satyrschwänzchen. Er hat das gesunde Bein auf dem Boden aufgestellt und streckt das vom Betrachter aus vordere verwundete Bein der Greisin entgegen. Anders als die bisher besprochenen Verletzten beugt er den Oberkörper mit stark gerundetem Rücken nach vorne, den Blick nach unten gerichtet, und fasst mit beiden Armen den Knöchel des verletzten Fußes. Auf diese Weise gleicht er in seiner gesamten Körperhaltung stärker der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers.

Dieselbe Szene ist auch in der antiken Literatur überliefert: Ein Gedicht des Luxurius aus dem 6. Jahrhundert in der *Anthologia Latina*, auf das Amedick hinweist, beschreibt eine Scheibe mit der Darstellung eines Satyrs, dem eine Landfrau (*rustica*) einen Dorn aus dem Fuß zieht; dabei wird der wehleidige Satyr von Cupido verlacht.[82] Dieses Gedicht sowie die Darstellung inmitten der dionysischen Szenen auf dem *fulcrum* aus Amiterno sprechen sowohl für die Identifizierung des Verletzten auf dem Neapel-Bostoner Relief und der Neapler Henkelattasche als Satyr als auch für die Zuordnung der Greisin zum dionysischen Bereich.

Einen verletzten Satyr, der von einer Frau operiert wird, zeigen auch zwei republikanische Glaspasten in Berlin und Kopenhagen (**D4, D5**). Der Verwundete ist durch seinen Thyrsosstab als Angehöriger des dionysischen Thiasos gekennzeichnet. Er sitzt auf einem Felsen, den Oberkörper weit zurückgelehnt, und hält sich mit beiden Händen das angehobene verletzte Bein. Anders als an den übrigen Darstellungen der Dornausziehergruppen mit Greisin ist jedoch wie bei den Verletzten der vollplastischen Gruppen des Typus Vatikan das vom Betrachter abgewandte Bein verwundet. Die den Satyr Operierende ist an den Falten ihres langen Gewandes, die klar zwischen ihren Beinen zu erkennen sind, als weiblich zu identifizieren. Allerdings ist eine greisenhafte Charakterisierung nicht deutlich auszumachen, so dass auch eine Benennung als Mänade oder Nymphe[83] denkbar wäre.

Pan und Satyr II - die Rezeption der vollplastischen Gruppen auf Sarkophagen

Dornausziehergruppen mit der Figurenkonstellation von Pan und Satyr sind außer als rundplastische Statuetten auch auf 16 römischen Sarkophagen überliefert (*Abb. 13*). Diese Kästen tragen ausschließlich dionysischen Dekor und geben den Thiasos des Dionysos wieder, auf den beiden Exemplaren in Pozzuoli (**B10**; *Abb. 15*) und Lyon (**B11**) beim indischen Triumph. Die Dornausziehergruppe ist auf den Sarkophagreliefs lediglich ein Füllmotiv, das in keinem direkten Bezug zum Hauptmotiv steht. Neun der Sarkophage mit Dornausziehergruppe gehören zu den unter den dionysischen Sarkophagen relativ seltenen *lenoi* mit Löwenmaskenpaar (*Abb. 14-15*).[84] Dort füllt die Dornausziehergruppe den Freiraum unter einer der Löwenmasken. 13 der 16 Sarkophage mit Dornausziehergruppe stammen aus dem 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr., vor allem aus der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte, als entsprechende Reliefkompositionen mit kleinformatigen Füllmotiven besonders beliebt waren.[85] Die übrigen drei Kästen können der mittel- und spätantoninischen Zeit zugerechnet werden (**B3**, **B5**, **B12**).

Die Dornausziehergruppen auf den Sarkophagen sind in ihren Haltungsmotiven den Figuren der beiden vollplastischen Typen der Gruppe so ähnlich, dass sie wohl von ihnen abgeleitet sind oder zumindest auf dieselben Vorbilder zurückgehen. Ausschlaggebend für die Zuordnung zu einem der statuarischen Typen ist die Beinhaltung des Verletzten. Der Typus Louvre ist lediglich auf drei Sarkophagen wiedergegeben. Ursache für die verhaltene Rezeption des Typus waren wohl die im Relief schwerer umzusetzende verschränkte Beinhaltung des Satyrs und die tiefe Komposition der Gruppe. Wie bei den vollplastischen Statuetten hat sich auch bei den im Relief wiedergegebenen Gruppen des Typus Louvre stets ein Satyr den Dorn eingetreten.[86] Die Dornausziehergruppe auf der Rück-

B1. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj
B2. Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini
B3. Neapel, S. Gennaro
B4. Ostia, Museum
B5. Newby Hall
B6. Moskau, Puschkin-Museum
B16. Rom, Villa Borghese
B8. Dresden, Antikensammlung Albertinum
B13. Kassel, Antikensammlung Wilhelmshöhe
B10. Pozzuoli, Antiquario Flegreo
B11. Lyon, Musée St. Pierre
B9. Benevent, Museo del Sannio
B14. Potsdam, Sanssouci, Römische Bäder
B12. Pisa, Camposanto
B15. Salerno, S. Matteo
B7. Los Angeles, County Museum

Abb. 13. Übersicht über die Dornausziehergruppen auf Sarkophagen (Zeichnungen nicht maßstabsgerecht) (Zeichnungen K. Meinecke).

seite einer *lenos* in der Villa Doria Pamphilj (**B1**) steht dem statuarischen Vorbild am nächsten. Die Haltungsmotive beider Figuren sind identisch mit denen der Rundplastik, und der operierende Pan ist um einiges kleiner als der verletzte Satyr. Auf den anderen beiden Sarkophagen in Frascati (**B2**) und Neapel (**B3**) ist der Satyr hingegen in seinem Haltungsschema gegenüber der Vollplastik leicht verändert: Er stützt sich nur mit einem Arm auf dem Felsensitz auf und hat den nun freien Arm angewinkelt in einem Klagegestus erhoben, wie bereits auf den Glaspasten in Berlin und München (**C2**, **C9**, **C10**; *Abb. 9*) und dem deutlich späteren Goldmedaillon in Dumbarton Oaks (**C14**). Außerdem ist die Gewichtung der Figuren auf diesen beiden Sarkophagen verändert: Pan ist deutlich größer und entspricht auf dem Stück in Frascati (**B2**) dem Satyr sogar in Größe und Gewichtung innerhalb der Gruppe. Da die dichte, spitzwinklige Figurenanordnung der vollplastischen Gruppe in den relativ flachen Sarkophagreliefs nicht umgesetzt werden konnte, wurde die Komposition auseinandergezogen und in der Fläche ausgebreitet.

Auf den Sarkophagreliefs mit 13 Exemplaren deutlich häufiger rezipiert sind Dornausziehergruppen in der Art des Typus Vatikan. Die in der Fläche ausgebreiteten Haltungsmotive und die Anordnung der Figuren dieses Typus kamen der Umsetzung im Relief entgegen.[87] Anders als bei den vollplastischen Gruppen ist jedoch auf den Sarkophagen, bis auf eine Ausnahme, den Sarkophag in Ostia (**B4**; *Abb. 14*), stets Pan der Verletzte.

An den Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Vatikan auf den Sarkophagen entspricht vor allem die Figur des Verletzten den rundplastischen Vorbildern, denn ihre Beinhaltung und der dem Betrachter zugewandte aufgestützte Arm sind gegenüber den Statuetten unverändert (*Abb. 14*).[88] Die Haltung ihres anderen Armes variiert jedoch wie auf zwei Sarkophagen mit Dornausziehergruppe im Typus Louvre. Keiner der Operierten hält wie bei den Statuetten und Gemmen das verletzte Bein mit der entsprechenden Hand fest, sondern an die Stelle dieses Motivs sind zwei andere Armhaltungen getreten: Auf drei Sarkophagen (**B5**, **B6**, **B16**) greift der verletzte Pan in das Stirnhaar des ihn operierenden Satyrs.[89] Auf acht weiteren Sarkophagen (**B4**, **B7**, **B8**, **B11**-**B15**)[90] ist hingegen derselbe Klagegestus wie auf den Sarkophagen in Frascati (**B2**) und Neapel (**B3**) aufgegriffen. Auf diese Weise wurde hier der Schmerz des Verletzten zum Ausdruck gebracht, der an den statuarischen Repliken vor allem durch den Gesichtsausdruck des Verletzten darstellt wurde. Da sich in den Reliefs wie schon auf den Gemmen (**C2**, **C9**, **C10**) wegen der geringen Größe der Figuren dieser Gesichtsausdruck nur schwer abbilden ließ, trat an seine Stelle eine plakative Geste, die auch für die Darstellung des Typus Louvre auf Sarkophagen übernommen wurde (**B2**, **B3**). Ihr häufiges Vorkommen bestätigt, wie erfolgreich sie die Aussage der Gruppe transportieren konnte.

Siebenmal (**B4**, **B6**-**B8**, **B12**, **B13**, **B15**; *Abb. 13-14*) sitzt der Verletzte des Typus Vatikan auf den Sarkophagen wie beim Typus Louvre deutlich erhöht auf einem Felsen, was unter den vollplastischen Statuetten nur an derjenigen in Ostia (**A13**; *Abb. 7*) zu beobachten war. Diese Statuette könnte daher auf dasselbe oder ähnliche Vorbilder zurückgehen wie die Darstellungen auf den Sarkophagen.

Während sich für den Großteil der Verletzten der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Vatikan auf den

*Abb. 14. Sarkophag mit Dornausziehergruppe unter der linken Löwenmaske und Gruppe mit Pan, der eine Ziege penetriert, unter der rechten Löwenmaske (**B4**). Ostia, Museo Ostiense 1140 (Foto D-DAI-ROM-1928.0058; Faraglia).*

*Abb. 15. Sarkophag mit Dornausziehergruppe unter der rechten Löwenmaske (**B10**). Pozzuoli, Antiquario Flegreo (Foto D-DAI-ROM-1963.1475; Koppermann).*

Sarkophagen ein recht standardisiertes Haltungsschema entwickelt hatte, das mit wesentlichen Merkmalen der Verletzten der vollplastischen Gruppen übereinstimmt, wurde die Figur des Operierenden stärker variiert (*Abb. 13*). Auf sechs Sarkophagen (**B6**-**B8**, **B11**, **B12**, **B14**) ist der Operierende wie auf den Gemmen hockend wiedergegeben in einem Haltungsmotiv, das auf Sarkophagen allgemein für niederkniende und sich unterwerfende oder dienende Figuren gebräuchlich ist.[91] Die übrigen Operierenden, deren Beine erhalten sind (**B5**, **B9**, **B10**, **B13**, **B15**), weisen unterschiedliche Haltungsmotive auf, die alle von denen der Vollplastiken abweichen. Die Unterschiede und die Übereinstimmungen sprechen in ihrer Kombination dafür, dass für die Darstellungen auf den Sarkophagen verschiedene Vorlagen herangezogen, miteinander kombiniert und abgewandelt wurden.

Wenn der für die kleinen Füllmotive im Relief vorhandene Raum besonders knapp bemessen war, kam es gelegentlich zu extremen Veränderungen in der Komposition der Gruppe. Die beiden radikalsten Umwandlungen des Motivs finden sich auf den Sarkophagen in Kassel (**B13**) und Pozzuoli (**B10**; *Abb. 15*). Auf dem Kassler Sarkophag (**B13**) sitzt der behandelnde Satyr nicht, sondern schreitet auf den verwundeten Pan zu und greift mit beiden Händen nach dessen verletztem Huf. Nur so war gewährleistet, dass auch der Operierende hinter dem Bein des Panthers, auf dem der Dionysos des Hauptmotivs reitet, noch zu sehen war. In Pozzuoli (**B10**; *Abb. 15*) ist die Gruppe sogar noch stärker verändert: Dort stand unter der rechten Löwenmaske kaum Raum zur Verfügung, so dass Pan und Satyr dort nicht mehr nebeneinander Platz finden und die Gruppe schräg in die Höhe auseinandergezogen ist. Der verletzte Pan windet sich seitlich an der Löwenmaske entlang; er ist vom Boden losgelöst und sitzt auf dem flatternden Gewand der rechts anschließenden Mänade des Hauptmotivs, auf das er sich mit dem ganzen Unterarm aufstützt. Für den ausgreifenden Klagegestus blieb ebenfalls kein Platz mehr. Der ihn operierende Satyr sitzt vor ihm auf einem hohen Sitz und hat beide Beine vor sich

aufgestellt. Er greift nach vorne nach einem überdimensionalen Dorn, der aus dem Huf Pans herausragt. Wie auf dem Sarkophag in Kassel (**B13**) wäre der kleine Satyr hinter dem Bein eines Satyrs des Hauptmotivs nicht mehr sichtbar gewesen, hätte er wie seine vollplastischen Vorbilder auf dem Boden gehockt.

Wie bereits an den beiden formgleichen Glaspasten in Berlin und München (**C9**, **C10**; *Abb. 9*) zu beobachten, sind einige der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Vatikan auf den Sarkophagen um zusätzliche Figuren bereichert. Auf dem Sarkophag in Ostia (**B4**) stützt ein Satyr seinen verletzten Kumpan, ein weiterer Satyr steht zwischen ihnen und dem operierenden Pan und beobachtet das Geschehen. Auf dem Sarkophag in Dresden (**B8**) steht zusätzlich ein Satyr mit *pedum* hinter dem behandelnden Satyr und blickt im Gestus des *aposkopein* auf die Operation herab, ein weiterer Satyr mit *syrinx* steht hinter dem verletzten Pan. Ein *syrinx* spielender Satyr sitzt auch auf dem Sarkophag in Lyon (**B11**) neben der Dornausziehergruppe und betrachtet das Geschehen. Ein Satyr mit *pedum* steht auf dem Sarkophag in Salerno (**B15**) zwischen den beiden Figuren. Im Gegensatz zu den freiplastischen Gruppen waren in den Reliefkompositionen ebenso wie auf den Glaspasten die zusätzlichen Figuren leicht hinzuzufügen.

Zusammen mit der Dornausziehergruppe kommt als Pendant häufig ein weiteres Füllmotiv auf den dionysischen Sarkophagen vor, nämlich die Gruppe des Pan, der eine flach auf dem Rücken liegende Ziege penetriert. Sie ist auf den bei Matz verzeichneten Sarkophagen siebenmal wiedergegeben, darunter sechsmal zusammen mit Dornausziehergruppen (**B2**, **B4** (*Abb. 14*), **B8**, **B9**, **B12**, **B16**).[92] Die einzige andere bekannte Darstellung dieser Gruppe ist die berühmte Statuette aus der Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum aus der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr., bei der es sich wohl um die Kopie eines späthellenistischen Originals handelt.[93] Wegen der Seltenheit des Motivs, ein Tier beim Geschlechtsverkehr auf dem Rücken liegend zu zeigen, hängen sowohl die Statuette als auch die Sarkophagreliefs sicherlich von derselben Vorlage ab.[94] Da die Gruppe streng einansichtig vor einem imaginären Hintergrund aufgebaut ist, eignete sie sich wie die Dornausziehergruppe im Typus Vatikan besonders gut für die Umsetzung im Relief.

Theokrit schildert in seinen Idyllen, wie es einen Ziegenhirten danach lüstet, selbst Geschlechtsverkehr mit einer Ziege zu haben.[95] In einem Epigramm der *Anthologia Palatina* werden Hirten sogar, genau wie Pan in einem anderen Epigramm, als αἰγιβάτης, als Ziegen bespringend, bezeichnet.[96] Diesen Wunsch der Hirten setzt in der Statuette aus Herculaneum Pan schließlich in die Tat um.[97] Er überträgt damit das Geschehen vom Hirten- ins dionysische Milieu, genau wie die Dornausziehergruppen aus Pan und Satyr Theokrits Episode der dornausziehenden Hirten in einen dionysischen Kontext hineinversetzen. Wie Amedick überzeugend vorschlägt, hatte eventuell auch die Dornausziehergruppe eine erotische Konnotation, die für uns mangels schriftlicher Quellen heute nicht mehr zu fassen ist. Als Hinweis darauf sieht sie die Darstellungen dornausziehender Eroten, die das Motiv in die Sphäre Aphrodites verlegen, ebenso wie die übergroßen Phalloi der Kleinbronzen von verkrüppelten alten Männern, die sich einen Dorn ausziehen. Ein jüngst in Wien-Hernals gefundenes Relief des 2.-3. Jahrhunderts zeigt sogar eine dornausziehende Aphrodite.[98] In den Bereich der Liebesgöttin verweist Rumscheid auch den Terrakotta-Dornauszieher aus Priene aufgrund des Schmuckreifs am linken Oberarm.[99] Auf jeden Fall untermalen die kleinformatigen Füllmotive auf den dionysischen Sarkophagen das Geschehen des Hauptmotivs und bereichern es durch zusätzliche Aspekte.

Zwei Landleute

In der Spätantike kehrt das Dornausziehermotiv in den bukolischen Bereich zurück. Auf dem Mosaikfußboden im Diakonikon einer Kirche, die 1996-1997 im palästinensischen Jabaliyah bei Gaza ausgegraben wurde, ist die Darstellung von zwei Landmännern überliefert, die als Dornausziehergruppe gedeutet werden kann (**E1**; *Abb. 16*).[100] Das hochrechteckige Bildfeld des Fußbodens ist in fünf Register unterteilt; in den oberen und unteren beiden sind Tiere, meist im Jagdzusammenhang, und im mittleren Menschen dargestellt. Links ist ein Vogelfänger mit einem Käfig auf dem Rücken wiedergegeben, rechts daneben die Dornausziehergruppe. Beide Figuren sind von Ikonoklasten beschädigt, dennoch ist die Gruppe noch klar erkennbar:[101] Zwei Männer in kurzer gegürteter Tunika sitzen einander gegenüber auf dem Boden. Der Verletzte stützt sich mit dem vom Betrachter aus vorderen Arm hinter sich auf und streckt den anderen Arm nach vorne aus, nicht jedoch in dem typischen Klagegestus der Gemmen und Sarkophage. Er legt den Kopf in den Nacken und wendet ihn dem Betrachter zu. Das verletzte Bein, bei dem es sich wie bei den Dornausziehergruppen aus Satyr und Greisin wohl um das dem Betrachter zugewandte handelt, streckt er dem

*Abb. 16. Mosaik mit Dornausziehergruppe aus zwei Landmännern (**E1**). Jabaliyah (Palästina) (Foto J.-B. Humbert).*

Operierenden entgegen, der den verwundeten Fuß mit beiden Händen ergreift. Der operierende Landmann hat ein Bein wie im Schneidersitz an den Körper herangezogen und auf dem Boden abgelegt, das andere ist angewinkelt aufgestellt, ähnlich wie bei den Operierenden der rundplastischen Gruppen des Typus Vatikan. Das Mosaik könnte zur gleichen Zeit entstanden sein wie die Fußböden der umliegenden Räume und die Türschwelle, die inschriftlich in die 1. Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. datiert sind.[102] Diese Dornausziehergruppe stammt somit ungefähr aus derselben Zeit wie das oben zitierte Gedicht in der *Anthologia Latina*.[103] Beide sind, zusammen mit der Miniaturgruppe auf dem Goldmedaillon in Dumbarton Oaks (**C14**), die spätesten Wiedergaben des Motivs und veranschaulichen, wie lange die Dornausziehergruppe in ihrer idyllisch-bukolischen und dionysischen Konnotation tradiert wurde. Da auf dem Kirchenfußboden in Jabaliyah, anders als auf dem Medaillon (**C14**), keine dionysischen Figuren wiedergegeben werden konnten, griff man dort den ursprünglichen Kontext der Gruppe, das ländliche Milieu, wieder auf und schuf eine bukolische Darstellung.

Das Dornausziehen als Dionysisches Motiv

Die Verwendung der vollplastischen Statuetten in einem Ausstattungsprogramm, das einen römischen Garten durch dionysisches Treiben in einen *locus amoenus* verwandeln sollte, begründet nicht ausreichend die ursprüngliche Bilderfindung eines so eigentümlichen Themas wie des Dornausziehens. Zudem belegen dessen Darstellungen in datierbaren Monumenten wie der Terrakotte aus Priene, dass es sich bei dem Dornauszieher in der Haltung der Einzelfigur um eine griechische Bilderfindung handelt.[104]

Die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers wird der Genreplastik zugerechnet, trägt aber weder, wie ein Großteil dieser Skulpturen, Gaben an die Götter bei sich,[105] noch ist sie wie die Trunkene Alte im Zustand des Rausches dargestellt. Geht man im Hellenismus von der primären Verwendung einer Genreskulptur als Votiv aus,[106] muss sie stattdessen etwas anderes als dionysisches Weihgeschenk ausgezeichnet haben. Einen Hinweis geben vielleicht die Dornausziehergruppen: Bei dem verwundeten Satyr der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Louvre, der aus der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers entwickelt wurde, ist der Schmerz des

Verletzten in den Vordergrund gerückt. Im Gegensatz zur Einzelfigur, vor allem des Dornausziehers Castellani, die ganz auf ihre Handlung konzentriert ist und sich daher so stark herunterbeugt, dass ihr verzerrter Gesichtsausdruck in der frontalen Hauptansicht nicht in seinem ganzen Ausmaß erfassbar ist,[107] hat sich der Satyr der Gruppe im Typus Louvre aufgerichtet, wodurch sein schmerzerfülltes Gesicht besser sichtbar wird. Auf den Sarkophagen und Gemmen tritt an die Stelle des schmerzerfüllten Gesichts ein plakativer Klagegestus. Die Darstellung des Schmerzes kann somit als ein Thema der Gruppe ausgemacht werden.[108] Bereits Wrede und Moreno interpretieren das Dornausziehermotiv als Linderung von Leid durch Dionysos.[109] Diese Fähigkeit des Gottes, die Stricke der Sorgen zu lösen, wie Pindar es ausdrückt,[110] beschreibt wohl der Beiname Λύσιος, den Dionysos in Korinth, Theben und Sikyon trug.[111] Euripides erzählt in seinen Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. entstandenen Bakchen, dass Dionysos diese Gabe des Sorgenlösens dank der berauschenden Wirkung seines Weines besaß. In der Tragödie heißt es:

> [...] er [Dionysos] hat
> ja auch [...] in die Welt
> gebracht den Weinstock, der uns alle Sorgen löst.[112]

und:

> Den Reichen genau wie den Armen
> vergönnt er [Dionysos] des Weines Genuss,
> der die Sorgen verjagt.[113]

In der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., d.h. wohl nach der Entstehung der Vorbilder der Dornausziehergruppen, zumindest im Typus Louvre, versinnbildlicht der Dorn in der Dichtung des Horaz sittliche Verfehlungen und die Sorge darum.[114] Horaz interpretiert das Ausreißen dieser Dornen zwar nicht dionysisch, er könnte aber durchaus auf ein bereits bestehendes Gleichnis des Schmerz verursachenden Dornes als plagende Sorgen zurückgegriffen haben.[115] Der körperliche Schmerz des Satyrs wäre dann gleichzusetzen mit dem seelischen Leid, das diese Sorgen verursachen. Da bereits in klassischer Zeit das Lindern dieser Sorgen als Fähigkeit des Dionysos herausgestellt wurde, eigneten sich dionysische Figuren, die traditionell zur Verbildlichung des Wirkens und der Macht ihres Gottes verwendet wurden,[116] besonders gut zur Darstellung dieses Motivs. Auch die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers würde dann durch ihre Handlung die Macht des Gottes illustrieren.

Die verschiedenen Dornausziehergruppen betonen durch den Gruppenzusammenhang mit der operierenden Figur dabei stärker das Thema des Heilens.[117] Diese Interpretation stützt eine Gemme mit Dornausziehergruppe und Namensinschrift wohl des Besitzers, Ασκλεπιοδόρου, im Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, von der Mellinghof berichtet.[118] Ein Zusammentreffen gerade dieses Namens mit dieser Darstellung kann kaum zufällig sein, so dass der Gedanke des Heilens der Dornausziehergruppe durchaus innewohnend gewesen sein wird. Auf dem spätantiken Kirchenfußboden in Palästina (**E1**) könnte das Motiv aufgrund dieses Aussagegehalts übernommen worden sein, wobei an die Stelle des heilenden Dionysos vielleicht der christliche Gott mit seinem Heilsversprechen getreten war.

Bei aller kultischen Bedeutung, eine gewisse humoristische Note ist der Dornausziehergruppe nicht abzusprechen. Schließlich lässt ein kleiner Dorn den Satyr so intensiv leiden, dass er sich nicht einmal wie sein Vorbild, die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers, selbst davon befreien kann. Besonders drastisch schildern Gedichte des 6. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. die lächerliche Wehleidigkeit des Satyrs: In einem Epigramm der griechischen Anthologie von Leontios Scholastikos wird ein von Schmerzen geplagter Satyr von Dionysos aus Mitleid in Stein verwandelt, doch auch als Standbild hört er nicht auf, diese Schmerzen zu spüren.[119] Der Satyr aus dem bereits erwähnten Gedicht aus der *Anthologia Latina* wird wegen seiner Wehleidigkeit sogar ausgelacht.[120] Auf das Gegensatzpaar von Schmerz und Lachen, das in den Dornausziehergruppen verbunden ist, weist auch Amedick hin: Je nach Betrachterstandpunkt könne der Gesichtsausdruck des Verletzten der rundplastischen Statuetten sowohl als Lachen als auch als schmerzhafte Grimasse verstanden werden.[121] Während die Thematik des Schmerzes, sei es als Einzelfigur oder als Gruppe, die Dornauszieher für die Verwendung als Votivskulpturen geeignet macht, passen der Aspekt des Lachens und die humoristische Komponente der Gruppen eher zu deren Verwendung als Ausstattungsskulpturen, auf die Kunze diese Bilderfindung zurückführt.[122] Eventuell wurde dieser Aspekt aber auch erst in der Spätantike stärker betont.

Die lange Tradition des Dornausziehermotivs in Form einer Gruppe belegt dessen große Beliebtheit in der Antike. Die vielen Aufgriffe des Motivs, sowohl in der Dichtung als auch in bildlichen Dar-

stellungen, zeigen einen gemeinsamen literarischen und ikonografischen Topos auf, der Schriftsteller und Künstler gleichermaßen inspirierte.[123] Die früheste bekannte Überlieferung des Motivs ist die Episode aus der vierten Idylle Theokrits aus dem 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Spätestens im 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. entstand die Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers, infolge auch das Vorbild der rundplastischen Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Louvre. Aus dem späten Hellenismus bzw. der späten Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit stammen ein Großteil der Gemmen mit Darstellungen zweier Satyrn[124] ebenso wie die Darstellungen von Dornausziehergruppen aus Greisin und Satyr. In augusteischer Zeit beginnen auch die rundplastischen Repliken der Dornausziehergruppen aus Pan und Satyr, die bis in die 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts fortlaufen. Einzige Ausnahme ist die Gruppe aus Aphrodisias, die die Beliebtheit des Typus Louvre noch im 2. Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts belegt. Ab mittelantoninischer bis in aurelianische Zeit begegnen die Dornausziehergruppen aus Pan und Satyr auch auf Sarkophagen, mit einem Schwerpunkt in der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts. Aus dem 6. Jahrhundert stammen die Darstellungen von zwei Landmännern auf dem Mosaik in Jabaliyah (**E1**) sowie von zwei Satyrn auf dem Medaillon in Dumbarton Oaks (**C14**). Die Ähnlichkeiten in den Darstellungen über die Gattungsgrenzen hinweg verdeutlichen, dass hier mit mehreren, weit verbreiteten Vorlagen gearbeitet wurde, aus denen einzelne Elemente oder Haltungsmotive wie der Felsensitz des Verletzten, das angewinkelt ausgestreckte verletzte Bein, der Klagegestus, das Hocken des Operierenden usw. frei miteinander kombiniert werden konnten und zwar in verschiedenen Figurenkonstellationen.[125] Letztendlich weisen alle Darstellungen genügend Gemeinsamkeiten auf, um das Grundmotiv sofort zu erkennen.

Auch die literarischen Schilderungen lassen sich mit den bildlichen Darstellungen verbinden. Dass letztere nicht bloß ein Reflex der zeitgenössischen Literatur waren, zeigt sich daran, dass keine der hellenistischen oder kaiserzeitlichen Darstellungen die Szene Theokrits, zwei dornausziehende Hirten, wortgetreu umsetzt. Der große zeitliche Abstand zwischen diesem ersten Auftauchen des Motivs in der Literatur und den frühesten datierbaren Dornauszieherdarstellungen aus Priene und auf Gemmen verdeutlicht wiederum, dass sich Theokrit nicht bloß von bildlichen Darstellungen hatte anregen lassen.[126] Die spätantiken Gedichte aus den *Anthologia Palatina* und *Latina* scheinen eher auf bildliche Darstellungen zurückzugehen, wie im Gedicht des Luxurius auch explizit erwähnt. Beide Gedichte belegen außerdem, dass sich der Topos des Dornausziehens in der Literatur und in bildlichen Darstellungen wie auf dem Mosaik aus Jabaliyah (**E1**) und dem Medaillon in Dumbarton Oaks (**C14**) bis in die Spätantike hält.[127]

Allein durch die ursprüngliche Funktion der Dornausziehergruppe als Votivskulptur, die das Leid darstellt, von dem Dionysos erlösen kann, lassen sich deren zahlreiche Repliken und die Beliebtheit des Motivs in verschiedenen Gattungen bis in die Spätantike nicht erklären. Erst die Verbindung von kultischem Hintergrund und amüsanter Darstellung macht den Reiz der Skulpturen des dionysischen Thiasos aus und sicherte ihre Beliebtheit in der Kaiserzeit. Der kultische Charakter der Dornausziehergruppen wird schon wegen der fast ausschließlichen Verwendung dionysischer Figuren nicht vergessen worden sein. Ohne ihren dekorativen, vergnüglichen Charakter hätte die Gruppe aber wahrscheinlich nie diese große Beliebtheit gewonnen, die sich in den unzähligen hier zusammengetragenen Aufgriffen manifestiert.

Katalog

Vollplastische Gruppen aus Pan und Satyr[128]

Typus Louvre

A1. Paris, Louvre MA 320, namensgebende Gesamtgruppe (*Abb. 1-3*)

LIMC VIII (1997) s.v. Pan (J. Boardman) 934 Nr. 213; Kalveram 1995, 248 Nr. 158; Marquardt 1995, 218 Nr. 10.

Marmor, H 66 cm; 1808 aus Slg. Borghese nach Paris gebracht.
Erhaltungszustand: Ergänzt am Satyr Haarpartie am Hinterkopf, r. Schulter, r. Unterarm und r. Hand mit der Spitze des Felsensitzes, l. Unterarm und Teil des Schwanzes; am Pan r. Unterarm und Hand.
Datierungsvorschlag: augusteisch.

A2. Paris, Louvre MA 321, Oberkörper des Satyrs

Marquardt 1995, 219 Nr. 11.

Marmor, H 28 cm; aus Slg. Campana.
Erhaltungszustand: Lediglich Oberkörper des Satyrs ab dem Bauchnabel erhalten, Arme oberhalb der Ellenbogen abgebrochen.
Datierungsvorschlag: severisch.

A3. Arles, Musée de l'Arles Antique, Gesamtgruppe
Marquardt 1995, 217-218 Nr. 8.

Marmor, H 50 cm; in der Umgebung des Theaters von Arles gefunden.
Erhaltungszustand: Oberkörper oberhalb der Hüften und Arme beider Figuren fehlen, lediglich r. Hand des Satyrs auf dem Felsen erhalten; l. Unterschenkel Pans abgebrochen.
Datierungsvorschlag: 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

A4. Geyre, Afrodisiyas Müzesi, Gesamtgruppe

Mellink 1968, 143, Taf. 55,6; Marquardt 1995, 218 Nr. 9.

Marmor, H ca. 70 cm; ehemals verbaut im sog. 'Bischofspalast' von Aphrodisias.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Satyr fehlen Kopf und l. Bein mit Ausnahme des l. Fußes; am Pan beide Arme mit Ausnahme der l. Hand (am l. Fuß des Satyrs erhalten).
Datierungsvorschlag: 2. Viertel 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

A5. Vatikan, Musei Vaticani, Magazin, Gesamtgruppe

Marquardt 1995, 219 Nr. 13.

Marmor, H 35 cm.
Erhaltungszustand: Oberkörper beider Figuren oberhalb der Bauchnabel sowie l. Fußspitze des Satyrs fehlen.
Datierungsvorschlag: flavisch.

A6. St. Petersburg, Eremitage A 382/266, Gesamtgruppe (*Abb. 4*)

Marquardt 1995, 220 Nr. 14.

Marmor, H 35 cm; aus Slg. Campana.
Erhaltungszustand: Ergänzt an beiden Figuren Oberkörper ab der Hüfte sowie Arme, mit Ausnahme der auf dem Felsen erhaltenen Hände des Satyrs, und am Satyr l. Fußspitze.
Datierungsvorschlag: hadrianisch-frühantoninisch.

A7. St. Petersburg, Eremitage A 388, Satyr

Wrede 1991, 181, Taf. 42,2; Marquardt 1995, 220 Nr. 15.

Marmor, H 68 cm; aus Slg. Demidoff, früher bei Vescovali.
Erhaltungszustand: Erhalten nur der verletzte Satyr, zu einer Einzelstatuette ergänzt. Unterer Teil des Felsens, l. Unterschenkel und r. verletzter Fuß des Satyrs ergänzt.
Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Hälfte 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

A8. Rom, Musei Capitolini, Magazin MC 1439, Satyr[129] (*Abb. 5*)

Unpubliziert.

Marmor, H 60 cm.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Satyr fehlen r. Arm ab dem Bizeps, Zehenspitzen des l. Fußes und Kopf (ursprünglich separat gearbeitet und mit einem Eisendübel befestigt). Von Pan nur der l. Unterarm am verletzten l. Fuß des Satyrs erhalten. Ränder der Plinthe bestoßen.
Datierungsvorschlag: 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

A9. Vatikan, Musei Vaticani, Magazin, Oberkörper des Satyrs

Marquardt 1995, 219 Nr. 12.

Marmor, H 41 cm.
Erhaltungszustand: Lediglich Oberkörper des Satyrs ab der Leibesmitte erhalten. L. Arm unterhalb der Schulter abgebrochen, r. Schulter für eine inzwischen rückgängig gemachte moderne Restaurierung entfernt.
Datierungsvorschlag: flavisch.

A10. Rom, Kunsthandel, Oberkörper des Satyrs (*Abb. 6*)

Clarac 1850, Taf. 710a Nr. 1708a; Michaelis 1882, 487 Nr. 3; D-DAI-Rom-1974.0262-1974.0266 (Rossa).

Marmor; aus Slg. Westmacott.
Erhaltungszustand: Erhalten nur Oberkörper des Satyrs ab knapp unterhalb der Hüfte; r. Arm an der Schulter abgebrochen, der l. unterhalb des Bizeps; fälschlich zu einer stehenden Figur ergänzt.
Datierungsvorschlag: antoninisch.

A11. Tunis, Musée National du Bardo, Pan

Marquardt 1995, 220 Nr. 16.

Marmor, H 23.5 cm; im Theater von Karthago gefunden.
Erhaltungszustand: Erhalten nur Pan; Kopf, beide Arme und Hufe fehlen. Unterseite der Plinthe anscheinend abgebrochen. An der l. Seite des Pan breiter Strunk, eventuell vom Felsensitz des Satyrs.
Datierungsvorschlag: severisch.

Typus Vatikan mit verletztem Satyr

A12. Vatikan, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria dei Candelabri 2524, namensgebende Gesamtgruppe mit Satyr als Verletztem

Krahmer 1927, 88; Marquardt 1995, 215-217 Nr. 7.

Marmor, H 51.5 cm; 1770 aus der Villa Mattei erworben.
Erhaltungszustand: Ergänzt am Satyr r. Arm unterhalb der Schulter, r. Bein ab dem Knie und Rand des im Rücken herabhängenden Fells; am Pan beide Hörner mit den dazwischen liegenden Haarspitzen, beide Arme ab dem Bizeps und unterer Teil des Ziegenfells mit Kopf und Vorderbeinen (fälschlich als Pantherfell ergänzt). Ursprüngliche Plinthe in eine größere eingelassen. Moderne Löcher zur Anbringung der inzwi-

schen abgenommenen Feigenblätter.
Datierungsvorschlag: 2. Hälfte 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

A13. Ostia, Museo Ostiense 35, Gesamtgruppe mit Satyr als Verletztem (*Abb. 7*)

Marquardt 1995, 214 Nr. 4.

Marmor, H 60 cm; 1930 in der Tomba Nr. 90 der Nekropole der Isola Sacra gefunden.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Pan fehlen beide Arme mit Ausnahme der l. Hand, die die l. Wade des Satyrs umfasst, sowie Teil des Fells in seinem Rücken; am Satyr l. Fuß und Spitzen seines Kranzes. Klammerlöcher an den Stümpfen der erhobenen Arme Pans wohl antik, da die Figuren getrennte Plinthen aufweisen.
Datierungsvorschlag: severisch.

A14. Vatikan, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria dei Candelabri, operierender Pan

Marquardt 1995, 214-215 Nr. 6.

Marmor, H 49.5 cm.
Erhaltungszustand: Erhalten nur der operierende Pan, durch starke Ergänzungen zu einer Einzelfigur umgearbeitet. Ergänzt Kopf, beide Arme ab den Schulteransätzen, r. Huf und am Rücken frei herabhängendes Fell. Das ganze Stück modern überarbeitet. Ursprüngliche Plinthe in eine größere eingelassen.
Datierungsvorschlag: claudisch bis nachclaudisch.

A15. Rom, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, operierender Pan

Marquardt 1995, 214 Nr. 5; C. Lehmler in Neudecker/Granino Cecere 1997, 42-43 Abb. 32-35.

Marmor, H 36.8 cm.
Erhaltungszustand: Am operierenden Pan fehlen beide Arme, l. Bein, Teile des Fells und l. untere Gesichtspartie. Von der Figur des Satyrs nur die vier vorderen Zehen des l. Fußes am r. Knie des Pan erhalten.
Datierungsvorschlag: mittlere Kaiserzeit.

A16. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 23.128, Kopf des operierenden Pan

Marquardt 1995, 212-213 Nr. 1.

Marmor , H 14.6 cm; 1925 aus dem Kunsthandel erworben.
Erhaltungszustand: Erhalten nur der Kopf Pans.
Datierungsvorschlag: severisch.

Typus Vatikan mit verletztem Pan

A17. ehem. Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, ca. 1965 gestohlen, Gesamtgruppe mit Pan als Verletztem

Dwyer 1982, 42, Taf. 9; Jashemski 1993, 231-232 Abb. 271; Marquardt 1995, 213-214 Nr. 3; Amedick 2006, 26.

Marmor, H 32 cm; 1847 in Pompeji IX, 3 im Garten der Casa di M. Lucrezio ausgegraben.
Erhaltungszustand: R. Hand und l. Handgelenk des Satyrs fehlen.
Datierungsvorschlag: flavisch.

A18. Cherchel, Musée 54, Gesamtgruppe mit Pan als Verletztem

Lippold 1923, 74-75; Marquardt 1995, 213 Nr. 2; Amedick 2006, 25-28 Nr. 190 (mit weiterer Literatur).

Marmor, H 50 cm; im Mittelsaal des Frigidariums der Westthermen von Iol-Caesarea gefunden.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Satyr fehlen der Kopf, beide Arme und beide Beine; am Pan Oberkörper ab der Hüfte, beide Arme mit Ausnahme der auf dem Sitz Pans erhaltenen l. Hand und r. Unterschenkel. Plinthe zwischen den Figuren durchgebrochen, Rand vorne stark bestoßen.
Datierungsvorschlag: späthadrianisch-frühantoninisch.

Sarkophage mit Dornauszieh ergruppen aus Pan und Satyr (Abb. 13)[130]

Typus Louvre

B1. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj, Rückseite eines Wannensarkophags mit Löwenmaskenpaar und dionysischem Thiasos

Matz 1968a, 171-172 Nr. 64; Calza 1977, 184-185 Nr. 211, Taf. 129; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 161; Stroszeck 1998, 120 Nr. 127; Mangiafesta/Palma Venetucci 2001, 133.

In der Nordfassade des Casino del Belrespiro der Villa Doria Pamphilj verbaut.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenmaske.
Erhaltungszustand: Dornausziehergruppe, soweit auf den Fotografien zu erkennen, gut erhalten.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätseverisch.

B2. Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini, Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar und dionysischem Thiasos

Turcan 1966, 325-326; Matz 1968a, 162-163 Nr. 55; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 161; Stroszeck 1998, 105 Nr. 17.

L 1.98 m, H 0.58 m, T 0.65 m; aus Ostia.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenmaske.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Satyr fehlen l. Arm unterhalb der Schulter mit Ausnahme der Hand, l. und r. Unterschenkel und Teil des Kopfes; am Pan r. Arm unterhalb der Schulter und beide Unterschenkel mit Ausnahme eines Hufes.
Datierungsvorschlag: 230-240 n.Chr.[131]

B3. Neapel, S. Gennaro, Capella di S. Restituta, Friessarkophag mit clipeus-haltenden Satyrn und Wagen des Dionysos und des Silen

Turcan 1966, 176-177; Matz 1975, 454, 458 Nr. 264; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 161.

L 2.03 m, H 0.54 m, T 0.62 m.
Dornausziehergruppe unter dem Clipeus.
Erhaltungszustand: Sarkophag modern überarbeitet, Inschrift des Clipeus durch ein Familienwappen ersetzt. Sämtliche Köpfe der Figuren abgeschlagen.
Datierungsvorschlag: mittelantoninisch.[132]

Typus Vatikan mit verletztem Satyr

B4. Ostia, Museo Ostiense 1140, Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar und dionysischem Thiasos (*Abb. 14*)

Turcan 1966, 324-235; Matz 1968a, 161-162 Nr. 5; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 1624; Stroszeck 1998, 109 Nr. 40.

L 2.10 m, H 0.65 m, T 0.70 m; aus Ostia.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenmaske.
Erhaltungszustand: Sarkophag mehrfach gebrochen, oben in der Mitte und l. fehlen zwei große Teile. An der Dornausziehergruppe fehlen das verletzte l. Bein des Satyrs und l. Unterarm Pans.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätseverisch.[133]

Typus Vatikan mit verletztem Pan

B5. Newby Hall, Kinder-Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar, Ariadne und Dionysos beobachten den Agon zwischen Pan und Eros

Michaelis 1882, 533 Nr. 34; Turcan 1966, 229, 257; Matz 1968a, 128-134 Nr. 36; Huskinson 1996, 32 Nr. 3,2; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 162; Stroszeck 1998, 78, 81, 108 Nr. 38; D. Boschung in Boschung/Hesberg 2007, 96-98 Nr. N 53, Taf. 70-71.

L 1.50 m, H 0.43 m; wohl 1765 in Rom erworben.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenmaske.
Erhaltungszustand: Am verletzten Pan Kopf und r. Unterarm bis auf die Hand ergänzt, l. Bein und l. Arm fehlen. Am Satyr r. Bein ergänzt, r. Arm fehlt.
Datierungsvorschlag: mittelantoninisch.[134]

B6. Moskau, Puschkin-Museum II 1a 637, Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar und dionysischem Thiasos

Turcan 1966, 62-63, 233-235; Matz 1968a, 146-147, 153-155 Nr. 47; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 162; Stroszeck 1998, 80-82, 108 Nr. 36.

L 2.14 m, H 0.87 m, T 0.75 m; aus dem Palazzo Altemps, 1843 erworben.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenmaske der Vorderseite.
Erhaltungszustand: Dornausziehergruppe gut erhalten.
Datierungsvorschlag: 200-210 n.Chr.

B7. Los Angeles, County Museum A.5141.50.890, Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar und dionysischem Thiasos

Turcan 1966, 273; Matz 1968a, 158-159 Nr. 51; Wrede/Harprath 1986, 96 Nr. 103 (CC 55), Abb. 53; Stroszeck 1998, 107 Nr. 30.

L 2.14 m, H 0.66 m, T 1.05 m; 1891 sah Robert den Sarkophag zwischen Castel Gandolfo und Albano, seit 1950 im Museum.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenkopf.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Pan Kopf, r. Arm und r. Bein sowie der Panther, auf dem er sitzt, ergänzt, l. Arm fehlt. Die Figur ist fälschlich als Satyr ergänzt, ist aber aufgrund der ityphallischen Darstellung sicher als Pan zu identifizieren, zudem ist in der r. Hand des operierenden Satyrs noch der verletzte l. Huf zu erkennen. Auch der Panther, auf dem er reitet, ist eine neuzeitliche Ergänzung, da ihn weder die Zeichnung im Codex Coburgensis, die den unergänzten Zustand wiedergibt, noch diejenige von Pierre Jacques, in der schon einzelne gedankliche Ergänzungen eingezeichnet sind, zeigt.
Datierungsvorschlag: 230-240 n.Chr.[135]

B8. Dresden, Antikensammlung Albertinum 271, Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar und dionysischem Thiasos

Turcan 1966, 90-91, 271; Matz 1968a, 159-161 Nr. 52; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; I. Raumschüssel in Knoll et al. 1993, 50-51 Nr. 28; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 162; Stroszeck 1998, 104-105 Nr. 13; Turcan 1999, 108; Cacciotti 2001, 159.

L 1.71 m, H 0.59 m, T 0.62 m; 1728 aus Slg. Albani erworben.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenmaske.
Erhaltungszustand: R. Arm des Satyrs fehlt.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätseverisch.

B9. Benevent, Museo del Sannio 587, Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar und dionysischem Thiasos

Matz 1968a, 158, 161 Nr. 53; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 162; Stroszeck 1998, 103 Nr. 4.

L 1.87 m, H 0.63 m, T 0.68 m; 1904 in Benevent im Gebiet der ehemaligen Kirche S. Pietro gefunden.
Dornausziehergruppe unter l. Löwenmaske.
Erhaltungszustand: Vom oberen Rand des Sarkophags fehlt in der Mitte der Vorderseite ein großes Stück. Dornausziehergruppe stark beschädigt: Am Satyr fehlen Kopf, r. Arm und l. Unterarm. Vom Pan nur l. Bein erhalten.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätseverisch.

B10. Pozzuoli, Antiquario Flegreo, Wannensarkophag mit Löwenmaskenpaar und indischem Triumph des Dionysos

Matz 1968a, 166-167 Nr. 58A; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Stroszeck 1998, 110 Nr. 52.

L 2.02 m, H 0.59 m, T 0.60 m; wohl in Pozzuoli gefunden.
Dornausziehergruppe unter r. Löwenmaske.
Erhaltungszustand: L. Ende der Sarkophagwanne mit der l. Löwenmaske fehlt bis auf das untere Viertel vollständig. Dornausziehergruppe vollständig erhalten.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätseverisch.

B11. Lyon, Musée St. Pierre, Friessarkophag mit indischem Triumph des Dionysos

Turcan 1966, 241-242, 249; Matz 1968b, 241-243 Nr. 101; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 162; Turcan 1999, 108.

L 2.26 m, H 1.06 m, T 1.03 m; 1824 in Lyon bei der Kirche Saint-Irénée gefunden.
Dornausziehergruppe unter dem Panther des Wagens des Dionysos.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Satyr fehlen Kopf und beide Unterarme; am Pan r. Hand, l. Arm, r. Huf und l. Unterschenkel.
Datierungsvorschlag: 220 n.Chr.

B12. Pisa, Camposanto, Friessarkophag mit dionysischem Thiasos

Turcan 1966, 217; Matz 1969, 316-318 Nr. 170; Arias et al. 1977, 146-148.

L 2.14 m, H 0.71 m, T 0.89 m.
Dornausziehergruppe unter den Beinen des springenden Pan.
Erhaltungszustand: Reliefoberfläche stark verwaschen. Am Pan fehlen Kopf, l. Unterarm und beide Beine mit Ausnahme des r. Hufes; am Satyr Kopf, l. Arm und r. Unterarm.
Datierungsvorschlag: um 180 n.Chr.

B13. Kassel, Antikensammlung Schloss Wilhelmshöhe Sk 46, Friessarkophag mit auf dem Tiger reitenden Dionysos und Jahreszeitengenien[136]

Bieber 1915, 43-45; Matz 1975, 449-452 Nr. 259; Kranz 1984, 218-219 Nr. 130; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, Anm. 162; Turcan 1999, 129.

L 2.14 m, H 0.99 m; aus Villa Carpegna, 1776/1777 in Italien erworben.
Dornausziehergruppe unter Vorderpfote des Panthers.
Erhaltungszustand: Vorderseite des Sarkophags in mehrere Teile zerbrochen, ein Bruch durchzieht den Oberkörper des operierenden Satyrs. Am Pan fehlen l. Bein mit Ausnahme des auf dem Boden erhaltenen Hufes und der r. Unterarm; am Satyr r. Arm und Schulter sowie l. Unterarm.
Datierungsvorschlag: Mitte 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.[137]

B14. Potsdam, Park Sanssouci, Römische Bäder Skulpt. slg. 64, Friessarkophag mit clipeus-haltenden Kentauren und Wagen mit Dionysos

Matz 1975, 454, 460 Nr. 267; Hüneke 2000, 294-295.

L 2.10 m, H 0.60 m, T 0.53 m; angeblich 1828 von Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm IV. in den Eleusinischen Feldern bei Neapel ausgegraben.
Dornausziehergruppe unter Kentauren des r. Wagens.
Erhaltungszustand: Sarkophagoberfläche stark verwittert, r. obere Ecke der Vorderseite und ein Teil der r. Nebenseite fehlen. Am Satyr fehlen Kopf und beide Arme; am Pan l. Arm unterhalb der Schulter, r. Unterarm und beide Unterschenkel.
Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Hälfte 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

B15. Salerno, S. Matteo, Friessarkophag mit clipeus-haltenden Kentauren und Wagen des Dionysos und des Herakles

Turcan 1966, 97-98, 294-295; Matz 1975, 454, 465-466 Nr. 273; Wrede 1991, Anm. 108.

L 2.20 m, H 1.00 m, T 0.98 m.
Dornausziehergruppe unter Kentauren des l. Wagens.
Erhaltungszustand: Am Pan fehlen beide Beine und l. Unterarm mit Ausnahme der Hand; am Satyr Kopf, l. Arm und l. Bein.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätseverisch.

B16. Rom, Villa Borghese, Friessarkophag mit clipeus-haltenden Kentauren und Wagen des Dionysos und der Semele

Matz 1975, 465 Nr. 272.

L 2.14 m, H 0.68 m, T 0.63 m.
Dornausziehergruppe unter vorderem Kentaur des r. Wagens.
Erhaltungszustand: Den Sarkophag durchzieht knapp oberhalb des Bodens ein Bruch; alle abstehenden Elemente des Reliefs unterhalb dieses Bruches, auch die Unterkörper der Figuren der Dornausziehergruppe, sind abgebrochen.
Datierungsvorschlag: aurelianisch.

Dornausziehergruppen aus zwei Satyrn[138]

C1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art Acc. no. 23.160.29, Cameo

Richter 1956, 125 Nr. 621, Taf. 68.

Sardonyx, 17 mm; Rogers Fund 1923 erworben.
Datierungsvorschlag: hellenistisch.[139]

C2. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Cameo aus Glas

Furtwängler 1896, 348 Nr. 11156.

Weiß-violette Glaspaste.
Datierungsvorschlag: späthellenistisch-frühkaiserzeitlich.

C3. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung A.1958, Gemme (*Abb. 8*)

Brandt/Schmidt 1970, 33 Nr. 731, Taf. 84.

Rot-orangefarbener Karneol, 11.8 mm × 9.3 mm × 2.8 mm; aus Rom, Kunsthandel.
Datierungsvorschlag: 2./1.Jahrhundert v.Chr.

C4. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum XI B 379, Glaspaste

Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 32 Nr. 619, Taf. 10.

Grünlich-gelbe Glaspaste, 16 mm × 13.1 mm × 3.7 mm;
Datierungsvorschlag: letztes Viertel 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.

C5. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Gemme, Herme zwischen den Satyrn

Overbeck/Overbeck 2005, 110-111 Abb. 111.

Roter Karneol, 11 mm × 9 mm.
Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.

C6. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Gemme, Herme zwischen den Satyrn

Winckelmann 1760, 246 Nr. 1531; Furtwängler 1896, 274 Nr. 7392.

Karneol; aus Slg. Stosch.
Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.-1. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

C7. Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Gemme, Herme zwischen den Satyrn

Snijder 1932, 10 Abb. 8, 20 Nr. 9.

Nicolo, 12.1 mm × 12.3 mm; auf dem Einband des Evangelistars des Hl. Ansfried.
Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.-1. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

C8. ehemals Slg. Wyndham-Cook 133, Gemme, Pfeiler mit Gefäß und Ranken zwischen den Satyrn[140]

Smith/Hutton 1908, 32 Nr. 133; Lippold 1922, 169-170, Taf. 16,1.

Karneol.
Datierungsvorschlag: kaiserzeitlich.

C9. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Glaspaste, assistierender Pan zwischen den Satyrn

Furtwängler 1896, 170 Nr. 4062.

Braune Glaspaste; formgleich mit **C10**; aus Slg. Panofka.
Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.-Mitte 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

C10. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Glaspaste, assistierender Pan zwischen den Satyrn (*Abb. 9*)

Brandt et al. 1972, 145-146 Nr. 3057, Taf. 299.

Braune durchscheinende Glaspaste, 11.1 mm × 8.6 mm; formgleich mit **C9**.
Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.-Mitte 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

C11. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Gemme, Dornausziehergruppe aus Satyr im Haltungsmotiv des Spinario und Tanzendem Satyr (*Abb. 10*)

Winckelmann 1760, 246 Nr. 1530; Furtwängler 1896, 301 Nr. 8220.

Achat (Nicolo); aus Slg. Stosch.
Datierungsvorschlag: 2. Hälfte 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

C12. London, British Museum 1051, Gemme, Dornausziehergruppe aus Satyr im Haltungsmotiv des Spinario und Tanzendem Satyr

Walters 1926, 173 Nr. 1592, Taf. 21.

Nicolo, 20 mm × 16 mm; 1872 aus Slg. Castellani erworben.

C13. Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum 418, Glaspaste, Dornausziehergruppe aus Satyr im Haltungsmotiv des Spinario und Tanzendem Satyr

Fossing 1929, 134 Nr. 840, Taf. 10.
Hellviolette Glaspaste, 10 mm × 9 mm.

C14. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection Acc. no. 58.26, Kettenanhänger in Form eines Medaillons

Mouriki 1970, 56; Ross 2005, 135 Nr. 179A; Amedick 2005, 19-20 Abb. 3; Amedick 2006, 26.

Gold, Durchmesser 87 mm.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätes 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

Dornauszieher-gruppen aus Satyr und Greisin

D1. Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale und ehemals Boston, Privatsammlung (?), sog. Cavaspina-Relief (*Abb. 12*)

Adriani 1959, 34-35 Anm. 182; Hesberg 1986, 15-16; Hundsalz 1987, 112; Wrede 1991, 180-182; Amedick 1995, 159.

Marmor; Rekonstruktion aus zwei anpassenden Fragmenten.
Erhaltungszustand: Das Fragment in Boston gibt etwa das l. Drittel des Reliefs wieder, die l. obere Ecke ist abgebrochen, die Oberfläche stark verwittert. An dem darauf dargestellten jungen Mann fehlen der r. Unterschenkel und der l. Unterarm. Das Fragment in Neapel entspricht der unteren r. Ecke des Reliefs. Es fehlen ein Stück am unteren Rand zwischen beiden Fragmenten, das gesamte obere r. Viertel sowie der zentrale Teil des Reliefs.
Datierungsvorschlag: frühkaiserzeitlich.

D2. Rom, Centrale Montemartini 1074, *fulcrum*, sog. Bisellio Capitolino

Faust 1989, 69, 206-207 Nr. 355; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1990, 166 Abb. 126, 170 Abb. 133, 262 Nr. 29; Moreno 1994, 679.

Bronze mit Einlagen in Silber, Kupfer, Niello und Glaspaste; aus einem Grab in Amiternum/San Vittorino.
Datierungsvorschlag: Ende 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.-Anfang 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

D3. Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Henkelattasche einer Schnabelkanne

Adriani 1959, 34-35.

Bronze.
Datierungsvorschlag: hellenistisch.

D4. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Glaspaste

Furtwängler 1896, 170 Nr. 4061.

Braune Glaspaste mit weißem Querstreifen.
Datierungsvorschlag: spätrepublikanisch.

D5. Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum 419, Glaspaste

Fossing 1929, 134-135 Nr. 841.

Schwarze Glaspaste, 8 mm × 10 mm.

Dornauszieher-gruppen aus zwei Landmännern

E1. Jabaliyah, Kirche, Mosaik (*Abb. 16*)

Humbert et al. 2000, 123-124.

Datierungsvorschlag: 1. Hälfte 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr.

Anmerkungen

[1] Meinem Lehrer Henning Wrede danke ich herzlich für die Anregung zu diesem Thema. Außerdem möchte ich mich ganz herzlich bei Bärbel Ruhl für ihre Unterstützung bei der Überarbeitung des Textes und bei Andrea Sulzgruber für die Bildbearbeitung bedanken.

[2] Die früheste Erwähnung nennt den Spinario im 12. Jh. vor dem päpstlichen Lateranspalast in Rom. Von dort aus gelangte er im 15. Jh. durch eine Schenkung Papst Sixtus IV. an den Konservatorenpalast auf dem Capitol, wo er bis heute ausgestellt ist; nur kurz war er als Teil der Beute Napoleons 1797-1816 in Paris. s. Heckscher 1958, 290; Haskell/Penny 1981, 8, 308.

[3] Jüngst zusammengestellt von Amedick 2005.

[4] Mann 1954, 25.

[5] Zur nachantiken Rezeption des Dornausziehers: Ladendorf 1958, 20-26; Heckscher 1958, 289-290; Haskell/Penny 1981, 308; Amedick 2005.

[6] Ault et al. 2006, 84.

[7] Zur Einzelfigur: Fuchs 1958; Zanker 1974, 72-79; Himmelmann 1975, 26-33. Zusätzlich sind elf Kopfrepliken des Spinario überliefert; s. Zanker 1974, 81.

[8] Relief Liverpool, Museum, Slg. Ince Blundell Hall: Hundsalz 1987, 189-190; Hesberg 1980, 281; 1986, 13; Stähli 1999, 266; Himmelmann 1975, 29; Zanker 1974, 73 Anm. 11. Bronzestatuetten: Petersen/Zwingmann 1999, 33-34. Terrakottastatuette aus Priene, Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. TC 8626: Raeder 1983, 36 Nr. 36; Zanker 1974, 74; Himmelmann 1975, 27-28; 1980, 97-98. Mittelgallische Terrakottastatuetten: Lange 1990, 100-104 Nr. 66-67, 183 Nr. 187. Gemmen Berlin, Antikensammlung und Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum: Horster 1970, 73-75. Mosaik in Nahariya (Israel), Kirche: Ovadiah/Ovadiah 1987, 113-114 Nr. 194, Taf. 188. Haarnadelaufsatz Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum: Petersen/Zwingmann 1999, 33-34. Lampenaufsatz Turin, Museo Egizio: Badawy 1978, 322, 328 Abb. 5.14.

[9] Zur Forschungsgeschichte: Himmelmann 1975, 26-33; Amedick 2006, Anm. 1-2.

[10] Furtwängler 1912, 109-117 (1876 verfasster Aufsatz).

[11] Robert 1876, 133-140; Sieveking/Buschor 1912, 129-131.

[12] Zanker 1974, 71-75 wollte die beide Typen gar gleichzeitig als Ausdruck zweier verschiedener Positionen der rhodischen kunsttheoretischen Diskussion entstanden sehen. Beide Typen sind jedoch so ähnlich, dass eine unabhängige Entstehung m. E. schwer vorstellbar ist.

[13] Amedick 2006, 20-21.

[14] Zur Forschungsgeschichte s. Marquardt 1995, 212.

[15] Marquardt 1995, 212-226.

[16] Marquardt 1995, 223; s. auch Wrede 1986, 209; 1991, 181 Anm. 107.

[17] Die Katalognummern beziehen sich auf den Katalog im Anhang.

[18] Amedick 2006, 26-27.

[19] Klein 1921, 66; Herbig 1949, 32 (Sarkophag Dresden

[hier **B8**]); Lippold 1956, 159 (Sarkophag Dresden); Mellinghoff 1969, 312 (Sarkophag Kassel [hier **B13**]); *LIMC* VIII 1 (1997) 934 Nr. 213 (Sarkophag Dresden) s.v. Pan (J. Boardman); Amedick 2006, 26.

[20] Wrede 1991, 181 Anm. 108; Marquardt 1995, 223 Anm. 161-162.

[21] z.B. Wrede 1991, 180-182; Amedick 2006, 26.

[22] Theokr. 4.50-57.

[23] Himmelmann 1975, 31: 3. Jh. v.Chr. für den Typus Castellani. Hingegen Zanker 1974, 74: um 100 v.Chr. für beide Typen der Einzelfigur des Dornausziehers.

[24] Raeder 1983, 36 Nr. 36. Die Figur stammt aus einem Depot von Terrakotta- und Marmorfiguren, die nach der Erdbebenkatastrophe von 140/130 v.Chr. in den Südostraum von Haus 33 Ost eingebracht wurden; Rumscheid 2008, 148 geht daher davon aus, dass die Figur vor der Zerstörung des Hauses zu dessen Ausstattung gehört hatte, und datiert die Figur folglich noch vor oder um die Mitte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. Spätere Datierungen ins 1. Jh. v. Chr. wie z.B. von Zanker 1974, 74 und Himmelmann 1980, 97 schließt er daher aus.

[25] Himmelmann 1975, 33. z.B. Bronzen in Hartford und Paris oder der Bettler in Berlin, der auf einem Felsen sitzt, sich aber keinen Dorn aus dem Fuß zieht. Andreae 2001, 97 datiert die Berliner Bronze hingegen ins späte 3. Jh. v.Chr.

[26] Hundsalz 1987, 189-190: 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v.Chr. Hesberg 1980, 281: noch ins 2. Jh. v.Chr. Hesberg 1986, 13: wohl 2. Viertel 1. Jh. v.Chr. Stähli 1999, 266: 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v.Chr. Himmelmann 1975, 29: vor Mitte 1. Jh. v.Chr. Zanker 1974, 73 Anm. 11 muss das Relief ins 1. Jh. v.Chr. datieren, um an seiner Datierung der Dornausziehersatue um 100 v. Chr. festhalten zu können.

[27] Zusammenstellung aller Darstellungen des Dornausziehers in einem bukolisch-dionysischen Ambiente: Amedick 2006, 21-22.

[28] Himmelmann 1975, 27-28; 1980, 97-98; Amedick 2006, 22.

[29] Himmelmann 1975, 27; 1980, 97; Zanker 1974, 72 Nr. 3, Taf. 58,9; Manderscheid 1981, 126 Nr. 517, Taf. 50; Amedick 2006, 19-23 Nr. 188.

[30] Zwei Gemmen in Berlin, Antikensammlung und Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum: Horster 1970, 73-75; Himmelmann 1975, Taf. 15b-c; Amedick 2006, 22.

[31] Kunze 1999, 72, 80.

[32] Zu dieser Art der Komposition: Prittwitz und Gaffron 1999, 182-185.

[33] Aufgrund dieser Ähnlichkeit zum Barberinischen Faun schrieb Klein 1921, 64 beide Werke sogar demselben Künstler zu. Dies ist aber wegen der Datierung des Barberinischen Fauns ins späte 3. Jh. v. Chr. (Bieber 1955, 112; Pollitt 1986, 137; Zanker 1989, 20; Andreae 2001, 101; nur Ridgway 1990, 321: römisch) und der späteren Datierung der Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Louvre (s.u.) nicht möglich.

[34] Durchgedrückter Rücken und nach links geschwungener Oberkörper bei den Satyrn von **A2**, **A4** und **A10**.

[35] Als 'Typus Louvre' anhand von **A1** bei Marquardt 1995, 212, 217; so auch Kunze 2002, 210-211; 2008, 78.

[36] Marquardt 1995, 222 sieht im Satyr des Typus Louvre den Dornauszieher Castellani inhaltlich und formal zitiert und zugleich abgewandelt.

[37] Ähnlich Wrede 1991, 181: Erst das hilflose Leid ermöglicht den Gruppenzusammenhang.

[38] Wrede 1991, 181; Marquardt 1995, 220.

[39] Vgl. die Gestaltung der langen, sichelförmig geschwungenen Locken an den Beinen Pans, ebenso wie des Haupthaares von Pan und Satyr aus längeren, trocken modellierten und kaum untergliederten Locken mit den Augustus-Porträts im Octavianstypus, s. Zanker/Fittschen 1985, 1-2 Nr. 1 (Rom, Musei Capitolini, Stanza degli Imperatori 2 Inv. 413; augusteisch), 2-3 Nr. 2 (Rom, Musei Capitolini, Salone 10 Inv. 631; spätaugusteisch-tiberisch), 2 Anm. 11. Beilage 2 (London, British Museum Inv. 1878; 'frühe Replik').

[40] Die Gruppe war zusammen mit anderen, teilweise unfertigen Skulpturen unweit einer Bildhauerwerkstatt verbaut und wird mit dieser in Verbindung gebracht. Die Werkstatt war wohl im 3. und 4. Jh. n.Chr. aktiv, bis sie gegen Ende des 4. Jhs. n.Chr. zerstört wurde (s. Mellink 1968, 143; Rockwell 1991, 127, 140). Dort fand man zwei unterschiedlich große Kopien des Satyrs mit dem Dionysosknaben, die mir mit unserer Gruppe gut vergleichbar scheinen (Rockwell 1991, 130-131, 140, Abb. 4-5). Sie wiederum lassen sich mit der sog. Esquilingruppe vergleichen, die von Roueché/Erim 1982, 110 und Hannestad 1994, 111 ins 2. Viertel des 4. Jhs. n.Chr. datiert wird.

[41] Stähli 2008, 31 stellt in seiner Auseinandersetzung mit dem Begriff der Kopie in der Plastikforschung die 'Frage, ob römische Statuen überhaupt auf Vorlagen zurückzuführen sind, die jenseits von Werkstattmodellen existierten […]'. Ähnlich Gazda 2002, 20, die basierend auf den Forschungsergebnissen von Mattusch im selben Band von 'multiples without an original' spricht.

[42] An dieser Stelle ist es vielleicht besser, von Vorbild oder Vorlage zu sprechen, als den ideologisch behafteten, stark mit der Meisterforschung verbundenen Begriff 'Original' zu verwenden. Zur Geschichte der Begriffe 'Original' und 'Kopie' sowie zur jüngeren Diskussion zur Methode der Kopienkritik s. Junker/Stähli 2008b, 1-6; Gazda 2002, 4-15.

[43] Kunze 2002, 41, 229-232.

[44] Marquardt 1995, 217, 221-222 datiert die Dornausziehergruppe im Typus Louvre hingegen ins mittlere 1. Jh. v.Chr. Weitere Datierungsvorschläge: Zanker 1974, 73: spätes 2. Jh. v.Chr.; Wrede 1991, 181 Anm. 107 und 1986, 209: 'älterer Typus' einer Gruppe der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v.Chr.; Klein 1919, 267: 1. Jh. v.Chr.; Bieber 1955, 148 und Marquardt 1995, 217. 222-223: Mitte 1. Jh. v.Chr.; Kell 1988, 120: nachhellenistisch. Zu den hellenistischen Aufgriffen der Einzelfigur s. Anm. 24-26.

[45] Prittwitz und Gaffron 1999, 182-184. Stähli 1999, 50. 80 hält hingegen bei beiden Typen die Nebenseiten nicht für bewusst gestaltete eigenständige Ansichten und daher für zu vernachlässigen.

[46] Marquardt 1995, 212; Kunze 2002, 210-211; 2008, 100.

[47] So bereits Klein 1921, 66.

[48] Marquardt 1995, 216.

[49] Kell 1988, 116-117.

[50] Datierung der streng einansichtigen Gruppen: Prittwitz und Gaffron 1999, 182; Kell 1988, 106 (anhand der Gruppe der Drei Grazien); Kunze 2002, 239-241 (mittleres 2. – 1. Jh. v.Chr.). Marquardt 1995, 216-217 datiert die Dornausziehergruppen im Typus Vatikan gleichzeitig mit dem Typus Louvre ins mittlere 1. Jh. v.Chr. Weitere Datierungsvorschläge: Zanker 1974, 73: spätes 2. Jh. v.Chr.; Wrede 1986, 209: 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. v.Chr.; Pollitt 1986, 134: spätes 2. oder frühes 1. Jh. v.Chr.; Bieber 1955, 148: Mitte 1. Jh. v.Chr.; Kell 1988, 120: 'nur römisches Dekorationswerk'.

[51] Krahmer 1927, 88.

[52] Für Beispiele s.u. in den folgenden Abschnitten.

[53] Kunze 2008, 98, 100-103, bes. 102: 'Plünderung des Motivvorrats der Flächenkunst durch die Bildhauer'im Späthellenismus.

[54] Kunze 1996; 1999, 45-46; Kunze 2008, 89.
[55] Aus dem Haus der Poseidoniasten: Marquardt 1995, 227-236; P. Jockey in: Marcadé 1996, 142; Kunze 2008, 90-91.
[56] Diese Entwicklung anhand von Stiftungen in Heiligtümern: Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 158.
[57] Hesberg 1994, 48-49.
[58] Von Bürgern in Heiligtümern gestiftete Exedren und Annexräume zur Statuenaufstellung: Hesberg 1994, 12, 14, 48, 119-120. Die Exedra K (letztes Viertel des 2. Jhs. v.Chr.) am Asklepiosheiligtum von Messene war reich mit Inschriften und Statuen v. a. von Artemispriesterinnen ausgestattet (Hesberg 1994, 171 Nr. 5.1.9). Auch die halbrunden Nischen an den Enden der Stoa aus dem 2. Jh. v.Chr. im Artemisheiligtum von Kalydon waren wohl zur Aufnahme von Statuen bestimmt (Hesberg 1994, 12, 77).
[59] Vgl. u.
[60] Hesberg 1986, 13 Abb. 9; der Bauer ist dort jedoch nicht als Statue angesprochen. Dass auch die Genreskulpturen der Votivplastik zuzurechnen sind, zeigt außerdem Kunze 1999.
[61] Kunze 2008, 84-86, 94-97. Speziell zur Dornausziehergruppe im Typus Vatikan: Kunze 2008, 100. Kunze 2002, 210-211 vermutet, die Dornausziehergruppe im Typus Louvre könnte - in späthellenistischer Formtradition - sogar erst in der Kaiserzeit geschaffen worden sein. Vgl. Kell 1988, 120-121.
[62] Kunze 2008, 96-97.
[63] Kunze 2008, 100.
[64] Lippold 1923, 75; Manderscheid 1981, 32; Neudecker 1985, 173-174; Neudecker 1988, 48, 53.
[65] Dwyer 1982, 126 spricht sich aufgrund der antiken Vorstellung der vergöttlichten Natur, die auch die darin aufgestellten Skulpturen durchdringt, gegen eine rein dekorative Wertung der Gartenplastik aus. Stärkere Betonung des ästhetischen Wertes der Gartenskulpturen: Döhl 1980, 694; Döhl 1982, 66-76; Kunze 2008, bes. 85-86.
[66] Plin. *nat.* 19.50: *[...] hortoque et foro tantum contra invidentium effascinationes dicari videmus in remedio satyrica signa [...].* Neudecker 1988, 93 gibt jedoch zu bedenken, dass Plinius der Ältere generell konservative Auffassungen vertritt.
[67] Neudecker 1988, 51, 54; Hundsalz 1987, 103-104.
[68] Neudecker 1988, 48.
[69] s. Anm. 61-63.
[70] s. Anm. 18.
[71] Für diesen Prozess, der die Eigenleistung des Bildhauers wie des Auftraggebers stärker in den Vordergrund rückt, hat die englischsprachige Forschung den Begriff 'emulation' geprägt. Vgl. Gazda 2002, 7, 15, 24; Gazda 1995.
[72] Die bei Furtwängler 1896, 274 Nr. 7393 verzeichnete fragmentarische Gemme zeigt hingegen keine Dornausziehergruppe, sondern eine Melkszene. Eine Dornausziehergruppe unbekannter Form zeigt angeblich auch eine Gemme aus der Sammlung Stosch (Winckelmann 1760, 246 Nr. 1529).
[73] Der verletzte Satyr scheint in der erhobenen Hand ein Tuch oder ein *pedum* zu halten, das aufgrund der abgeplatzten weißen Glasschicht jedoch nicht mehr zu identifizieren ist. Zu dem Sarkophagen s.u.
[74] Die Produktion der hellbraunen Glaspasten läuft um die Mitte des 1. Jhs. n.Chr. aus; für Angaben zur Datierung der Glaspastentypen danke ich herzlich G. Platz-Horster.
[75] s. Anm. 26.
[76] Déchelette 1904, I 257-258, 282; II 63-64 Nr. 371; Oswald 1991, 45 Nr. 643.
[77] Hesberg 1986, 15-16: Jäger. Amedick 1995, 159: Hirte. Wrede 1991, 181: 'Pseudohirte'. Zu dornausziehenden Hirten s.o.
[78] Hesberg 1986, 16.
[79] Hundsalz 1987, 112; Wrede 1991, 180-181. Vor allem Sarkophagreliefs mit Darstellungen des dionysischen Kultes zeigen Männer im schurzartigen, vorne geknoteten *pallium quadratum* und Frauen mit einem Mantel, der wie bei der Alten auf dem Neapler Relief vorne geknotet ist (s. Matz 1964, 48-50; Hundsalz 1987, 110, 112-115; Wrede 1991, 176-178; Himmelmann 1980, 89). Amedick 1995, 168-170 hat berechtigt darauf hingewiesen, dass ähnlich gekleidete alte Frauen mit Kopftuch auch in anderem Zusammenhang überliefert sind, so in ländlichen Heiligtümern anderer Gottheiten und in mythologischen ebenso wie alltäglichen Szenen. Einen Schurz mit Knoten trägt auch der verwundete Satyr auf dem Intaglio in Wien (**C4**).
[80] Adriani 1959, 35.
[81] Bereits als Satyr angesprochen bei: Hundsalz 1987, 112.
[82] Amedick 2006, 26. *Anth. Lat.* 371 (nach Edition Riese 1869 = Edition Shackleton Bailey 1982, Nr. 366): *De rustica in disco facta, quae spinam tollit de planta Satyri.*
[83] Benennung als Nymphe: Furtwängler 1896, 170 Nr. 4061; Fossing 1929, 134-135 Nr. 841.
[84] Zu *lenoi*: Koch/Sichtermann 1982, 191.
[85] Turcan 1966, 234.
[86] Marquardt 1995, 223 Anm. 161 erkennt hingegen auf dem Sarkophag in Neapel (**B3**) Pan als Verletzten. Die Autopsie des Originals bestätigte aber die Rollenverteilung von verletztem Satyr und operierendem Pan.
[87] Grassinger 1999b, 325 beschreibt dasselbe für die Pasquino-Gruppe.
[88] Veränderte Armhaltung des verletzten Pan lediglich bei dem Sarkophag in Salerno (**B15**).
[89] Eventuell auch an der vollplastischen Replik des Typus Louvre in den Capitolinischen Museen (**A8**) zu beobachten. Dieser Satyr kann sich nicht mit der rechten Hand auf dem Felsen aufgestützt haben, da an entsprechender Stelle kein Felssporn ausgebildet ist. Stattdessen muss sich dort die Figur des Pan befunden haben, auf die sich der Satyr wohl stattdessen aufgestützt hatte und die wahrscheinlich frontal zum Betrachter ausgerichtet saß.
[90] Die Armhaltung des Pan ist auf dem Sarkophag in Benevent (**B9**) nicht mehr zu erkennen, entsprach aber wohl dem Klagegestus, der auf dem Sarkophag in Pozzuoli (**B10**) abgewandelt ist (s.u.).
[91] z.B. Priamos als Geschenkträger vor Achill: Grassinger 1999a, 208-209 Nr. 40, Taf. 37,1-2; gefallener Inderkönig vor Dionysos: Matz 1969, 432-433 Nr. 243, Taf. 258,2, 433-434 Nr. 244, Taf. 259,2; Barbaren vor einem Feldherrn: Koch/Sichtermann 1982, 106, Abb. 96; *victimarii* auf Feldherrensarkophagen: Wrede 2001, 22-23, Taf. 1,3, 2,1, 3,1.
[92] Ohne Dornausziehergruppe ist diese Gruppe auf einem Sarkophag im Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam, ehemals Hever Castle dargestellt (Matz 1968a, 147-149 Nr. 44, Taf. 44; Moormann 2000, 161-164 Nr. 221, Taf. 77). Sie kommt meist auf Wannensarkophagen unter einer der Masken vor (**B2**, **B4**, **B8**, **B9,** Sarkophag in Amsterdam). Auf dem Friessarkophag in Pisa (**B12**) ist sie zwischen den Beinen eines Satyrs des Hauptmotivs untergebracht. Lediglich auf dem Sarkophag in der Villa Borghese (**B16**) befindet sie sich direkt neben der Dornausziehergruppe in keinem symmetrischen Bezug zu dieser.
[93] Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Gabinetto Segreto Inv. 27709. Marquardt 1995, 207-211: caligulä-isch-claudisch (Kopie), späthellenistisch (Original);

Stähli 1999, 266-267, 389-393 Nr. 12: tiberisch-claudisch (Kopie), 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v.Chr. (Original).

[94] Marquardt 1995, 208-209.

[95] Theokr. 1.85-88.

[96] Über Hirten: *Anth. Pal.* 12.41 (= Theokr. *Epigramm* 94); über Pan: *Anth. Pal.* 6.31 (teilweise Nikarchos zugewiesen). Stanzel 1995, 66.

[97] Stähli 1999, 264, 266-267.

[98] Amedick 2006, 27, Beilage 5d (mit weiteren Argumenten für eine erotische Komponente des Motivs). Krüppelbronzen: s. Anm. 25. Zu dem Relief aus Wien-Hernals, das Amedick nicht aufführt, s. Hebert 2013, 64-65 Abb. 3b. Generell zum Fundkontext: Blesl 2011. Für den Hinweis auf dieses Relief danke ich herzlich B. Hebert. Die Darstellung auf dem Relief ähnelt der Gruppe von Aphrodite, der ein kleiner Putto einen Dorn aus dem Fuß zieht, auf dem um 1000 gearbeiteten Elfenbeinkästchen aus Veroli (Simon 1964, 324 Abb. 25, 326-327; Amedick 2006, 27). Die Benennung des bronzenen Spinario durch Magister Gregorius Mitte des 12. Jhs. als Priapos, obwohl seine Genitalien von normaler Größe sind (Haskell/Penny 1981, 308), ist m. E. darauf zurückzuführen, dass die Bronzestatue im Mittelalter erhöht auf einer Säule aufgestellt war. Bei einer solchen Aufstellung fallen die Genitalien dem tiefer stehenden Betrachter sofort ins Auge, werden sogar durch das verletzte Bein zusätzlich gerahmt. Diesen Blickwinkel zeigt eine Zeichnung von Jan Gossaert aus dem frühen 16. Jh. (A. Lorenz/J. M. P. Schaeps in: Arnhold 2008, 101-103 Nr. 32). Diese jahrhundertelange Aufstellung und der Fokus des Betrachters zeigen sich heute noch daran, dass die Genitalien an der Bronzestatue in den Capitolinischen Museen stark abgegriffen sind, obwohl sie bei der jetzigen Aufstellung kaum ins Auge fallen.

[99] Rumscheid 2008, 151-152.

[100] Humbert et al. 2000, 123-124.

[101] Obwohl auch der verletzte Fuß von Ikonoklasten zerstört wurde, kann dies nicht darauf zurückgeführt werden, dass an dieser Stelle ein Lebewesen dargestellt war. Eher wurde der Körperverlauf der Figur vom Halsansatz bis zur Fußspitze beschädigt, wobei der Kopf ausgespart wurde, wie z.B. auch bei der darüber wiedergegebenen Löwin oder ähnlich bei der Gazelle darunter (vgl. Humbert et al. 2000, 123). Die Szene kann daher nicht wie von Humbert et al. 2000, 124 als Übergabe eines Vogels gedeutet werden; dagegen spricht auch, dass es für die Vogelübergabe meines Wissens keine Vergleiche gibt, die Haltungsmotive der Figuren und die Komposition der Gruppe aber Dornausziehergruppen entsprechen.

[102] Saliou 2000, 393-398. Hingegen Humbert et al. 2000, 124: Mitte 5. Jh. n.Chr.

[103] s. Anm. 82.

[104] s. Anm. 24.

[105] Kunze 1999, 58-69.

[106] s. Anm. 54-60.

[107] Dies gilt nicht für den Spinario, dessen Gesicht klassizistisch regungs- und somit ausdruckslos ist.

[108] Pollitt 1986, 131, 134 sieht in dem schmerzverzerrten Gesichtsausdruck des Satyrs der Dornausziehergruppen den Laokoon parodiert. Marquardt 1995, 224-226 spricht sich ebenfalls gegen eine ernsthaftere Deutung der Gruppe aus; sie vergleicht das Leid des Satyrs mit dem der Giganten des Pergamonaltars und sieht dadurch die überfeinerte Hirtenwelt des Hellenismus parodiert, wie auch im Spinario und z.T. in der Dichtung: als mythische Vertreter der bukolischen Welt veränderten Pan und Satyr die alltägliche Begebenheit des eingetretenen Dorns in eine 'Kalamität ersten Ranges'.

[109] Moreno 1994, 679; Wrede 1991, 182.

[110] Pindar zitiert bei Plut. *mor.* 68 D (= Pind. fr. 232): λύοντι τὸ τῶν δυσφόρων σχοινίον μερμνᾶν. Andere Deutungen, u.a. bei Paus. 9.16.6 meinen, Dionysos trage diesen Beinamen, weil er gefangene Thebaner, die Seelen aus der Unterwelt (RE 14,1 [1928] 41-42 s.v. Lysios [B. Kruse]) oder von Einschränkungen und Zwängen befreit und die soziale Ordnung auflöst (Bouvrie 1993, 109).

[111] Paus. 2.2.6-7 (Korinth); 2.7.5-6 (Sikyon); 9.16.6 (Theben).

[112] Eur. *Bacch.* 770-772 (Übersetzung D. Ebener).

[113] Eur. *Bacch.* 421-423 (Übersetzung D. Ebener); dasselbe Motiv auch in Vers 279-283.

[114] Hor. *epist.* 1.14. Fortsetzung in der christlichen Symbolik: Borzsák 1971, 55-62.

[115] Borzsák 1971, 60.

[116] Stähli 1999, 167-168, 204-205 am Beispiel der Vasenmalerei des 6.-4. Jhs. v.Chr.

[117] Mellinghof 1969, 311-312.

[118] Beschrieben bei Mellinghof 1969, 311-312. Es ist mir bisher nicht gelungen, eine Abbildung oder nähere Beschreibung dieser Gemme oder einen weiteren Verweis auf sie zu finden; auch eine Anfrage beim Cabinet des Médailles blieb erfolglos.

[119] *AnthGr.* 16.245; abgedruckt bei Wrede 1991, 182, der das Epigramm als Hinweis auf die kultische Deutung des Dornausziehermotivs sieht, aber auch auf die lächerliche Wehleidigkeit der Dornausziehergruppe aufmerksam macht. Marquardt 1995, 226 Anm. 170 betont hingegen nur die lächerliche Komponente des Epigramms und lehnt einen kultischen Hintergrund ab. Dieses Epigramm auch bei Amedick 2006, 25, jedoch ohne weitere Interpretation.

[120] s. Anm. 82.

[121] Amedick 2006, 27.

[122] s. Anm. 61-63.

[123] Ähnlich Small 2003, 3, als Zusammenfassung von Giulianis Ergebnissen zur unteritalischen Vasenmalerei: 'Artists depend on an amalgam of textual and pictorial traditions.'

[124] Karneolgemme in München (**C3**) eventuell bereits aus dem 2. Jh. v.Chr., Gemme in Berlin (**C11**) aus der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. n.Chr.

[125] Stähli 2008, 25 spricht von diesem Vorgang als einem 'Repertoire von Motiven' und von deren Verwendung als 'Neukombination mithilfe mehrerer Motivvorlagen'.

[126] Brunn 1906, 219 meint, Theokrit habe sich von den statuarischen Dornausziehergruppen beeinflussen lassen. Zanker 2004, 133 sieht hingegen die Statuetten als von Theokrits Schilderung inspiriert.

[127] Zur weiteren spätantiken und v.a. byzantinischen Rezeption des Motivs s. Mouriki 1970.

[128] Grundlage ist der Katalog von Marquardt 1995, 212-215; dort auch weitere Literatur.

[129] Für den Hinweis auf diese Gruppe und die Erlaubnis, sie aufzunehmen, danke ich herzlich P. Arata.

[130] Weitere Literatur zu den einzelnen Sarkophagen bei Matz 1968a-1975; die hier genannte Literatur ergänzt bzw. nennt die Anmerkungen, in denen Marquardt und Wrede die Sarkophage mit Dornausziehergruppen auflisten (vgl. Anm. 20).

[131] Stroszeck 1998, 105. Matz 1968a, 163 hingegen: severisch; Turcan 1966, 326: 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n.Chr.

[132] Turcan 1966, 177: 170-180 n.Chr. oder später. Matz 1975, 458 hingegen: frühantoninisch.

[133] Stroszeck 1998, 109.

[134] Matz 1968a, 135 und Huskinson 1996, 32: frühantoninisch; D. Boschung in: Boschung/Hesberg 2007, 98: Mitte 2. Jh. n.Chr. Stroszeck 1998, 78, 81, 108 hingegen: 190-200 n. Chr. Turcan 1966, 229 sogar: aus der Zeit des Severus Alexander.

[135] Stroszeck 1998, 107. Matz 1968a, 159 hingegen: frühseverisch; Turcan 1966, 273: nicht vor Ende der Severerzeit.

[136] Für die Unterstützung bei der Aufnahme dieses Sarkophags danke ich herzlich P. Gercke.

[137] Bieber 1915, 44: um 200 n.Chr.; Matz 1975, 452: 235-245 n.Chr.; Kranz 1984, 61-62, 219: frühe 250er Jahre.

[138] Die hier wiedergegebene Auswahl an geschnittenen Steinen und Glaspasten erhebt keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit.

[139] Richter 1956, 125 zweifelt an der Echtheit des Stückes.

[140] Es ist mir nicht gelungen festzustellen, ob diese Gemme identisch ist mit einer Karneolgemme in Genf, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Inv. 7169, die das gleiche Motiv zeigt und laut Deonna 1925, 32. Taf. 5 aus der Slg. Duval-Toepfer stammt. Die nachantike Gemme bei Furtwängler 1896, Nr. 9268 imitiert offensichtlich die Gemme aus der Slg. Wyndham-Cook, deren Abdruck in der Cades-Sammlung enthalten war, ergänzt um den Schriftzug 'Philantropia'.

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Looking for Herakles at the Slopes of the Vesuvius

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Abstract

Herakles plays an important role in the myth of foundation and in the private cults of Pompeii. Despite this, the existence of a public cult of the demigod is not demonstrated. The paper questions the attribution of the sanctuary of the Triangular Forum to Herakles and Athena. A consolidated tradition of studies in fact attributes the Doric Temple to the couple: this theory is usually supported by several elements including the presence of an off-axis base in the cella, and the subject of the architectural terracotta of the Samnite period. The most important evidence however is the identification of the enclosure in front of the temple as a heroon of Herakles. Starting from a new analysis of the archaeological data, the present study aims to reconsider the function of the so-called heroon, proving its destination as an altar.

In the stretch of coast between Pompeii and Herculaneum ancient literary sources mention a series of toponyms related to Herakles, which suggest the importance of the cult of the demigod in the Vesuvian territory. At the mouth of the river Sarno the cliff of Rovigliano, called *petra Herculis* by Pliny,[1] was home to a small temple, of which today only a few structures remain, incorporated into the tower that was built on the small island in the 16th century (*fig. 1*).[2] During the excavations of the foundations of the tower a bronze statue of Herakles was discovered, that is today lost.[3] Near the *dulcis Pompeia palus*, in the area of Torre Annunziata,[4] Columella speaks of the *salinae Herculis*.[5] Close by, in the Sorrentine Peninsula, Statius mentions a shrine dedicated to Herakles.[6] Various mythical traditions also attribute the foundation of both Herculaneum[7] and Pompeii[8] to Herakles, who reached the region Campania following an expedition in Iberia.[9] In particular, the toponym of Pompeii is supposed to derive from the *pompa triumphalis* celebrated by the hero leading the cattle of Geryon.[10]

Despite the lack of conclusive evidence, such as inscriptions, the existence of an official cult of Herakles at Pompeii is often taken for granted. This view has been reinforced by several testimonies of devotion to the demigod in private contexts,[11] and by the commercial nature of Pompeii, one of the main spheres related to Herakles.

In the literature it has been generally accepted that the principal site of the cult dedicated to Herakles is the sanctuary in the so-called Triangular Forum (*fig. 2*).[12] Because the motivations given to support this hypothesis are largely problematic or inconsistent, it will be useful to re-

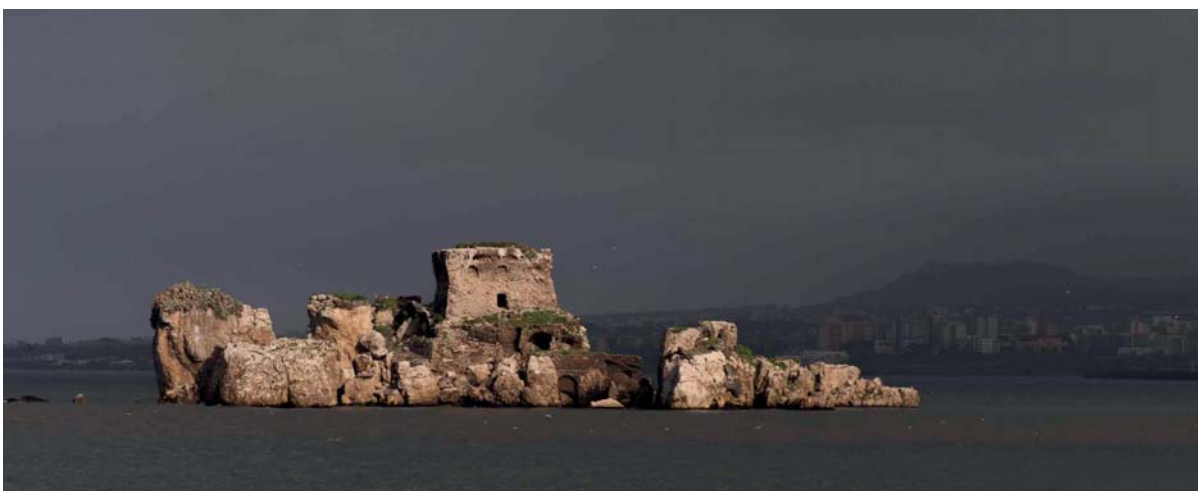

Fig. 1. View of the cliff of Rovigliano (after Guzzo/Tagliamonte 2013, 219).

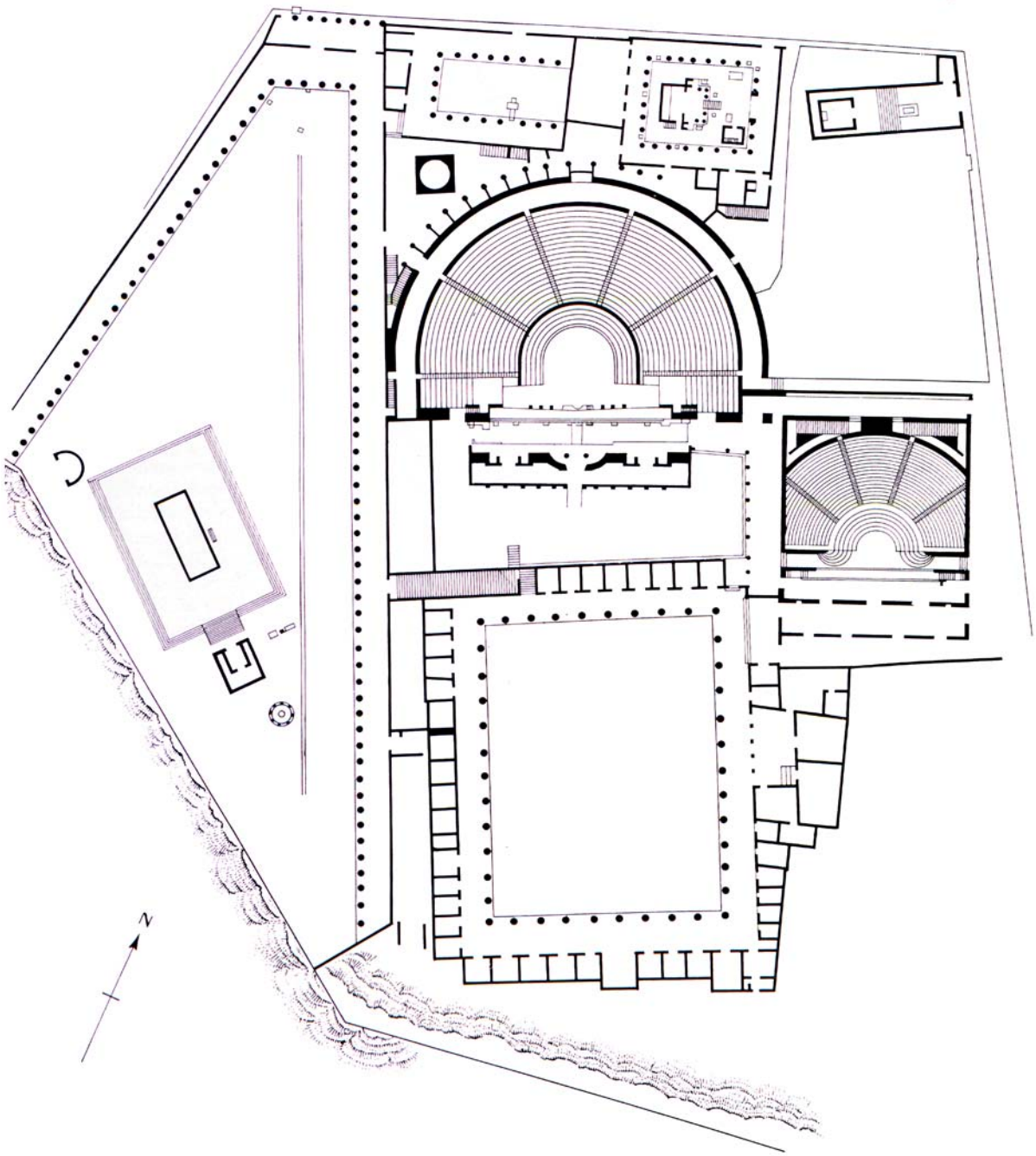

Fig. 2. Map of the Triangular Forum (after Coarelli 2001, fig. 1).

examine the subject and clarify some aspects, in the attempt to open up new perspectives of research.

The Sanctuary in the Triangular Forum: The Archaeological Evidence

The date of foundation of the sanctuary cannot be determined with certainty, although the most ancient material found *in loco* dates to the Iron

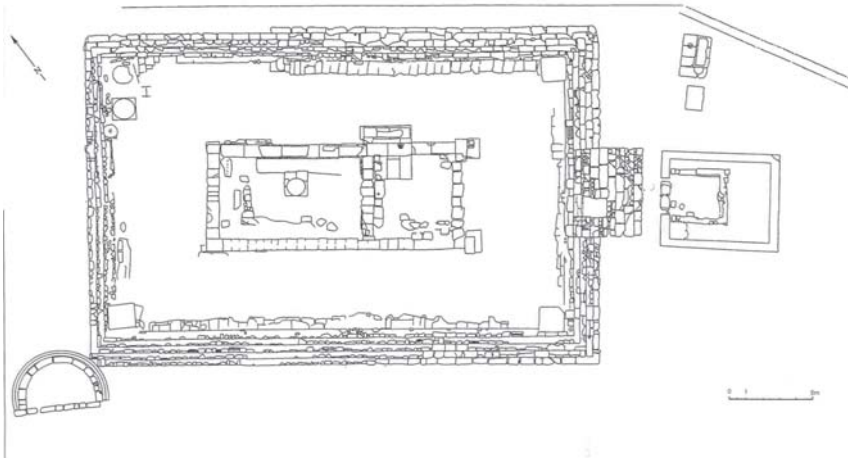

Fig. 3. Plan of the Doric Temple (after De Waele 2001, tav. 17).

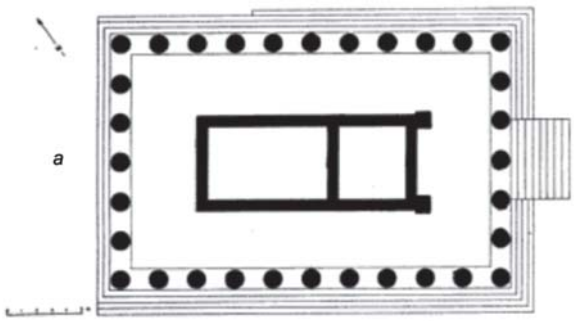

Fig. 4. The Doric Temple: reconstruction according to De Waele (after De Waele 2001, tav. 18a).

Age.[13] The principal phases of the life of the sanctuary have been reconstructed on the basis of remaining architectural elements in terracotta. The most ancient fragments of cladding (phase I) date to the third quarter of the 6th century BC,[14] the period in which the first monumentalisation of the sanctuary took place: the covering was probably applied to the stone building that stands today.[15]

The architecture of the temple is difficult to perceive due to the state of ruin the monument was already in by the Roman period (*fig. 3*).[16] After carefully analysing the remains, J. de Waele reconstructed an Etrusco-Italic temple with a *peristasis* of seven columns at each end and eleven at each side (*fig. 4*).[17] At the end of the 6th century the covering was renovated, as is visible by looking at the fictile decorations of phase II.[18] The late-archaic elements in terracotta include about thirty fragments of acroterial statues in hollow terracotta; it has been possible to identify a hind,[19] a draped female figure and a male torso, both of these lacking attributes.[20] Furthermore, the late-archaic terracotta elements include protomes of snakes, the position of which in the decorative system is not certain; these might have formed, at the apex of the pediment, the figure of the Lernaean Hydra battling with Herakles,[21] or might have had a generic apotropaic function.[22]

At the end of the 4th century BC the temple, after a period of prolonged deterioration, was restored again. The roof was decorated with antefixes portraying the head of Athena and of Herakles,[23] while a Doric tuff frieze was also added, as is indicated by the metope with a scene of the punishment of Ixion.[24]

As far as the worshipped divinities are concerned, the epigraphic documentation allows us to refer the sanctuary to Athena. An inscription,[25] painted on a pillar between the houses at numbers 19-20 in the Via dell'Abbondanza and belongs to the so-called *eítuns* group,[26] mentions a *Minervium*, and probably refers to the sanctuary in the Triangular Forum.[27] The dedication to the goddess is also confirmed by archaeological evidence. The votive objects from the sanctuary,[28] spanning from the late 6th to the 2nd century BC, include female torsos with *polos*, small statues of *kourotrophoi*, tanagrines, anatomical ex-votos, miniaturistic chalices, loom weights and fragments of *louteria*.[29] The most ancient statuette represents a female figure sitting on a throne with a crown on her head; it is an Attic product that can be dated to between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC.[30] All this material is compatible with the cult of a divinity protecting the feminine sphere, and can reasonably

Fig. 5. Statuette of Herakles from the Temple of Isis. Pompei, Depositi (after Guzzo 2007, 65).

Fig. 6. Antefix with the head of Herakles from the votive deposit of Privati. Castellammare di Stabia, Depositi (after Guzzo/Tagliamonte 2015, 935).

be identified with Athena. The goddess can also be recognized in some Hellenistic statuettes which represent a female figure dressed with a long chiton and the Phrygian helmet, the right hand holding a *patera* and the left resting on a shield.[31]

A Cult Of Herakles in the Doric Temple?

The presence of Herakles, together with Athena, within the Doric Temple is an argument that has been put forward on the basis of various elements. Firstly, the inclusion of the demigod in the figurative program of the temple in the Samnite period and perhaps also in the late-archaic period. Secondly, the presence, of an off-axis base inside the cella, that because of its anomalous position has led to the hypothesis of a second base that would be its counterpart. These elements have led some scholars to believe that the enclosure in front of the temple is a *heroon* of Herakles.[32] Additional evidence includes an Hellenistic bronze figurine of the demigod (*fig. 5*) brought to light during the recent excavations in the Temple of Isis.[33]

We have mentioned the presence of the figure of Herakles in the architectural terracotta of the Samnite period, and perhaps also in those from the late-archaic period: does this imply the dedication of the building to the demigod? The relation between the mythological themes chosen for the decoration of the temples and the worship practices taking place inside cannot always be easily established. However some contexts, which are better documented, provide a privileged field of investigation. An acroterial group in terracotta with the couple Herakles-Athena[34] decorated the archaic temple (phase II) of the sacred area of Sant'Omobono in Rome, traditionally identified as the *aedes* of *Mater Matuta*.[35] Also the figurative program of the temple B in Pyrgi, dedicated to Uni/Astarte, revolved around the figure of Herakles: the demigod was the protagonist of the cycle of high reliefs portraying the labours, and was also represented as central *acroterion* together with Hera.[36] Finally, among the architectural terracottas of the temple of *Mater Matuta* in Satricum (phase II) there is a head of Herakles and some fragments of a draped figure that could represent Athena.[37]

The examples given show that very often the protagonists of architectural decorations do not correspond to the gods being worshipped inside the building; there was indeed no compulsory rule on the matter. Also in the case of Pompeii the fictile decoration might not be a fundamental element in the attribution of the cult.[38] Regarding the terracot-

tas from the Samnite period, it must be noted that the antefixes portraying the head of Athena with the Phrygian helmet, a type that is frequently found in the area,[39] and those portraying the beardless head of Herakles (*fig. 6*), recur not only in the Doric Temple, but also in the votive deposit in Privati near Castellammare di Stabia.[40] Also in this case the composition of the deposit does not indicate the presence of a cult of Herakles.[41]

Let's consider the problem of the presence of an off-axis base in the cella of the Doric Temple (*fig. 3*). The monolithic base in tuff (65 cm in height) is positioned on three blocks in the same material. On its bottom surface, traces of the *opus signinum* - realized in occasion of the restoration of the temple in the Samnite period - has been detected.[42] Regarding the position of the base, which is generally considered anomalous, in 1890 A. Sogliano hypothesised the existence of a second pedestal located on the left side of the cella,[43] thus attributing the temple to the couple Athena-Herakles.[44] Since then this idea has been frequently taken up[45] and also linked to fact that the columns on the short side of the temple are not even in number: the decision to design a heptastyle façade in this way could be explained by the fact that there were two statues positioned inside the temple.[46]

It is well known that normally in the cella of a Greek temple the statues were placed opposite the entrance, so that the sacred image could be observed by the worshippers.[47] There are, however, many examples of temples which present a different arrangement, especially in those built in the archaic period. For instance, some cases of cellas with off-axis basis can be found at Dreros, in the temple of Apollo Delphinios, which dates to the second half of the 8th century BC, where the stone base on which the Delphic Triad stood was located in the south-east corner of the cella.[48] Also in the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia in Kroton, the base within the edifice B (phase II: second half of the 6th sectury BC) was placed to the west of the central line of the building.[49] Other examples of off-axis pedestals from the archaic age can be found in the *Athenaion* of Kos and in the *Heraion* of Samos (phase I).[50] The case of the Temple of Apollo in Mitropolis (Karditsa) in Thessaly is particularly significant: surprisingly the rectangular base of the bronze statue of Apollo found *in situ* was positioned along the centre line of the cella, half hidden by the columns that formed the two naves of the temple.[51] Taking into account these comparisons, it seems reasonable that the irregular position of the base depends on the antiquity of the layout.

The Building Opposite of the Doric Temple: The So-Called Heroon

At a distance of one metre from the façade of the Doric Temple there is a rectangular enclosed area in *opus incertum* of 5.70 x 6.97 m (*fig. 7*). On the north side of the enclosure there is an entrance with a threshold in volcanic rock. Inside the structure the remains of an older and smaller enclosure in *opus incertum* of 3.25 x 3.40 m are visible,[52] with lava stones fixed in the corners. The two stones to the north, which constitute the extremity of the smaller enclosure, are very close to the more recent construction, and block the access to the whole area of the larger enclosure; the space that can be accessed is thus only the space inside the smaller enclosure.

The structure, discovered in April 1796,[53] was identified by F. Studniczka as being a *heroon* built on a more ancient *bothros*,[54] an idea that today researchers still agree on.[55] The excavations carried out in various circumstances inside and around the monument, did not provide informations sufficient to determine the nature of the monument. In fact no significant remains were ever brought to light, with the exception of animal bones.[56] The animal bones can probably be related to the expression 'molti avanzi di cadaveri sepolti' used in his book by the Abbot D. Romanelli, who in 1817 visited Pompeii.[57]

The excavations conducted by A. Maiuri in the Triangular Forum in 1931 did not determine the nature of the edifice either. The map of the trenches of these excavations (*fig. 8*) show that the central space of the structure was not dug up;[58] only a sample was made close to the east side of the enclosure (trench no 19).[59] In this point, 90 cm below ground, a pit full of 'frammenti di tegoli e anfore misti a sfabbricina' that reaches 1.60 m in depth,[60] was found. The opening of three trenches in the area surrounding the monument, along the south, east and west sides (trenches no 3-5), did not yield any better results.[61]

Because of the lack of archaeological evidence, the interpretation of the building as an *heroon* is based on the generic similarity the edifice presents with a tomb inside a funerary enclosure. Although *heroa* vary widely in typology - from an archaeological point of view a *heroon* can be a hypaethral enclosure with one or more shrines and altars[62] or a hypogeic tomb[63] - they are always connected to burials, except in the case of eponymous heroes from mythology.[64] Because Herakles fits precisely in this category, his *heroon* could theoretically be without a burial. The problem is

Fig. 7. The so-called heroon *(after De Waele 2001, fig. 417).*

that the alleged *heroon* of Pompeii is also lacking those elements that are functional to the cult, such as drainage channels, culverts and ducts for the outflow of liquid offerings. Furthermore, even if we admit that this material was dispersed, the fact that no votive offerings were ever found in connection to the building is peculiar. These observations make it necessary to reconsider the function of the building.

Due to the absence of further data, the location of the building is fundamental in understanding its function: the position in line with the cella is canonical for an altar.[65] The lava stones with the rounded top, inserted into the ground at a depth of about 30 cm, probably represent the most ancient activity carried out at the site. These stones mark the sacred square area, that was subsequently surrounded by low walls connecting the stones. This little enclosure was then, in an undetermined period of time, included in a bigger enclosure in *opus incertum*, then restored in the Augustan period.[66] The findings of (animal?) bones inside the structure could indicate that sacrifices were carried out in the area, and suggest the enclosure might have been an ash altar.[67] This type of altar consists of the ash-pile, burned animal bones and votive offerings accumulated during the repeated sacrifices.[68] The precarious nature of these installations and the recurring need to preserve the increasing deposits often led to the construction of small containment walls.[69] In the sanctuary of Demeter *Thesmophoros* in Locri Epizefiri the altar of the shrine A (end of the 6th century BC) presents a similar arrangement (*fig. 9*): stones mark the angles of the sacred area, where various surfaces used for the sacrifices have been detected, composed of layers of crushed and burned bones mixed with fragments of pottery. The later construction of enclosures - belonging to two different phases - determined the gradual enlargement of the altar.[70] Also, in the same context the small ash altar (B) presents a double enclosure, the first one composed of tiles stuck in the ground.[71]

As is the case in Locri, often supporting structures were added to the ash altars that were originally composed only of layers of ash and votive materials. The altar of Apollo at Didyma, which dates to the 7th century BC and is described by Pausanias[72] as being an ash altar, from the classical period was enclosed by a wall 7 m in diameter, with two entrances facing each other.[73] The altar of the *Heraion* in Samos, another ash altar according to Pausanias[74] was equipped with a posterior wall to protect it from the wind with two wings in each side.[75] This typology of altar, called *Hofaltar*, is characterized by the inclusion of a heap of ash within an enclosure of variable size, mostly U-shaped,[76] to prevent the burned material from being dispersed; it could also have a decorative function. Furthermore conceptually the altar of the

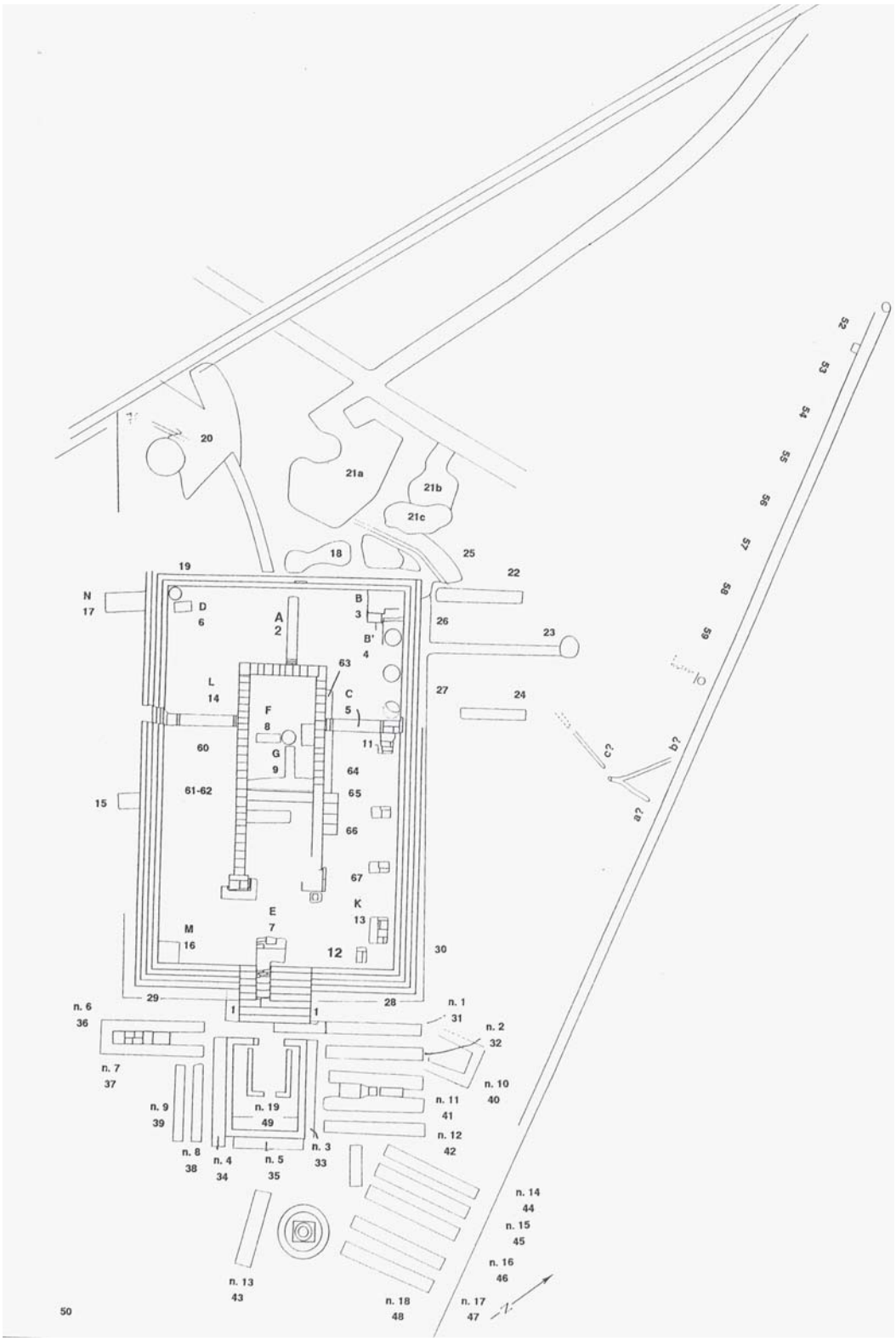

Fig. 8. The Maiuri excavations in the Triangular Forum (after De Waele 2001, tav. 7).

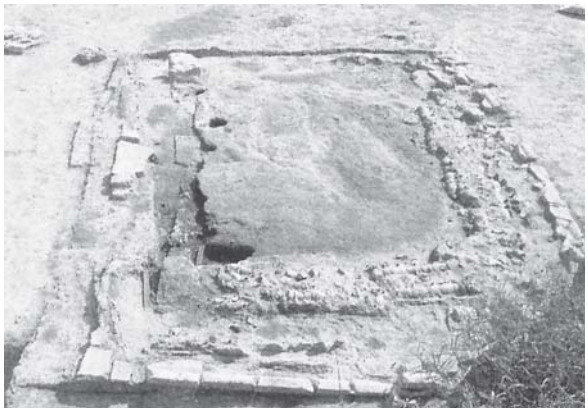

Fig. 9. Ash altar with double enclosure in the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros*. Locri Epizefiri (after Milanesio Macrì 2010, fig. 22.23).*

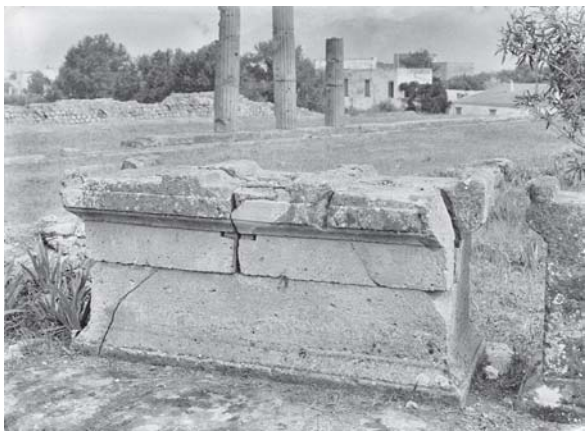

Fig. 10. Tuff altars opposite the Doric Temple (photo D-DAI-Rom 32.1121).

Doric Temple may fall into this category, attributable to a Greek model.

As already underlined, at present it is not possible to clarify the chronology of the altar, which could also predate the Doric Temple. For instance, in the extra-urban *Heraia* at the Foce Sele, Metaponto and Capo Lacinio, the first activity coincides with the erection of rudimentary altars formed by the ashes of the sacrifices.[77] It could also be supposed that the disharmonious relationship between the altar and the temple, being so close to each other, might be the result of different periods of construction. In addition to this altar, gradually monumentalized, three small altars are located in the south west angle of the temple. They might be related to minor cults practiced in the sanctuary, still unknown (*fig. 10*).

FINDINGS

To sum up, on the basis of the data, it is reasonable to conclude that Athena was the only goddess worshipped in the Doric Temple. As stated, the proofs for the presence of a cult of Herakles in the sanctuary are limited to the statuette in bronze found during the excavations in the so-called *ecclesiasterion* of the Temple of Isis outside the temenos of the sanctuary (*fig. 5*).[78] In particular, the bronze statuette was found in layers generically dated to the Hellenistic period. In these layers have been also brought to light votive materials such as miniaturistic vases, tanagrines, loom weights, referred to a previous place of worship.[79] Because this material and its context have not been studied, it is misleading to deduce the presence of a cult on the basis of a single find: all the more so as in central and southern Italy bronze statuettes of Herakles are common in private contexts, in burials as well as in sanctuaries dedicated to other divinities.[80] Furthermore the chronology of the manufact, which could be as late as the 2nd-1st century BC,[81] makes plausible a connection with the Palestra Sannitica: it was a gymnasium built at the beginning of the 2nd century BC by Vibius Adiranus for the local institution of the Oscan youth called *vereiia*.[82] Since Herakles was usually in connection with the gymnasium, the bronze statuette could be in relation with it.

In closing, the lack of data referring to Herakles, together with observations relating to topography, call into question the interpretation of the Triangular Forum as a sanctuary linked to trade. It is commonly believed[83] that the sanctuary was founded in connection to the trading activities in the area in which various routes came together and directed on one side the mouth of the river Sarno, and in the other side to the *Herculis* saltworks.[84] In this perspective the sanctuary would constitute the terminal of the Via Consolare (the salt road), which joined Pompeii to the saltworks of Herakles passing through the *Porta Salis* identified with Porta Ercolano on the basis of Oscan inscriptions.[85]

The idea of a connection between the Via Consolare and the sanctuary is not supported by any topographical evidence: the natural outlet of this road is in fact the civil Forum. It is the most suitable space for the trade of cattle and wool, as well as being strongly linked to the commerce of salt.[86] Considering its topographical marginality, the santuary, isolated on the terrace of the Triangular Forum, is not likely to have been a strategic hub. However, the complex might have assumed the

role of sacred landmark in connection to coastal and inland navigation, like the sanctuary of Athena at Punta della Campanella.

In the absence of new archaeological data, therefore, the presence of a public cult of Herakles in Pompeii remains an unresolved problem.

Notes

1 Plin. *HN* 32.17.
2 Camardo 1998, 100, figs 3-6, who dates these finds to the 1st century AD.
3 Camardo/Ferrara 1990, 172. Different opinion in Murolo 1995, 122 n. 141.
4 Regarding the recent investigations on the localisation of the saltworks see Ciarallo et al. 2007. For a more generic overview see Maiuri 1959, 79-81; Murolo 1995, 117-122.
5 Columella *Rust*. 10.135.
6 Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.100.
7 Strab. 4.4.8; Dion. Hal. 1.44.1; Mart. 4.44.6; Stat. *Silv*. 5.4.164-165.
8 For the legend of the foundation of Pompeii see: Solin. 2.5; Serv. *Aen*. 7.662; Mart. Cap. 6.642; Isid. *Etym*. 15.51.
9 On the labours of Herakles in Italy see Capdeville 1999, p. 29 n. 1. In Campania the foundation of Bacoli (Serv. *Aen*. 6.107) and of Naples (Lyc. 717) are also attributed to Herakles.
10 On the etymology of the toponym Pompeii, see Maiuri 1960, 309.
11 On this theme see Coralini 2001.
12 See especially: Sogliano 1937, 105-106; Trotta 1991, 282; d'Agostino 1997, 61; 2001, 146; Rescigno 1998, 295; Pesando 2000, 161-162; Coarelli 2001; 2002, 80-81; Barnabei 2007, 30-34. The presence of Herakles is considered questionable in: Cristofani 1991, 35; Murolo 1995, 121; Coralini 2001, 27; De Waele 2001, 312, 314; D'Alessio 2009, 34, 112.
13 This material cosists of an arc fibula with knobs, two fragments of geometric pottery and a bronze statuette of a human figure. See Dall'Osso 1905. The excavation diaries are published in De Waele 2001, 339-340.
14 d'Agostino 2001, 133-136, of which only the *geison* remains.
15 De Waele 2001, 335.
16 Pesando 2011, 22.
17 De Waele 2001, 120-127.
18 d'Agostino 2001, 136-146.
19 The presence of the hind has led many researchers to hypothesise that one of the scenes represented might be the capture of the Ceryneian hind: Sogliano 1937, 102; see also Riemann 1975, 228.
20 Lulof 2001, 197-219, with the interpretation of the couple as being Satyr-Menad or Herakles-Athena. The late-archaic terracottas include also three fragments of a shield. See Danner 2011.
21 d'Agostino 2001, 146; Coarelli 2002, 79.
22 Lulof 2001, 219.
23 Scatozza Höricht 2001, 223-225.
24 Valeri 2010, 432. *Contra* Scatozza Höricht 2001, 232; see also Pesando 2008, 227-229.
25 Vetter 1953, no 27. The text of the inscription is: *eksuk. amvíannud/ eítuns. amp(er)t tríbud/ túv(tíkad). amp(er)t. mener(vas)*.
26 The term indicates a series of Oscan inscriptions of the Sullan period, see Antonini 2007.
27 De Waele 2001, 312-313.
28 The majority of the materials has been gathered in the excavations carried out in the north-western corner of the Triangular Forum, published in D'Alessio 2001 and 2005. The excavations conducted by A. Maiuri between 1901 and 1931 brought to light, among other things, small Hellenistic statuettes in terracotta. For further informations on this material see D'Ambrosio/Borriello 1990.
29 D'Alessio 2001; 2009, 32-33. For the *louteria* see Fergola/Scatozza Höricht 2001-2002.
30 D'Ambrosio/Borriello 1990, 52, no 106, tav. 17.
31 D'Alessio 2001, 87, tav. 16-17. For these statuettes see D'Ambrosio/Borriello 1990, 32, no. 35-36, tav. 9. The same type has been found in the Athenaion of Punta della Campanella, see Russo 1990, 235-239. In the votive deposit of Privati is present a similar type without patera and small pillar: Miniero 2002, 20, fig. 11.
32 See Coarelli 2002, 81.
33 Varone 1989, 229, fig. 6; see also Varone/Iorio 2005, 392.
34 Mura Sommella 1977a, 9-126; Mura Sommella 1977b, 3-15; see also Lulof 2000, 207-208, fig. 1. For an up to date debate on the sacred area of Sant'Omobono, with particular reference to the archaic period, see Adornato 2003.
35 Coarelli 1988, 209; Pisani Sartorio 1995, 281-285. Two architectural phases of the archaic period are known, see in detail Colonna 1991, 51-59.
36 Colonna 2000, 283-291.
37 Lulof 1997, 88-89, figs 2-3.
38 Also De Waele 2001 312.
39 Identical series come from the Athenaion of Punta della Campanella (Russo 1990, 234, no. 341); from the deposit of Privati (Miniero et al. 1997, 18-19; Miniero 2002, 17-18); from Fratte (Greco/Pontrandolfo 1990, 65, figs 69-70, 73-74); Pontecagnano (Cerchiai 1984, 250) and Ischia (Scatozza Höricht 2001, 225, n. 483).
40 Miniero 2002, 20.
41 Miniero 2002, 27.
42 De Waele 2001, 110.
43 Sogliano 1890, 198-200.
44 Sogliano 1937, 101-103. Previously the researcher had attributed the temple to Apollo and Artemis: Sogliano 1886, 58; 1890, 198.
45 See, for example, La Rocca/De Vos 2002, 150; Barnabei 2007, 22.
46 Coarelli 1980, 117; 2002, 79.
47 De Angeli 1997, 388-389.
48 Lippolis et al. 2007, 758, no. 30.7.
49 Lippolis et al. 2007, 779, no. 33.2.1.1.
50 Lippolis et al. 2007, 731-732, no. 28.1.2; 744-746, no 28.6.2.1.
51 Lippolis et al. 2007, 509, no 4.5.
52 Guzzo 2007, 103 suggests dating it to the 3rd-2nd century BC.
53 Fiorelli 1860, I, 2, 64. In the La Vega diaries there is no reference to the monument (Pagano 1997, 140).
54 Studniczka 1903, 155-159.
55 See, for example, De Waele 2001, 321; Coarelli 2001, 98; 2002, 79; La Rocca/De Vos 2002, 150; Barnabei 2007, 32; D'Alessio 2009, 32.
56 Mau/Drexel 1913, 26; for the Maiuri excavations, see De Waele 2001, 321, 351.
57 Romanelli 1817, 182. These materials could also be bones of victims of the 79 AD eruption.
58 Since October 2015, new archaeological excavations are being conducted in this place by Superintendency of Pompeii.

[59] De Waele 2001, 351.
[60] De Waele 2001, 351.
[61] De Waele 2001, 349.
[62] An interesting example, recently identified, is the *heroon* of Hippolytus in Troizen; see Saporiti 2003.
[63] See for instance the case of Poseidonia, where the *heroon* is shaped like a hypogeic tomb with a double pitched roof: Mertens 2006, 166-167, figs 288-289; Lippolis et al. 2007, 795, no 33.9.2.2.
[64] According to the classification of Mazarakis Ainian 1999, who made a distinction between: cult of heroes which took shape in the sites of prehistoric burials; cults of eponymous pagan heroes from epic poems; and cults established to honour a deceased person from a high social rank.
[65] As stated in Coarelli 2002, 79; Guzzo 2007, 103, n. 594.
[66] De Waele 2001, 321; see also Pesando 2000, 172; Guzzo 2007, 103. In the absence of stratigraphic data it is not possible to determine with more certainty the construction phases of the two enclosures.
[67] Guzzo 2007, 103-104 speaks of an altar-bothros with a possible oracular function linked to the cult of Herakles.
[68] Sfameni 2002.
[69] Sfameni 2002, 38-39.
[70] Milanesio Macrì 2010, 335.
[71] Milanesio Macrì 2010, 335.
[72] Paus. 5.13.11.
[73] Sahin 1972, 25-28; Sfameni 2002, 34-35, fig. 9.
[74] Paus. 5.13.8.
[75] Sahin 1972, 44-58, figs 9-10; Sfameni 2002, 32-34, fig. 8.
[76] Sahin 1972, 59-60 This category of altars also includes altars with lythic platform placed inside the enclosure; see for example the Hellenistic altar in the Asklepieion of Agrigento: De Miro 2003, 54-55. In the history of the studies of Greek altars various classification systems have been proposed: fundamental to this is Yavis 1949. An up-to-date typological system is proposed in Cassimatis et al. 1991, 272-273.
[77] Greco 1998, 47-48.
[78] Varone 1989, 229, fig. 6; see also Varone/Iorio 2005, 392.
[79] Varone/Iorio 2005, 392.
[80] Van Wonterghem 1992, 319-351.
[81] Coralini 2001, 29, n. 104.
[82] On the epigraph see Vetter 1953, n. 11; Poccetti 1982. On the Palestra Sannitica see Avagliano 2013, 75-79.
[83] Coarelli 2001, 98.
[84] De Caro 1992b, 71, n. 20; Coarelli 2001; Barnabei 2007, 31.
[85] The name appears in the inscriptions: Vetter 1953, no 23-24. On the identification of *Veru Sarinu* with the *Porta Salis* see Poccetti 1986, 58-60.
[86] Murolo 1995, 108-109.

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Il lavoro degli anonimi
Lo status quaestionis *delle ricerche sull'operato dei pittori romani*

Domenico Esposito

Abstract

Systematic study of the activities of painters' workshops is of great importance, not just because it sheds light on how ancient paintings were produced but because it adds to our understanding of the socio-economic system that underpinned this type of production. On a strictly economic level, its huge scale is clear and it can be characterized as a form of 'mass production'. The examples from Pompeii and Herculaneum demonstrate that painters' workshops were organized as big businesses, run by redemptores*, perhaps in the employ of socially and politically influential* patroni*. Since they were big businesses, these workshops used numerous teams of decorators capable either of working together on the site of a large public building or separately on multiple sites. At a local level these painters' workshops were able to control large parts of the market, to continually secure new commissions. More rarely these workshops were able to function on a regional or inter-regional basis.*

> *Così il lavoro dei frescanti (o, meglio, della bottega cui essi appartenevano) procedeva secondo modi razionalizzati, quasi industrializzati, con una suddivisione assai precisa sia dei tempi, sia dei partecipanti […] La bottega procedeva quindi nel suo lavoro non già affidandosi di volta in volta a soluzioni casuali ed improvvisate, ma secondo precise norme di distribuzione del lavoro e di specializzazione. (*Federico Zeri, Introduzione al volume di B. Zanardi, Il Cantiere di Giotto. Le Storie di san Francesco ad Assisi, Milano 1996.)

Introduzione

Il presente contributo si propone di fare il punto della situazione sul recente dibattito sull'operato delle officine pittoriche del mondo romano, con particolare riferimento all'evidenza delle cittadine vesuviane.

Nel 1995 escono, a cura di Eric Moormann, gli atti del convegno 'Mani di pittori e botteghe pittoriche nel mondo romano',[1] il cui dibattito, incentrato sulla questione dell'organizzazione del lavoro dei pittori, segna un importante punto di svolta nell'approccio alla pittura romana.

In ambito archeologico, la tematica della produzione della pittura romana era stata affrontata, fino ad allora, in una prospettiva esclusivamente storico artistica, intenta ad individuare, attraverso un'analisi puramente stilistica delle opere, personalità artistiche, 'maestri', applicando, impropriamente, ad una realtà prettamente artigianale, quale quella del mondo romano e antico in generale, un modello mutuato dalla *connoisseurship* dell'arte medievale e rinascimentale.[2]

Con il convegno il focus dell'indagine si sposta sul tema dell'organizzazione del lavoro dei pittori, aprendo la strada ad un approccio di tipo socio-economico alla questione, che è quello su cui si muove la ricerca attuale.[3] Riguardo al tema, sono emerse dal convegno due linee interpretative differenti, che si fondano sulla possibilità o meno di identificare le cosiddette 'botteghe' o 'officine' pittoriche;[4] possibilità, che, in assenza di qualsiasi evidenza documentaria diretta, può solo fondarsi sull'analisi del prodotto finito, in questo caso la decorazione parietale. La prima è a sostegno di un'organizzazione professionale a struttura fissa, costituita da pittori abituati a lavorare stabilmente insieme, disposti ad ampliare il proprio staff solo eccezionalmente, in caso di commesse di particolare impegno.[5] Una seconda linea, invece, propone un modello dinamico: singoli artigiani, che collaborano tra loro, raggruppandosi di volta in volta in gruppi sciolti, in base alla committenza da svolgere.[6]

Chi scrive è a sostegno della possibilità di ricondurre la produzione pittorica all'attività di organizzazioni professionali stabili, le cosiddette 'officine'. Tale prospettiva di ricerca è, dunque, finalizzata alla ricostruzione di un sistema di produzione, ovvero quello delle decorazioni parietali, che può a pieno titolo definirsi di massa, attraverso l'identificazione e la ricostruzione

Fig. 1. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete est, zona mediana: sinopia degli scorci architettonici (foto autore).

Fig. 2. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete sud, zona mediana: dettaglio di un candelabro vegetale, sul quale si stavano eseguendo le politiones *(foto autore).*

dell'organizzazione del lavoro delle officine pittoriche e, di conseguenza, delle dinamiche socio-economiche tra committenti e pittori.

Vista l'abbondanza del materiale a disposizione, sono state prese in considerazione, come *case study*, le decorazioni parietali dell'epoca del IV stile a Pompei e ad Ercolano. L'analisi svolta ha consentito di riconoscere e di inquadrare nel dettaglio due officine pittoriche - quella dei Vettii[7] e quella di via di Castricio[8] - che hanno lavorato diffusamente a Pompei per un arco di tempo piuttosto lungo, circa venticinque anni, ovvero dagli anni Cinquanta al 79 d.C. Nella stessa Pompei è stato possibile riconoscere anche una terza officina, che è stata attiva soprattutto nella fase di passaggio tra III e IV stile.[9] Ad Ercolano, invece, sembra essere stata attiva un'unica grande officina, che ha lavorato in quasi tutti i complessi ercolanesi, sia pubblici che privati, sempre nella fase del IV stile, adattandosi a livelli di committenza molto differenti, per gusto e possibilità economiche.[10] Sempre ad Ercolano è attestata la presenza di un'officina pittorica di livello molto alto che, nell'epoca del III Stile, ha decorato il sacello A sulla marina[11] e probabilmente alcuni complessi privati.[12] La stessa officina sembra essere attiva in un ambito regionale perché la sua attività è attestata anche a Pompei.[13]

Da un punto di vista metodologico, l'identificazione di un'officina pittorica si fonda su un lavoro di analisi incrociata tra più elementi, al fine di individuare delle associazioni costanti, riconducibili all'attività di uno o più artigiani che collaborino stabilmente all'interno dell'officina.[14] L'analisi sistemica delle decorazioni punta a rintracciare tutte quelle caratteristiche che possono costituire delle costanti ricollegabili all'attività di una determinata officina. Gli aspetti che vengono considerati sono i seguenti: 1) tecnica di esecuzione della parete; 2) schemi decorativi derivati da un repertorio di modelli appannaggio del gruppo di pittori; 3) dettagli ricorrenti, che possono essere considerati dei *markers*; 4) il riconoscimento di eventuali mani di pittori e l'associazione costante, quando non esclusiva, di queste

ultime in determinati contesti decorati da una stessa officina.[15]

Su ognuno di questi aspetti esiste già una lunga tradizione di studi,[16] che ha portato a costruire una tassonomia dei vari aspetti legati alla realizzazione di una decorazione parietale. L'elemento di novità del presente studio consiste tuttavia nel combinare insieme tutti questi approcci, cercando di rintracciare delle caratteristiche comuni che rimandino all'attività e alla prassi giornaliera del lavoro di una officina.[17]

I tempi di realizzazione di una decorazione pittorica

La realizzazione di una decorazione pittorica nella tecnica ad affresco richiedeva tempi di esecuzione relativamente rapidi, per cui era necessario un forte affiatamento professionale tra le figure coinvolte nel cantiere di decorazione e, allo stesso tempo, una chiara ripartizione dei ruoli e delle competenze.[18]

A questo proposito, risulta esemplare il cantiere di decorazione rinvenuto nell'ambiente (12) della Casa dei Pittori al lavoro (IX 12, 9) a Pompei.[19] La stanza, in corso di restauro al momento dell'eruzione del 79 d.C., permette di osservare le varie operazioni e fasi di realizzazione di una decorazione parietale: la preparazione della calce e dell'intonaco, la stesura del *tectorium* e dei colori di fondo, la realizzazione di sinopie e disegni preparatori, l'esecuzione di tutti i dettagli della decorazione e dei quadri figurati, la realizzazione delle sovra dipinture a fresco-secco, le operazioni di levigatura (*politiones*) necessarie per far aderire perfettamente i diversi strati di colore alla parete. Gli artigiani impegnati nella decorazione di questa stanza dovevano essere quattro, coadiuvati da almeno due assistenti. Un primo pittore stava dipingendo gli elaborati scorci architettonici della zona mediana della parete est (*fig. 1*); in particolare il pittore aveva realizzato una sinopia in ocra gialla, su una base realizzata mediante disegno graffito con riga, squadra e cordini, sulla quale stava dipingendo i diversi dettagli dello schema architettonico. Un secondo pittore stava realizzando delle sovra dipinture a fresco-secco di alcuni elementi figurati della decorazione della zona mediana, nel tratto est della parete sud (*fig. 2*). Un terzo pittore stava realizzando il quadro mitologico al centro della zona mediana della parete nord (*fig. 3*). Un quarto decoratore aveva steso l'intonachino

Fig. 3. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete nord, zona mediana: quadro in corso di esecuzione. In basso è visibile la sinopia in ocra gialla; in alto, il pittore aveva già cominciato a stendere i colori (foto autore).

in corrispondenza della zona mediana nell'angolo nord-ovest della stanza e verosimilmente si accingeva a stendere il colore di fondo (*fig. 4*). Uno o due assistenti erano invece addetti alla preparazione della calce utilizzata sia per il *tectorium* che dell'intonachino lungo le pareti. Come dimostrato dall'evidenza del contesto di scavo, tutti gli artigiani erano impegnati contemporaneamente nella realizzazione dei diversi elementi della decorazione, suddividendosi razionalmente i compiti e contenendo, quindi, i tempi di esecuzione.[20]

All'interno del salone ogni parete presenta una tripartizione orizzontale in tre grandi pontate, corrispondenti al registro superiore, alla zona mediana e allo zoccolo. Dall'osservazione generale delle giunzioni tra le diverse sezioni di intonaco dipinte all'interno di ciascuna pontata è possibile isolare le diverse 'giornate' realizzate e ancora da realizzare per ciascuna parete,[21] per un totale di circa 57 giornate.

Come si è detto sopra, in questa stanza uno degli assistenti stava ultimando la stesura dell'arriccio e dell'intonachino e si apprestava a stendere il colore di fondo su due porzioni di zona mediana, in corrispondenza dell'angolo nord-ovest della stanza. Nel frattempo un decoratore più esperto stava dipingendo, a fresco-secco, le figurazioni delle predelle della parete sud, che risultano ancora incomplete, così come non ancora complete risultano le predelle dei settori già ultimati della zona mediana della parete est. È naturale aspettarsi che questi elementi sarebbero stati ultimati il giorno stesso, visto che non si sarebbe potuto aspettare molto tempo prima che l'intonaco asciugasse. Sarebbe dunque semplicistico far corrispondere ad ogni giornata pittorica una giornata effettiva di lavoro eseguita da un singolo pittore. Si deve invece pensare che uno stesso pittore abbia potuto eseguire, in alcuni casi, più giornate insieme in un solo giorno di lavoro. Ai tempi di realizzazione dell'affresco in sé va poi aggiunto quello necessario a pareggiare le irregolarità delle pareti e a stendere l'intonaco del *tectorium*, operazione questa che avviene spesso in contemporanea al lavoro di decorazione vero e proprio. Infine va considerato il tempo necessario a realizzare i disegni di progetto in scala da trasporre poi sulle pareti, come dimostrano la sinopia degli scorci architettonici sulla parete est, quella del quadro mitologico sulla parete sud e le linee di incisione graffite ancora leggibili intorno alle figure di fanciulli delle predelle della zona mediana della parete nord, che tuttavia denunciano un'esecuzione molto rapida e con molti dettagli eseguiti spesso direttamente a mano libera dal pittore.

Fig. 4. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete nord, tratto ovest, zona mediana: pannello, sul quale si stata realizzando la stesura dell'arriccio (foto autore).

Considerando, dunque, tutte le operazioni necessarie alla realizzazione degli affreschi, si può ragionevolmente arguire che per la decorazione dell'ambiente (12) della Casa dei Pittori al lavoro sarebbero stati necessari circa 25-30 giorni, tra progettazione dello schema decorativo, preparazione della parete, esecuzione degli affreschi e delle rifiniture a fresco-secco e levigature finali.

Per avere un termine di confronto di scala maggiore, per l'intera Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1.27), considerando soltanto gli ambienti decorati dall'officina eponima (a, b, c, e, f, g, k, l, n, p, q, s, t), si possono stimare approssimativamente 420 giornate pittoriche, ad eccezione delle controsoffittature dipinte che non ci sono pervenute; per cui si possono stimare circa 7/10 mesi di lavoro di cantiere. Dagli esempi sopra citati risulta chiaro che anche decorazioni di grande impegno richiedessero, per le modalità stesse in cui venivano realizzate, tempi di esecuzione relativamente brevi.[22]

La preparazione della parete e gli strumenti di lavoro

Come si è detto sopra per riconoscere l'attività di un'officina pittorica si devono individuare delle costanti nelle varie operazioni necessarie alla realizzazione di una decorazione.

La prima fase è costituita dalla preparazione della parete, che - come si è visto - veniva suddivisa per fasce orizzontali (pontate) e, al loro interno, per sezioni verticali (giornate). La stesura dei vari strati di arriccio sulla parete risponde ad un'esigenza pratica: pareggiare le irregolarità della parete da affrescare, isolare la superficie da dipingere dall'umidità e creare una superficie omogeneamente liscia per la stesura dei colori. Diversi fattori, quindi, possono determinare la variabilità nella stesura del *tectorium*, all'interno della pratica comune del gruppo dei decoratori. La capacità del *tector* di adeguarsi alle esigenze dei decoratori si vede, quindi, non tanto dal fatto che egli realizzi il *tectorium* sempre con le stesse caratteristiche, quanto nell'abilità che egli dimostra nel risolvere i diversi problemi posti dalla parete da affrescare.[23]

Le due officine di pittori attive a Pompei nell'epoca del IV stile, per esempio, mostrano delle caratteristiche molto differenti nella suddivisione della parete e nella stesura e spessore dell'intonaco. In tutte le decorazioni eseguite dall'officina dei Vettii[24] l'intonaco veniva steso sulla parete in tre fasi, corrispondenti all'articolazione orizzontale del sistema decorativo in zoccolo, zona mediana e registro superiore. Quando la parete era molto alta, o quando l'ambiente da decorare era considerato di una certa importanza, potevano essere inseriti altri elementi, come la predella[25] e il fregio,[26] o si poteva reduplicare il registro superiore.[27] All'interno delle singole zone di una parete, a seconda della maggiore o minore complessità dello schema decorativo, si poteva procedere ad ulteriori suddivisioni verticali. Nel salone (12) della Casa dei Pittori al Lavoro, ad esempio, si notano chiaramente delle giunzioni verticali all'interno della zona mediana. Queste indicano la separazione tra gli scorci architettonici, evidentemente un motivo

Fig. 5. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete nord: suddivisione dello schema decorativo per registri orizzontali (registro superiore/zona mediana/zoccolo, non ancora campito) e fasce verticali all'interno di ciascun registro (foto autore).

elaborato, che richiedeva un'esecuzione a parte, ed i pannelli monocromi nei quali si articola la zona mediana (*fig. 5*).[28]

Molto diverse, invece, sono le modalità operative dei decoratori dell'officina di via di Castricio,[29] i quali, contrariamente all'articolazione canonica del sistema decorativo in zoccolo, zona mediana e registro superiore, suddividevano la parete generalmente in due sole pontate, corrispondenti rispettivamente al registro superiore e al settore zoccolo-zona mediana, ed in alcuni casi anche in una sola pontata.[30] Quest'operazione viene eseguita di solito in maniera molto sommaria[31]: le linee di giunzione presentano infatti un andamento irregolare e sfrangiato[32] e spesso in corrispondenza dello zoccolo l'intonaco si spancia verso l'esterno (*fig. 6*).[33]

Fig. 6. Caupona di Euxinus (I 11, 11), ambiente (3), giunzione irregolare tra registro superiore e zona mediana (foto autore).

Dai due esempi sopra citati si deduce che, a prescindere dai condizionamenti particolari che una parete poteva determinare al lavoro dei *tectores*, ogni officina operava in base a delle consuetudini di lavoro che si ripetevano in maniera costante.

Il repertorio decorativo e i dettagli ricorrenti

Un secondo aspetto da considerare è quello del repertorio di schemi ed immagini a disposizione delle officine pittoriche e sulle modalità, con le quali questi venissero utilizzati. Si è generalmente concordi nell'affermare che, nonostante le molte affinità tra i diversi schemi decorativi che in cia-

Fig. 7. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete est, panoramica dello schema decorativo (foto autore).

Fig. 8. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete est, tratto nord: scorci architettonici (foto autore).

Fig. 9. Casa dei Pittori al lavoro, ambiente (12), parete est, tratto centrale: scorci architettonici (foto autore).

scuna epoca si trovano applicati, non esistono due pareti assolutamente identiche in ogni loro dettaglio. Ciò dipende con tutta probabilità dal fatto che i pittori dovevano avere una sorta di obbligo contrattuale, che imponeva loro di variare continuamente il proprio repertorio in base alle richieste specifiche dei committenti.

Ancora una volta è utile citare l'esempio dell'ambiente (12) della Casa dei Pittori al lavoro a Pompei. Sulla parete orientale della sala il sistema decorativo prevedeva tre ampie campiture, a fondo rosso quella centrale, nero quelle laterali, alternate a quattro scorci architettonici a fondo bianco (*fig. 7*). I pittori avevano già realizzato le due coppie di scorci posti alle due estremità della parete, nonché quelli posti a sinistra del pannello centrale rosso (*figg. 8-9*). Al momento dell'eruzione un pittore stava dipingendo il *pendant* a destra del pannello centrale. Nella parte bassa della parete si è conservato, proprio perché la decorazione non è stata ultimata, il disegno preparatorio, molto schematico, tracciato in parte con riga e squadra, in parte a mano libera, con una sinopia in ocra marrone. La parte alta degli scorci, invece, era stata già campita e la si sarebbe ultimata se non fosse sopravvenuta l'eruzione. Per realizzare questi scorci i pittori hanno utilizzato degli schemi parziali, evidentemente presenti nel repertorio dell'officina, ovvero una serie di cartoni o papiri di modelli, che erano stati utilizzati in precedenza anche per la decorazione di altre case pompeiane: nell'ambiente (f) della Casa di D. Octavius Quartio (II 2, 2) e soprattutto nell'ambiente (y) della Casa della Parete nera (VII 4, 59).[34] Il confronto con le pitture dell'ambiente (y) della Casa della Parete nera è molto calzante: gli schemi alla base degli scorci dipinti nei due complessi sono quasi identici (*figg. 10-11*);[35] al di là di un leggero scarto nelle proporzioni, dovuto all'esigenza di adattare lo schema decorativo a stanze di dimensioni diverse, e a piccole differenze nella scelta dei dettagli, dovute alla volontà dei pittori di operare delle varia-

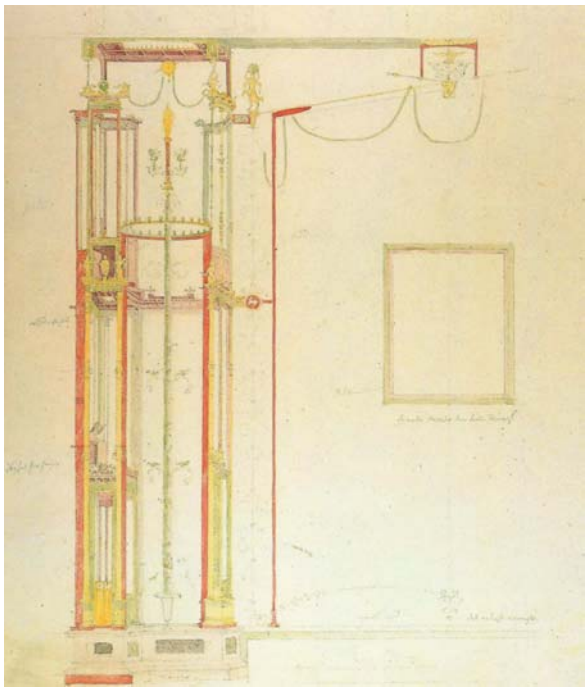

Fig. 10. Casa della Parete Nera, ambiente (y), parete ovest, scorci architettonici (disegno di Hinkler) (foto da Esposito 2009, tav. XXVI.4).

zioni rispetto ad uno schema di base comune, per venire incontro alle richieste specifiche del committente. Se si confronta la decorazione della zona mediana delle pareti lunghe dei due ambienti, si può osservare come i pittori abbiano fatto ricorso allo stesso schema di base, opportunamente variato nei dettagli, in alcune scelte figurative e soprattutto nei colori di fondo della parete. Nell'ambiente (y) della Casa della Parete nera, ad esempio, questo è uniformemente nero, mentre nel salone (12) della Casa dei Pittori al lavoro c'è una vivace alternanza cromatica tra il registro superiore, a fondo bianco, e la zona mediana dove campiture rosse e nere si alternano a scorci architettonici a fondo bianco.[36] Egualmente interessante è lo schema decorativo del portico (1) del Tempio di Iside (VIII 7, 28), che presenta tutta una serie di 'citazioni', sempre con piccole varianti, in diversi complessi pompeiani.[37]

Ogni officina pittorica aveva, dunque, a propria disposizione un determinato repertorio di schemi, immagini e dettagli, spesso parziali e tra loro intercambiabili, in modo da poter essere adattati a contesti decorativi molto diversi tra loro.[38] Questi modelli sono chiaramente derivati da prototipi comuni, evidentemente disponibili sul mercato sia per i pittori, che per altre figure di artigiani[39]

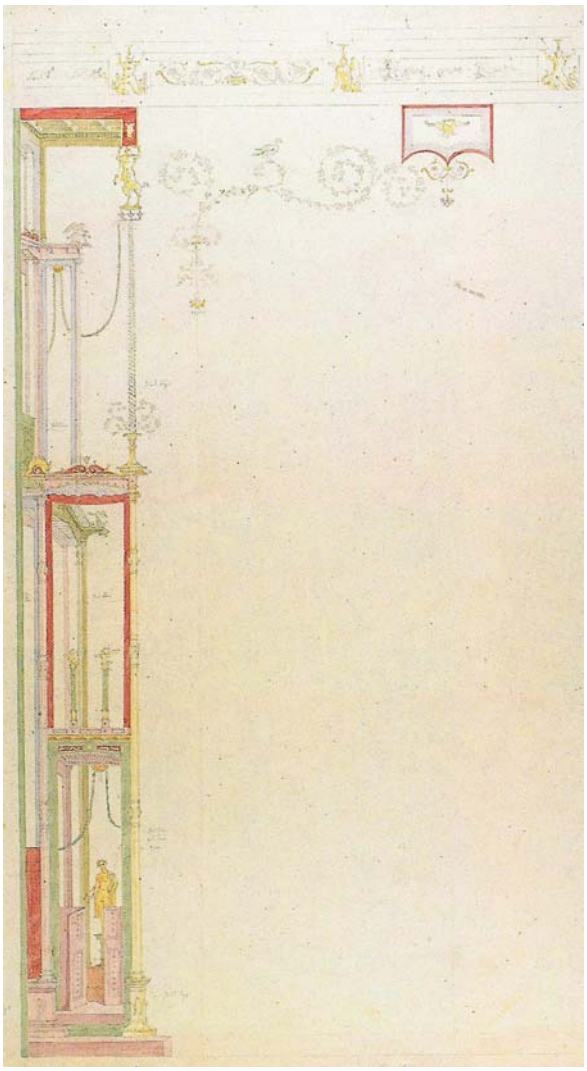

Fig. 11. Casa della Parete Nera, ambiente (y), parete ovest, scorci architettonici (disegno di Hinkler) (foto da Esposito 2009, tav. XXVI.2).

(mosaicisti, stuccatori, scultori etc.); in alcuni casi essi potevano essere anche frutto della creatività e della sperimentazione dei singoli decoratori. Il fatto che essi circolassero non significa, però, che passassero in maniera disinvolta da officina ad officina o da pittore a pittore. Gli schemi proposti dall'officina dei Vettii a Pompei, per esempio, restano appannaggio pressoché esclusivo di questo gruppo di pittori, che ne fanno ampio uso, componendoli di volta in volta con soluzioni nuove, in base alle dimensioni e proporzioni del contesto, nel quale dovevano lavorare e soprattutto alle richieste specifiche dei committenti. È piuttosto improbabile, quindi, che le singole officine fossero disposte a

Fig. 12. Casa di D. Octavius Quartio, ambiente (f), parete nord, dettaglio con coppia di uccelli (foto autore).

Fig. 13. Casa della Venere in Bikini, ambiente (4), parete est, dettaglio con coppia di uccelli (foto autore).

Fig. 14. Casa di D. Octavius Quartio, ambiente (f), parete sud, fascia a grottesca (foto autore).

cedere ad altri il proprio repertorio di schemi e immagini. A Pompei, in più di un caso, l'officina dei pittori di via di Castricio, esibisce un repertorio

Fig. 15. Casa della Venere in Bikini, ambiente (4), parete nord, fascia a grottesca: a sinistra è visibile un errore del pittore che ha dimenticato di dipingere due grifi affrontati ai lati di un kantharos (foto autore).

di immagini e dettagli ornamentali molto limitato e facilmente identificabile, nel quale prevalgono essenzialmente pochi motivi figurati: in genere vignette con uccelli, pavoni in particolare, e quadretti con paesaggi o nature morte. Laddove, però, i pittori di via di Castricio sono stati chiamati a decorare complessi già decorati dall'officina dei Vettii, essi si sono ispirati, o più banalmente hanno copiato, schemi decorativi realizzati dall'officina dei Vettii con esiti, qualitativamente molto differenti. Ciò risulta con particolare evidenza confrontando la decorazione dell'ambiente (f) della Casa di D. Octavius Quartio, eseguita dall'officina dei Vettii, e quella dell'ambiente (d) della stessa casa e dell'ambiente (4) della Casa della Venere in Bikini (I 11, 6), eseguite dall'officina di via di Castricio.[40] Il confronto tra le tre decorazioni rivela, già ad un primo sguardo, che il repertorio di motivi decorativi adottato dai pittori di via di Castricio si ispira, sia nell'insieme della composizione, sia nei dettagli, allo schema adottato dall'officina dei Vettii. Tuttavia i pittori di via di Castricio denotano una minore maestria nella resa dei dettagli e in alcuni casi tradiscono una serie di errori e fraintendimenti (*figg. 12-15*). Lo stesso discorso, del resto, può essere fatto anche per gli elementi figurati, come i quadri posti al centro delle pareti, spesso replicati attingendo a album di modelli che contenevano scene intere, o singole figure. L'evidenza archeologica dimostra che, anche quando due pittori disponessero dello stesso modello, all'atto della trasposizione sulla parete dello schema figurativo l'esito poteva variare sensibilmente in base alle richieste specifiche del committente, alla funzione dell'ambiente da decorare e soprattutto alle capacità arti-

stiche dell'artigiano, come dimostrano gli esempi dei quadri con Teseo e Arianna e Marte e Venere dalla Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto (V 4, a.11) e le rispettive repliche dalla Caupona di Sotericus (I 12, 3) e dalla Casa I 7, 19 a Pompei.[41]

Il *modus operandi* dei pittori

Un aspetto molto interessante, sul quale di recente si è posta molta attenzione da parte degli studiosi, è quello della possibile esistenza di strumenti di ausilio tecnico, o di procedimenti di trasposizione meccanica utilizzati dai pittori per eseguire particolari secondari delle figurazioni dipinte, oppure i quadri figurati.[42] Irene Bragantini ha messo a confronto le pitture del cubicolo (M) della villa di Fannius Synistor a Boscoreale con quelle dell'*oecus corynthius* (43) della Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 9-10) a Pompei.[43] Le due figurazioni sono tratte sicuramente dagli stessi modelli, ma i due disegni risultano sovrapponibili soltanto per gruppi di dettagli e non nell'insieme. Questa circostanza permetterebbe di ipotizzare l'esistenza di modelli parziali che potessero essere composti insieme a formare composizioni più ampie.[44]

I sistemi di riproduzione seriale delle immagini potevano essere di diverso tipo. Nell'atrio della Villa A di Oplontis è stata rinvenuta una sinopia con quadrettatura utilizzata dai pittori per realizzare in scala, partendo da un modello di piccole dimensioni, una composizione architettonica di II Stile[45] (*fig. 16*). Analogamente nel cubicolo (k) della Casa di Cerere (I 9, 13) a Pompei si conserva la sinopia di un capitello corinzieggiante utilizzato dal pittore come modello per dipingere dei capitelli sulle pareti della stessa stanza (*fig. 17*).[46]

I numerosi dettagli di uno schema decorativo di IV stile potevano essere eseguiti mediante incisioni graffite nell'intonaco ancora fresco.[47] Queste incisioni possono essere di due tipi: 1) incisioni dirette[48], ovvero disegni tracciati a mano libera dal decoratore incidendo direttamente con uno strumento appuntito l'intonaco fresco, al fine di delineare il contorno o dettagli del contorno delle figure; 2) incisioni indirette,[49] realizzate mediante una serie di membrane o 'cartoni', derivati dai disegni di progetto concordati col committente, che, applicati direttamente sull'intonaco ancora fresco, permettevano di tracciare le linee di contorno di dettagli decorativi o elementi figurati.

Recentemente Angelea Malgieri[50] ha focalizzato la propria attenzione proprio sulle tracce di incisioni e disegni preparatori degli elementi figurati nelle decorazioni di III e IV stile, prendendo come campione di studio le 'figure volanti', isolate o in coppia, dipinte al centro della zona mediana.[51] Le tecniche utilizzate per realizzare queste figure sono essenzialmente le incisioni dirette, normalmente

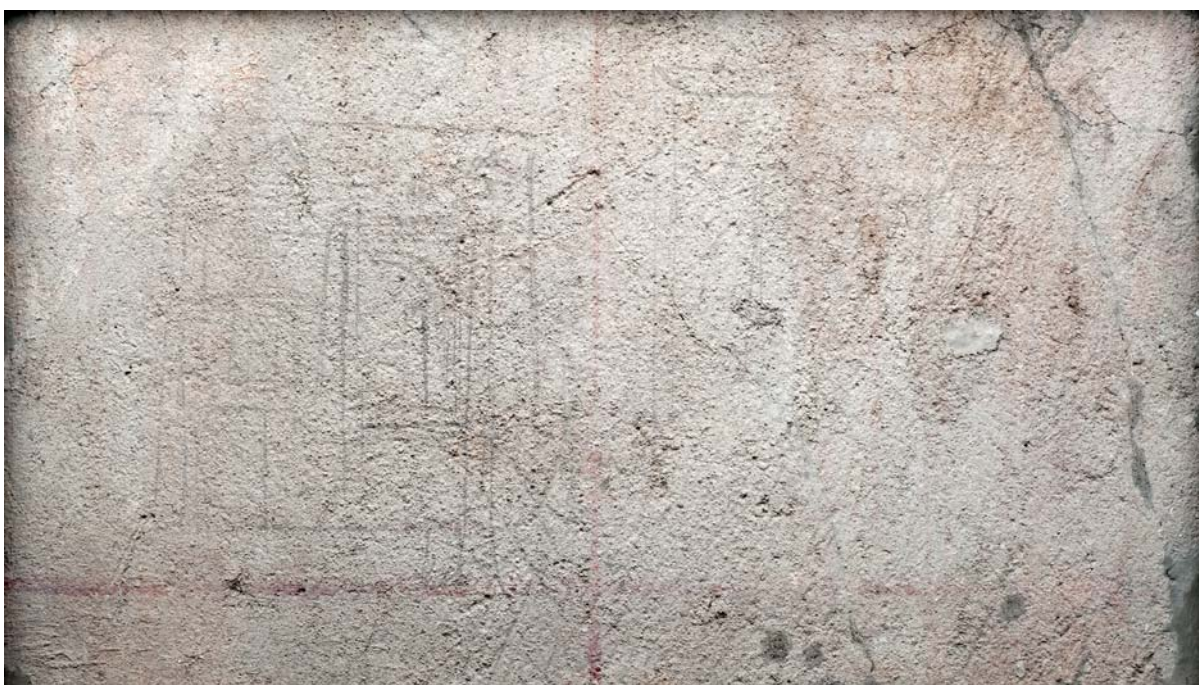

Fig. 16. Oplontis, Villa A, atrio (5), sinopia su quadrettatura (foto da La pittura pompeiana, Napoli 2008, p. 106, n. 5).

Fig. 17. Casa di Cerere (I 9, 13), cubicolo (k), parete sud, sinopia di un capitello corinzieggiante (foto autore).

parziali, e quelle indirette, eseguite cioè mediante l'ausilio di sagome, che permettono di delineare l'intero contorno della figura. Alcune di queste figure presentano, oltre alle incisioni, dei disegni preparatori, anche questi parziali, che permettono di delineare dettagli significativi della figura che ci si accinge a dipingere. Alcuni esempi dimostrano che i pittori hanno utilizzato in alcuni casi la stessa sagoma, con una leggera inclinazione, oppure ribaltata, per ottenere delle figure che avessero le stesse dimensioni e proporzioni, ma atteggiamenti diversi, in maniera da ottenere figure sempre diverse.[52]

Anche se i pittori ricorrevano ad incisioni preparatorie graffite, che dessero le linee guida del disegno da realizzare, o a veri e propri strumenti, come sagome o mascherine, per tracciare il contorno delle figure, la maggior parte degli elementi decorativi veniva tuttavia eseguita a mano libera. Il confronto tra la sinopia degli scorci architettonici dipinti sulla parete est del salone (12) della Casa dei Pittori al lavoro e gli scorci già realizzati

Fig. 18. Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, ambiente (32), parete est, colomba (foto autore).

Fig. 19. Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, ambiente (31), parete sud, colomba (foto autore).

sulla stessa parete, dimostra chiaramente che gli artigiani non abbisognavano necessariamente di un disegno molto dettagliato, ma spesso soltanto delle linee guida principali, lasciando poi alla maestria dell'artigiano l'esecuzione dei dettagli. Anche nel caso delle figure, il cui contorno è stato realizzato mediante delle sagome, la resa finale poteva essere molto diversa, in base alla mano del decoratore. È il caso delle due figure di colombe[53] dipinte rispettivamente sulla parete est dell'ambiente (32) e sulla parete sud dell'ambiente (31) della Casa del Bracciale d'Oro a Pompei, le quali, nonostante siano state ricavate dalla stessa silhouette, mostrano una resa stilistica completamente differente e presuppongono l'esecuzione per mano di due diversi pittori (*figg. 18-19*).

Il riconoscimento delle mani dei pittori

Il riconoscimento delle mani dei pittori costituisce un punto delicato, sul quale ancora vi è un forte scetticismo da parte di alcuni studiosi, i quali ritengono che questo approccio focalizzi troppo l'attenzione su presunte personalità artistiche, o comunque di singole figure di artigiani, che potevano anche operare singolarmente al di fuori del contesto dell'officina pittorica.[54] Nella prospettiva di ricerca di chi scrive, invece, il riconoscimento delle mani dei pittori costituisce un ulteriore livello di analisi, volto a riconoscere delle costanti nell'organizzazione dell'officina, ovvero se al suo interno il gruppo di pittori fosse stabile, o se variasse a seconda delle commissioni.[55] Valga per tutti l'esempio dei due decoratori principali dell'officina dei Vettii, già identificati in passato dal Richardson come 'Io Painter' e 'Dioscuri Painter'.[56] Dall'analisi dettagliata delle decorazioni parietali della Casa dei Vettii è emerso che i due pittori hanno lavorato insieme alla realizzazione di tutte le parti ornamentali, ma anche dei molti elementi figurati della decorazione (*fig. 20*). Un punto molto importante è che gli stessi pittori hanno realizzato anche i quadri mitologici degli ambienti (e) ed (n). Appare chiaro, quindi, che i due pittori fossero in grado di eseguire sia gli elementi decorativi accessori, che gli elementi figurati e addirittura i quadri mitologici. Solo in due casi - nel salone (q) e nel triclinio (p) essi si limitano a realizzare il sistema decorativo e gli elementi ornamentali accessori, lasciando ad altri pittori la realizzazione dei quadri mitologici. Il due pittori hanno lavorato, singolarmente o in coppia, praticamente in tutti i complessi decorati dall'officina dei Vettii,[57] mentre non compaiono mai nei complessi non decorati dall'officina dei Vettii. Anche edifici molto importanti o a destinazione pubblica, come l'edificio di Moregine,[58] il Tempio di Iside[59] e il Macellum,[60] sono stati interamente decorati da questi due pittori. Solo in alcuni casi i due decoratori principali dell'officina dei Vettii hanno lavorato all'intera decorazione di una stanza, lasciando l'esecuzione dei quadri mitologici ad un altro pittore[61] specializzato nella realizzazione di grandi quadri mitologici,[62] o predisponendo la parete all'inserimento di tavole eseguite a studio e poi inserite nella parete. Allo stato attuale della ricerca non è dato sapere se i pittori che realizzavano i quadri mitologici fossero o meno degli artigiani liberi e se venissero contrattati direttamente dal committente o attraverso la mediazione del *redemptor* dell'officina dei Vettii.[63]

Ben più articolata sembra essere stata la struttura dell'officina dei Pittori di Via di Castricio. Quest'officina possedeva un repertorio di schemi decorativi piuttosto semplice e standardizzato, che riproponeva generalmente con una certa ripetitività, con poche varianti cromatiche, con un numero limitato di elementi decorativi accessori. Scarsissima è l'associazione di quadri figurati a questi schemi decorativi molto semplici. I quadri, infatti, sono sostituiti generalmente da *pinakes* e medaglioni con paesaggi, nature morte, animali, attributi divini, etc. Il lavoro volto al riconoscimento delle mani dei pittori ha permesso, in ogni caso, di confermare che il nucleo di pittori di cui si componeva l'officina di Via di Castricio era composto da un nucleo fisso di decoratori.[64] Tra i decoratori di cui si componeva l'officina non com-

Fig. 20. Casa dei Vettii, due quadri mitologici eseguiti dal cosiddetto 'Dioscuri Painter': a sinistra, triclinio (q), parete est, Apollo; a destra, triclinio (p), parete nord, dettaglio del quadro con Ercole bambino che strozza i serpenti (foto autore).

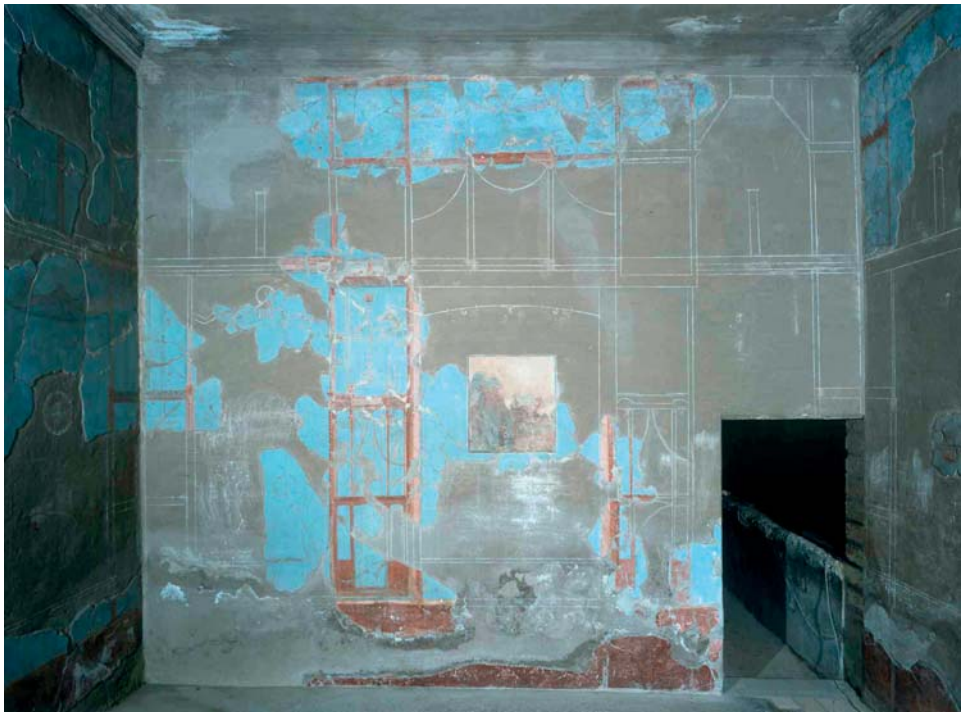

Fig. 21. Ercolano, Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, ambiente (9), parete sud (foto da Esposito 2014, tav. 119.1).

Fig. 22. Ercolano, Casa dei Cervi, ambiente (16), parete ovest (foto da Esposito 2009, tav. 130.1).

paiono pittori specializzati nella realizzazione di elementi figurati. I quadri sono in effetti rarissimi e nei pochi casi in cui essi compaiono, potrebbero essere stati realizzati da un pittore di quadri contrattato appositamente per quella commissione.[65] Anche ad Ercolano, la cosiddetta officina della Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico sembra essere costituita da un numero fisso di decoratori principali. In questo caso il lavoro di riconoscimento delle mani è reso particolarmente complesso dalla pressoché totale assenza degli elementi figurati. Questa officina, infatti, era specializzata nella realizzazione di complesse composizioni architettoniche su fondo monocromo. Particolarmente esemplificativo è il confronto delle pitture dell'ambiente (9) della Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico (IV 2.1)[66] e quelle dell'*oecus* (16) della Casa dei Cervi (IV, 21),[67] chiaramente eseguite dai due decoratori principali dell'officina (*figg. 21-22*). All'interno dell'officina della Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico si possono riconoscere due squadre di decoratori: la prima era specializzata nella realizzazione delle preziose stanze monocrome, a fondo celeste[68], verde mare[69], nero[70], bianco[71] e giallo[72] rosso[73] (*figg. 23-24*); la seconda, invece, ha operato in ambienti secondari delle case ricche o in abitazioni del ceto medio, realizzando decorazioni più tradizionali, basate sullo schema 'a pannelli' o su quello delle 'facciate lussuose' (*figg. 25-26*).

Nelle stanze monocrome, le particolarità dei dettagli, e soprattutto la resa degli stessi, permettono di identificare le mani di due pittori, denominati Pittore A e Pittore B. I due artigiani erano in grado di coordinare il proprio lavoro alternandosi sulle varie pareti della stanza, lavorando fianco a fianco all'applicazione dello schema decorativo (*figg. 27-30*). Soltanto l'uso dei colori e

Fig. 23. Ercolano, Casa dei Cervi, ambiente (5), panoramica (foto da Esposito 2014, tav. 135.1).

Fig. 24. Ercolano, Casa del Gran Portale, ambiente (6), parete ovest (foto da Esposito 2014, tav. 113.3).

Fig. 25. Ercolano, Casa dell'Alcova, ambiente (23), parete ovest (foto da Esposito 2014, tav. 152.2).

Fig. 26. Ercolano, Casa del Bel Cortile, ambiente (15), parete nord (foto da Esposito 2014, tav. 148.1).

il *ductus* del pennello consentono di distinguere le mani, indubbiamente diverse, dei due pittori. Il secondo gruppo di decoratori, caratterizzato da una minore perizia, ha lavorato nelle case del Mobilio Carbonizzato (V, 5), di Nettuno e Anfitrite (V, 7), del Bicentenario (V, 15-16), dell'Apollo

Fig. 27. Ercolano, Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, ambiente (9), parete sud, tratto est, grifo (Pittore A) (foto autore).

Fig. 28. Ercolano, Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, ambiente (9), parete nord, tratto ovest, grifo (Pittore B) (foto autore).

Citaredo (V, 11), del Bel Cortile (V, 8) e nella bottega V, 17, applicando dei sistemi decorativi che richiamano molto le pitture degli ambienti secondari della Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico e della Casa dei Cervi (*figg. 31-32*). Per questo secondo gruppo è stato possibile riconoscere la mano di un decoratore, specializzato nella realizzazione di pitture più semplici, a fondo bianco.[74]

Interazione con la committenza e sistema socio-economico

L'esistenza di un gruppo nutrito di decorazioni che presentano evidenti costanti nella tecnica di preparazione della parete, nella scelta e nell'applicazione degli schemi e dei dettagli decorativi, nonché nell'esecuzione da parte degli stessi pit-

Fig. 29. Ercolano, Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, ambiente (9), parete sud, tratto est, tenda sospesa (Pittore A) (foto autore).

Fig. 30. Ercolano, Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, ambiente (9), parete est, tratto sud, tenda sospesa (Pittore B) (foto autore).

tori sono tutti elementi che sostanziano l'ipotesi dell'esistenza di officine pittoriche, intese come delle vere e proprie realtà imprenditoriali.[75]

Ciò che si evidenzia dal panorama dell'area vesuviana, infatti, è che queste organizzazioni professionali sono molto stabili, hanno un numero di lavoratori ampio e tendenzialmente fisso, organizzato spesso in una o più squadre di decoratori, dipendenti da un capomastro. A Pompei l'officina dei Vettii e quella di via di Castricio lavorano nell'arco di un venticinquennio producendo un numero consistente di complessi, alcuni molto impegnativi, altri di minore entità.[76] È interessante notare che la linea di demarcazione tra l'operato delle due officine non è topografica,[77] ma dipende

Fig. 31. Ercolano, Casa del Bel Cortile, ambiente (15), parete est, aquila (foto autore).

Fig. 32. Ercolano, Casa dell'Apollo citaredo, fauces *(1), parete est, aquila (foto autore).*

dal livello sociale ed economico della committenza: L'officina dei Vettii lavora in tutti i principali edifici pubblici e per le case dei membri dell'élite locale. L'officina di Castricio lavora tendenzialmente per case del ceto medio o decora ambienti secondari

Fig. 33. Pianta di Pompei con la distribuzione delle officine pittoriche attive a Pompei: in rosso i complessi decorati dall'officina dei Vettii; in blu i complessi decorati dall'officina di via di Castricio (da Esposito 2009, Tav. 1).

delle case dell'élite (*fig. 33*).[78] Ad Ercolano l'officina della Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico disponeva di almeno due squadre di decoratori, di diverso livello, grazie alle quali sembra essere in grado di soddisfare le richieste di una committenza molto variegata: quella pubblica, l'élite locale, che risiedeva nelle grandi residenze affacciate sulla marina, ma anche le case del ceto medio, poste al centro della città.[79]

All'interno di questa problematica risulta essere centrale il rapporto che si veniva a creare di volta in volta tra l'officina pittorica e i committenti. Un esempio molto interessante di questa interazione è costituito dalle predelle con amorini che decorano l'*oecus* (q) della Casa dei Vettii. Nicolas Monteix[80] ha sottolineato come per questo ambiente, caratterizzato da una decorazione molto raffinata ed impegnativa, i decoratori dell'officina dei Vettii abbiano dovuto adattare il proprio repertorio figurativo, che comprendeva sicuramente anche scene di amorini intenti alle più svariate attività, alle richieste particolari dei proprietari della Casa dei Vettii, che volevano per la decorazione del principale salone della casa una serie di scene che evocassero le diverse attività produttive (la viticoltura, la floricultura per la produzione di ghirlande e oli profumati, la lavorazione dei tessuti, la metallurgia), da cui evidentemente i membri dell'élite locale derivavano le basi della propria ricchezza personale e del loro status sociale. Come risultato di questa scelta specifica dei committenti, i pittori dell'officina dei Vettii hanno dovuto operare delle varianti, anche sensibili, al repertorio figurativo di cui disponevano, con risultati, tuttavia, non sempre efficaci.[81]

Sui meccanismi di interazione tra officine e committenza esistono diverse posizioni, in realtà non del tutto alternative tra loro, che focalizzano l'attenzione di volta in volta sui committenti, piuttosto che sugli artigiani. Eleonor Leach, ad esempio, parlando dello sviluppo e della diffusione dei sistemi decorativi di IV stile a Pompei parla di 'big circuits and high powered connections' esistenti tra i membri dell'élite locale, i quali erano spesso direttamente coinvolti nel restauro e nella ridecorazione dei più importanti edifici pubblici cittadini e allo stesso tempo tutti coinvolti in una sorta di gara per far decorare le proprie abitazioni dalle stesse maestranze chiamate a decorare quegli edifici pubblici.[82] La Leach si chiede tra l'altro se siano state le commesse pubbliche ad influenzare il gusto dei committenti privati, spingendoli dunque a contrattare l'officina dei Vettii anche per decorare le proprie abitazioni, o se si sia verificato l'inverso, ovvero che questa officina sia stata prima chiamata dai privati e poi ci sia stato il salto di qualità. In realtà la differenza non è veramente importante, vista la struttura della società romana, in cui l'élite è impegnata allo stesso tempo sia in un programma di *publica magnificentia*, sia in un'accorta operazione di autopromozione politica e sociale, che si gioca anche attraverso le immagini. Irene Bragantini,[83] invece, ha concentrato la propria attenzione su quelle che lei definisce 'trame produttive' tra livelli di committenza socialmente omogenei. A sostegno della sua tesi, la Bragantini cita alcuni esempi pompeiani, tratti sia dal repertorio del III che del IV stile, evidenziando le diverse relazioni che potevano venirsi ad instaurare sia all'interno degli stessi livelli di committenza, che tra livelli di committenza diversi.[84] Tali rapporti potevano essere di 'uguaglianza/dipendenza, affinità'[85], consentendo di incrociare le richieste della committenza con le modalità operative dei pittori.[86] Il fine perseguito dalla Bragantini è quello di ricostruire 'clusters di committenze' istituendo gerarchie tra i complessi, così da poter meglio chiarire le dinamiche di diffusione dei sistemi decorativi di una determinata epoca tra i diversi livelli della committenza (pubblico/privato, alto/basso).[87]

Poco chiara resta, invece, la posizione della Malgieri, la quale non entra nel merito della discussione più generale sulle officine pittoriche, sulla loro organizzazione e sul rapporto con la committenza.[88]

Conclusione

L'evidenza delle cittadine vesuviane, che restano un osservatorio privilegiato per lo studio della pittura antica soprattutto per l'età repubblicana e primo imperiale, sembra poter avvalorare l'ipotesi dell'esistenza di officine pittoriche, intese come delle realtà imprenditoriali, gestite da *redemptores*, forse alle dipendenze di *patroni* facoltosi e socialmente influenti e composte da un numero fisso di decoratori. La capacità di queste officine di adattarsi alle richieste di una committenza molto ampia e variegata, sia dal punto di vista sociale che economico, poteva determinarne il successo sul mercato, come è avvenuto a Pompei per l'officina dei Vettii, o ad Ercolano per l'officina della Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, che hanno lavorato, grazie o attraverso i loro *patroni*, per le *domus* degli esponenti dell'élite cittadina e per la committenza pubblica.

Note

[1] Moormann 1995a.

[2] Si vedano a questo proposito Ragghianti 1954 e 1963; Gabriel 1952. Un approccio meno devoto, anche se non completamente immune, all'impostazione storico artistica allora imperante è stato quello di Richardson. Cfr. Richardson 1955 e 2000. Una breve sintesi del dibattito su queste tematiche è contenuto in Pappalardo 1995; Scagliarini Corlàita 1995.

[3] Cfr. Bragantini 2004; 2010.

[4] Sul termine da adottare per definire un gruppo di pittori che lavorano stabilmente insieme esiste un vivace dibattito. Ai termini 'Bottega', '*Workshop*', o '*Werkstatt*', che rimandano alla *connoisseurship* in ambito storico-artistico, chi scrive preferisce utilizzare il termine latino 'officina', che meglio si adatta alla realtà antica che si va investigando. Cfr. Esposito 2009, 31-36, in particolare 34-35.

[5] Barbet 1995; 2007; Varone 1995; Pappalardo 1995; Sampaolo 1994; 1995; Moormann 1995b; Bragantini 2004; Esposito 1999; 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2014.

[6] In questo senso più che di botteghe, *workshops*, o *Werkstätte*, sarebbe più opportuno parlare di *teams* di decoratori, ponendo dunque l'accento sulla estrema mobilità delle figure professionali coinvolte. Cfr. Allison 1991; 1995; Fröhlich 1995; Blanc 1995.

[7] L'officina dei Vettii, che prende il nome dall'omonima casa pompeiana. Cfr. Esposito 2009, 49-132.

[8] L'officina dei pittori di via di Castricio era stata per la prima volta identificata da M. de Vos. Cfr. de Vos 1981; Esposito 2009, 133-253

[9] I complessi decorati da questa officina erano stati già analizzati da I. Bragantini, ma in un'ottica di ricostruzione dell'evoluzione stilistica della pittura romana, soprattutto nelle sue fasi di passaggio da uno stile a quello successivo. Cfr. Bragantini 1981; Esposito 2009, 254-267.

[10] Esposito 2014, 177-200.

[11] Esposito 2005; 2014, 173-176; Moormann 2011, 64-67

[12] Casa del Colonnato Tuscanico (VI 17.26); Casa con bottega (IV 12-13.15-16); Pistrinum *Ins. Or.* II 2-3. Cfr. Esposito 2014, 125-130.

[13] Esposito 2005, 230; 2014, 176.

[14] Il riconoscimento delle mani dei pittori non è dunque il fine della ricerca, ma ne è piuttosto uno degli strumenti per ricostruire una realtà produttiva ed economico-sociale, cercando di chiarire le dinamiche di interazione tra committenti e officine pittoriche.

[15] Esposito 2009, 20; 2011, 75-76.

[16] Sulla tecnica di esecuzione della parete: Barbet/Allag 1972; Varone 1995; sull'utilizzo di un determinato repertorio decorativo: Peters 1977; 1982; Riemenschneider 1986; Barbet 1981; Eristov 1979; 1994; sulla presenza di *marker*, o motivi firma: Peters 1977; 1982; 1993; sulla ricorrenza di determinate mani di pittori: Peters 1993; Peters/Moormann 1995; Erhardt 1995; Richardson 1955; 2000; Sampaolo 1995; Pappalardo 1995.

[17] Esposito 1999; 2006; 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2014.

[18] Risulta difficile, quindi, immaginare un rapporto professionale occasionale. *Contra* Allison 1995.

[19] Varone 1995; 1996; 1998; Varone/Béarat 1997.

[20] Varone 1995, 129-134.

[21] Le giornate sono 12 sulle pareti nord e sud, 14 sulla parete est, 7 sulla parete ovest. Ad esse si deve aggiungere la controsoffittatura dipinta, rinvenuta in crollo quasi integra, durante lo scavo della stanza. Essa presentava uno schema molto complesso, con almeno 8 grandi riquadri o cassettoni ed una cupola centrale. Per la controsoffittatura vanno ipotizzate almeno 12 giornate.

[22] È interessante a questo proposito prendere in considerazione un ulteriore esempio, benché appartenga ad un contesto culturale e socio-economico molto distante nel tempo, ovvero quello del cantiere del Ciclo francescano della basilica superiore di Assisi, dove il calcolo delle giornate pittoriche, circa 546, ha permesso di formulare nuove ipotesi sui tempi di realizzazione. Secondo Bruno Zanardi il ciclo di affreschi, che occupa una superfice di circa mq 750, sarebbe stato affrescato da tre squadre di quattro decoratori (2 maestri e due assistenti) più una serie di manovali, il cui numero non può essere stabilito con precisione, in un arco di tempo di poco più di un anno. Cfr. Zanardi 2002, 85-102. Lo stesso tipo di analisi è stata condotta anche sul ciclo di affreschi con giudizio universale di Pietro Cavallini nella controfacciata della basilica di Santa Cecilia a Roma (Zanardi 2002, 115-124) e sul ciclo di affreschi sicuramente attribuibili alla bottega di Giotto nella basilica inferiore di Assisi (Zanardi 2002, 131-138). Sul ciclo di affreschi assisiati cfr. anche Zanardi 1996.

[23] Lo studio delle stratigrafie degli intonaci della Casa dei Vettii, decorata negli ultimi anni di vita della città dall'omonima officina, ha consentito di dimostrare che anche all'interno di uno stesso ambiente, o anche in diversi punti della stessa parete, la stesura del *tectorium* poteva variare, anche sensibilmente, sia per quanto riguardasse lo spessore, che per la composizione e la granulometria dei componenti impiegati. Tutte queste variabili sono ovviamente il frutto dei condizionamenti, ai quali erano soggette le pareti soprattutto in rapporto all'umidità. Cfr. Prisco 2005, in particolare 366.

[24] Esposito 2009, 52-54.

[25] Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9, 6-7.8-9), tablino (42), *oecus* (43); Casa dei Vettii, *oecus* (q).

[26] Casa dei Dioscuri, tablino (42), *oecus* (43); Casa di P. Vedius Siricus (VII 1, 25.47), ambiente (10); Casa di M. Fabius Rufus (VII 16, *Ins. Occ.* 22), *oecus* (58) Tempio di Iside (VIII 7, 28), portico (l).

[27] Ciò avviene nel peristilio (l) della Casa dei Vettii. Cfr. Peters 1977, 109.

[28] Linee di giunzione verticali sono state riconosciute anche attorno agli scorci architettonici della zona mediana del tablino (42) e del peristilio (53) della Casa dei Dioscuri; dei triclini (19) e (20) della Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI 17, *Ins. Occ.*, 42); del portico (d) del Macellum (VII 9, 7.19.42); dell'esedra (y) della Casa della Parete Nera (VII 4, 59); del salone (62) della Casa di M. Fabius Rufus. Altre volte, invece, elementi anche molto elaborati sono stati eseguiti insieme alle ampie campiture della zona mediana. Il prezioso fregio a girali del portico (1) del Tempio di Iside è stato realizzato unitamente alla zona mediana: l'intonaco del fregio e quello della zona mediana, infatti, è stato steso in una sola pontata. Su questo ultimo esempio si veda il contributo di Paola Cinti in *Alla Ricerca di Iside* 1992, 118.

[29] Esposito 2009, 135-136.

[30] Casa dei Quattro Stili (I 8, 17), ambiente (23); Casa I 8, 14, ambiente (9); Panificio di Sotericus (I 12, 1-2), ambiente (8); Casa di Lesbianus (I 13, 9), atrio (1); ambienti (3) e (4); Case II 9, 3 e II 9, 4.

[31] Questa circostanza è stata notata anche dal De Carolis nelle pitture del portico (g) e degli ambienti (c), (d) ed (e) della Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2,2), pitture che sono state attribuite da chi scrive all'officina dei pittori di via di Castricio. Cfr. De Carolis et al. 2008-2009, 59; Esposito 2009, 211-215, tavv. CV-CVI.

[32] Caupona di Euxinus (I 11, 10-11), ambiente (3).

[33] Panificio di Sotericus (I 12, 1-2) ambiente (8); Casa di Lesbianus (I 13, 9), atrio (1), ambienti (3) e (4).
[34] Esposito 2009, tav. XXVII, figg. 1-4.
[35] Esposito 2009, tav. XXVI, figg. 1-4.
[36] Lo zoccolo non era stato ancora eseguito su alcuna parete.
[37] Ambiente (b) della Casa delle Pareti rosse (VIII 5, 37) (Esposito 2009, tav. XLV, figg. 1-4; tav. XLVI, figg. 1-2); ambiente (3) della Casa della Regina Carolina (VIII 3, 14) (Esposito 2009, tav. XLIV, figg. 1-2); *oecus* (q) della Casa dei Vettii (Esposito 2009, tav. VI, 1); ambiente (48) della Casa di M. Fabius Rufus (VII 16 *Ins. Occ.* 22), dove ritornano quasi identici gli scorci architettonici della zona mediana e del registro superiore (Esposito 2009, tav. XXXVI, figg. 1-2; tav. XLVI, figg. 3-4); *oecus* (p) della casa dei Vettii, dove ritornano quasi identici i *pinakes* con naumachie (Sampaolo 1995, 209, figg. 17-22); esedra (10) della Casa di P Vedius Siricus (VII 1, 25.47), dove vengono utilizzati, in forme più barocche, gli stessi modelli utilizzati per il fregio a girali posto al di sopra della zona mediana del Tempio di Iside (Esposito 2009, tav. XXIII, fig. 1; 2011, fig. 45).
[38] Cfr. Andersen 1985; Clarke 2010; Esposito 2010.
[39] Settis 2006.
[40] Cfr. Esposito 2009, 177-182; 211-215.
[41] Cfr. Bragantini 2004, 135-138; Clarke 2010.
[42] A tale proposito è fondamentale lo studio delle pitture alto medievali della Chiesa inferiore dei Santi Quattro Coronati a Roma, dove si sono riconosciute le silhouette utilizzate dai pittori per realizzare le varie figure che componevano il ciclo pittorico. Cfr. Nimmo / Olivetti 1985-1986. Gli stessi procedimenti sembrano essere stati applicati anche per il ciclo di affreschi della basilica superiore di Assisi. Cfr. Zanardi 1996, 32-38; 2002, 106-108.
[43] Bragantini 2004, 140-142, e fig. 10.
[44] Le stesse dinamiche si osservano confrontando gli scorci architettonici dell'ambiente (12) della Casa dei Pittori al lavoro e quelli dell'ambiente (y) della Casa della Parete Nera. Vedi supra pp. 179-180. Cfr. Esposito 2010, 5-6, fig. 2 e tav. I, figg. 1-2.
[45] Clarke 2010, 211.
[46] de Vos 1976, 47, p. 55 e tav. 52, fig. 25.
[47] Cfr. Barbet / Allag 1972; De Carolis 2007; De Carolis et al. 2007; De Carolis et. al. 2008-2009; De Carolis/Corsale 2009.
[48] De Carolis cita numerosi esempi di incisioni dirette: per le figure di un amorino e di un centauro con leone, dipinti sulla parete nord dell'esedra (10) della Casa di P. Vedius Siricus (De Carolis et. al. 2007, 133, figg, 11a-c e 12a-b); per i numerosi dettagli della decorazione degli ambienti (b), (f) e (h) della Casa di D. Octavius Quartio (De Carolis et. al. 2008-2009, 62-63, figg. 5-8); per le figure dipinte al centro dei pannelli della zona mediana e tra gli scorci del registro superiore del cubicolo (35) della Casa dei Dioscuri (De Carolis/Corsale 2009, 487, fig. 3).
[49] Un esempio di incisione indiretta, mediante l'impiego di una sagoma, si possono citare le figure di colombe dipinte negli ambienti (31) e (32) della Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (De Carolis 2007, 150-151, figg. 6-7).
[50] Cfr. Malgieri 2013.
[51] La Malgieri ha analizzato un campione di circa 250 esempi pompeiani, molti in situ, altri staccati dalle pareti originarie ed oggi al Museo di Napoli.
[52] Per esempi analoghi dai cantieri di decorazione medievali si veda Nimmo/Olivetti 1985-1986.
[53] Entrambe sono state ricavate dalla stessa sagoma.
[54] Scagliarini Corlàita 2011, 415; Bragantini 2004, 131-134, 145; Malgieri 2013, 6-7.
[55] Non si tratta quindi di utilizzare un metodo anacronistico 'elaborato per la classificazione della pittura rinascimentale' (Malgieri 2013, 7), fondato su un 'modello individuale dell'operato dei pittori' (Bragantini 2004, 144-145).
[56] I due pittori sono stati per la prima volta riconosciuti e studiati analiticamente da L. Richardson nel suo studio sulle pitture della Casa dei Dioscuri. In questo primo saggio lo studioso aveva attribuito alcune opere del 'Dioscuri Painter' ad un altro decoratore, identificato col nome di 'Perseus Painter'. Successivamente lo studioso ha corretto la propria ipotesi sostenendo che il 'Dioscuri Painter' ed il 'Perseus Painter' sono in realtà la stessa persona. Cfr. anche Richardson 1955, 116-135, 155-160; 2000, 106-113, 122-129.
[57] Lo 'Io Painter' ha lavorato a Moregine, nel Tempio di Iside, nella Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, nel Macellum, nella Casa di D. Octavius Quartio, nella Casa di Pinarius Cerialis (III 4, 4), nella Casa della Fontana Piccola (VI 8, 23.24), nella Casa di M. Fabius Rufus, nella Casa delle Pareti Rosse (VIII 5, 37), nella Villa Imperiale. Il 'Dioscuri Painter' ha lavorato a Moregine, nella Casa del Naviglio (VI 10, 11), nella Casa dei Dioscuri, nella Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, nella Casa di Gavius Rufus (VII 2, 16), nel Tempio di Iside, nella Casa dei Vettii, nella Casa della Caccia Antica (VII 4, 48), nella Casa di Arianna (VII 4, 31.51), nella Casa della Parete Nera, nella Casa dei Pittori al lavoro e nella Villa di Carmiano a Stabia.
[58] Tutti gli elementi figurati dei triclini di Moregine sono stati realizzati dal 'Dioscuri Painter', che forse ha anche presieduto ai lavori di decorazione dell'edificio.
[59] La decorazione del portico (1) è con tutta probabilità opera dei due pittori, forse coadiuvati da un terzo decoratore, come ha dimostrato l'analisi del fregio a girali sovrapposto alla zona mediana (Sampaolo 1995, 202-203). I grandi quadri dell'Ekklesiasterion (6) sono invece opera dell'Io Painter'.
[60] L''Io Painter' può essere considerato a giusta ragione il principale decoratore del Macellum, forse egli ha presieduto all'intera decorazione dell'edificio, così come il 'Dioscuri Painter' per Moregine.
[61] Si tratta del 'Tragic Master', secondo l'identificazione di Gabriel o del 'Telephus Painter', secondo l'identificazione di Richardson. Cfr. Gabriel 1952, 35-50; Richardson 2000, 171-175; Esposito 2009, 28-30.
[62] Nella Villa Imperiale egli ha dipinto il quadro con 'Teseo che abbandona Arianna a Nasso', mentre l''Io Painter' ha dipinto i *pinakes* nel fregio. Nella Casa di M. Fabius Rufus egli dipinge i grandi quadri mitologici, mentre il 'Dioscuri Painter' ha dipinto le Muse e le figure tra gli scorci della zona mediana e del registro superiore. Lo stesso stava avvenendo, al momento dell'eruzione del 79 d.C., nel salone (12) della Casa dei Pittori al Lavoro, dove il 'Tragic master' stava dipingendo il quadro sulla parete nord, mentre il 'Dioscuri Painter' stava dipingendo i gruppi di figure in volo nei pannelli laterali della zona mediana. Le stesse modalità operative si riconoscono anche nel tablino (42) della Casa dei Dioscuri, dove l''Io Painter' ha dipinto i gruppi di figure in volo nei pannelli laterali della zona mediana, mentre l''Achilles Painter' ha dipinto i quadri mitologici.
[63] La circostanza che questi pittori abbiano lavorato spesso con l'officina dei *Vettii* lascia pensare ad una qualche forma di accordo contrattuale.
[64] Già M. de Vos (1981) aveva sottolineato l'identità di soggetto e di composizione dei quadretti con nature morte dipinti in alcune case decorate dall'officina di Via di Castricio. L'analisi della maniera di utilizzare il

pennello ed i colori hanno dimostrato che all'identità di soggetto corrisponde una sostanziale identità di esecuzione ad opera di uno stesso decoratore. Cfr. Esposito 2009, 133-136.

[65] Casa dell'Efebo (I 7, 10-12), triclinio (17); Casa del Menandro (I 10, 4), esedra (4); Casa della Venere in Bikini, ambienti (4) e (10); Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto, ambienti (4), (6) e (12).

[66] Esposito 2014, 177-179, tavv. 119-122.

[67] Esposito 2014, 182-184, tavv. 130-133.

[68] Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, esedra (9); Casa dei Cervi, *oecus* (17); Casa del Gran Portale (V, 35), *diaeta* (6); Casa Sannitica (V, 1), *oecus* (5); Casa dell'Alcova (IV, 4), triclinio (8);

[69] Casa Sannitica, cubicolo (2).

[70] Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, criptoportico, tablino (12), *oecus* (13); Casa dei Cervi, atrio (24), anticamera (6), triclinio (5), ambulacro (29); Casa Sannitica, atrio.

[71] Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, tablino (5); *oecus* (14).

[72] Casa Sannitica, tablino (4).

[73] Casa di Argo (II, 2), cubicolo diurno (3).

[74] Motivi firma di questo artigiano sono gli epistili con fregio a triglifi stilizzati, le sfingi frontali e le aquile, che ripete in maniera pressoché identica in tutte le case da lui decorate. In un solo caso, nella Casa dell'Alcova, i due gruppi sembrano aver lavorato insieme, seppur in ambienti diversi.

[75] Un'organizzazione professionale a struttura fissa che produce in maniera costante nel tempo un numero proporzionalmente ampio di decorazioni, può essere a pieno titolo considerata una realtà imprenditoriale, così come si può evidenziare anche per altri ambiti della produzione, come ad esempio i fabbricanti di anfore, *dolia* e materiali laterizi, sulla cui organizzazione molto di più si conosce grazie ai complessi sistemi di bollatura dei materiali. Cfr. Harris 1993.

[76] Cfr. Esposito 2011, 79-85.

[77] Come aveva sostenuto inizialmente Mariette de Vos, secondo la quale l'officina di via di Castricio sarebbe stata attiva prevalentemente nelle *Regiones* I e II di Pompei. Cfr. de Vos 1981.

[78] Esposito 2011, 81-84.

[79] Esposito 2014, 194-195 e 204.

[80] Monteix, forthcoming.

[81] Nella predella con amorini che lavorano le stoffe, per esempio, il pittore utilizza una gestualità impropria per i due amorini, dipinti sulla sinistra della scena e intenti apparentemente a pigiare delle stoffe in una vasca, riprendendo l'iconografia utilizzata sulla predella del tratto est della parete nord, dove si vedono degli amorini intenti a pigiare l'uva in un *lacus vinarius*. Cfr. Monteix, forthcoming.

[82] Cfr. Leach 2004, 262-264; Esposito 2009, 42-47. Irene Bragantini ha sottolineato le strette affinità esistenti tra la decorazione della Casa dei Cervi e il Sacello degli Augustali. Cfr. Bragantini 2010, 221, nota 33.

[83] Bragantini 2004; 2010.

[84] Punto di partenza è l'articolo di Mariette de Vos (1981), nel quale venivano raccolte insieme una serie di decorazioni, riconosciute prevalentemente nelle *Regiones* I e II di Pompei, e attribuite alla cosiddetta bottega di pittori di via di Castricio. Tali decorazioni sono caratterizzate dalla dilatazione e dall'ingrandimento dei più comuni elementi decorativi, operando per riduzioni di schemi decorativi 'alti' che vengono adeguati alle esigenze economiche delle committenze più basse. Cfr. Bragantini 2004, 135.

[85] Bragantini 2004, 135-144.

[86] Bragantini 2004, 145.

[87] In un suo più recente contributo, la studiosa ha esteso il campione di analisi anche ad Ercolano, operando una distinzione tra le case del ceto medio, dislocate solitamente al centro della città, e le grandi case affacciate sulla marina. Nelle prime si riconoscono schemi e iconografie tradizionali, che non si discostano mediamente, per qualità e originalità, dal campione pompeiano. Diverso è il caso delle grandi ville urbane, affacciate sulla marina, all'interno delle quali sono stati adottati schemi decorativi molto innovativi ed originali, cui spesso corrisponde una scarsa attenzione per l'elemento figurato. Pochi o assenti sono, infatti, i quadri mitologici, sostituiti da paesaggi o nature morte, mentre quando sono presenti, i quadri mitologici si rifanno a modi compositivi dei decenni precedenti. Cfr. Bragantini 2010, 291-293.

[88] L'impressione che si ha è che la studiosa concordi sul fatto che esistessero raggruppamenti stabili di pittori, viste anche le modalità di esecuzione degli affreschi; tuttavia, ella respinge il concetto di officine pittoriche intese come realtà imprenditoriali concorrenziali. Cfr. Malgieri 2013, 7.

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'Abbracciare in una le gloriose memorie antiche e moderne': gli scavi di Pompei tra patrimonio universale, ambiente internazionale e identità italiana

Nathalie de Haan

Abstract

This paper addresses the question of why the world-famous site of Pompeii was nearly absent in the Italian imagination during the Risorgimento *of the 19th century. It is argued that the close association of the excavations of Pompeii with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was a major obstacle to a full appreciation of the site by those who favoured Italy's unification. Moreover, from its rediscovery in the 18th century onward, Pompeii was regarded as a Greek city. For these reasons Pompeii was hardly suited to the 'grand narrative' developing during the* Risorgimento*: all 'new' Italians were encouraged to identify with the Romans as their common ancestors. Only after the unification and the birth of the kingdom of Italy (1861) was Pompeii valued: as a Roman city.*[*]

A Susanna Piras

Il paradosso pompeiano

Dopo tanti secoli di oblio, Pompei fu riscoperta nel 1748, sulla scia degli scavi di Ercolano cominciati dieci anni prima.[1] Sulla collina della Civita, ove già prima reperti antichi erano venuti alla luce, si cominciò a scavare il 30 marzo, supponendo che fosse il sito dell'antica Stabia. La scoperta che, invece, si trattava della città di Pompei, arrivò solo nel 1763, quando un'iscrizione che menzionava esplicitamente Pompei fu trovata fuori la Porta di Ercolano.[2] In quegl'anni l'attenzione si stava già spostando da Ercolano a Pompei poiché ad Ercolano si proseguiva solo con grande fatica, scavando profondi cunicoli in una durissima massa vulcanica con uno spessore di più di venti metri. A Pompei invece, dove il processo di seppellimento era stato ben diverso, il progresso dello scavo era più facile, in quanto si sterrava il materiale di lapilli e cenere velocemente.[3] Inoltre, i reperti erano, come ad Ercolano, di gran numero e di alta qualità. Pitture, sculture e mosaici portati alla luce, come quelli di Ercolano, esercitarono una grande influenza sullo sviluppo del gusto neoclassico europeo.

Paradossalmente, però, la fama internazionale di Pompei non gli ha consentito di acquisire un posto prominente nell'Italia risorgimentale. Nonostante l'alto prestigio e malgrado l'ampia divulgazione delle scoperte delle città vesuviane, Pompei è, per esempio, assente nella poesia 'dei grandi vati dell'Italia unita: Carducci, Pascoli e D'Annunzio', come ha segnalato Lorenzo Braccesi.[4] Questa affermazione diventa ancora più significativa se ci rendiamo conto del fatto che nella letteratura di altri paesi europei, in primo luogo quella francese, inglese e tedesca, Pompei assunse un posto ben visibile. Richiamiamo alla mente i tanti diari di viaggio pubblicati in riviste e libri, da Goethe, Dumas e Stendal a Dickens e Twain,[5] nonchè gli innumerevoli romanzi dell'epoca, per esempio *Corinne ou l'Italie* di Madame de Staël (1807) e *The Last Days of Pompeii* di Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1834), per nominare i maggiori *best sellers* che trovarono grande pubblico, e che furono stampati in diverse lingue ed edizioni.[6]

Stupisce allora il silenzio su Pompei nella letteratura italiana dell'Ottocento, dove solo la famosa poesia *La ginestra, o il fiore del deserto* (1836) di Giacomo Leopardi nonchè *I Paralipomeni della Batracomiomachia* dello stesso autore rievocarono Pompei ed Ercolano, ma certamente non in modo elogiativo. *I Paralipomeni* (1830-1831) costituiscono un commento critico alle vicende politiche della Napoli post 1820, mentre l'argomento principale del canto *La ginestra* è la caducità della vita.[7]

Stupisce inoltre l'assenza di Pompei nelle riflessioni sul passato nell'Italia risorgimentale. A prima vista, data l'unicità e la fama del sito, sembra un'occasione perduta. Dall'altro lato, proprio per la sua

fama, non sembra logico considerare l'assenza di Pompei come casualità. Ovviamente nell'Italia della prima metà dell'Ottocento esistevono forti tensioni tra Pompei come sito archeologico su suolo italiano e la Pompei dell'immaginario europeo. Come spiegare, quindi, questo paradosso di un sito archeologico di fama internazionale deliberatamente tralasciato dal Risorgimento italiano?

In questo contributo dunque, mi propongo di discutere l'immagine molteplice di Pompei nel secolo dei lumi e sopratutto nell'Ottocento, partendo dall'ipotesi che tali immagini hanno influenzato il modo in cui Pompei poteva essere o meno utilizzabile nel grande progetto del Risorgimento italiano. Ripercorrendo le varie tappe degli scavi di Pompei e del loro impatto, spero di poter chiarire il suo ruolo nel progetto culturale dell'Italia risorgimentale. In questa panoramica, partendo dagli obiettivi dei committenti degli scavi, più che da un resoconto completo dei dati e dei fatti, mi fermerò soprattutto sulle diverse immagini della città antica, offrendo così una chiave di lettura e una risposta alla domanda posta in apertura.

Immagini di Pompei: un progetto reale

Sin dall'inizio gli scavi di Pompei si svolsero sotto l'egida delle casa reale Borbonica.[8] In questo primo periodo, cioè dal 1748 al 1799, gli scavi furono un progetto ad appannaggio esclusivo dei sovrani e condotti in ambito privato. In effetti, il re Carlo di Borbone era egli stesso ammiratore e collezionista di antichità; da Roma aveva fatto trasferire la famosa collezione farnese ereditata dalla madre Elisabetta Farnese. Responsabili per gli scavi sia ad Ercolano sia a Pompei erano le stesse persone sotto la direzione dell'ingegnere Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre (morto nel 1780) con gli assistenti sul campo Karl Weber e Francesco La Vega.[9] Per la collezione reale nel palazzo di Portici, il 'Museo Ercolanese' (dal 1758), fu nominato 'custode' il famigerato Camillo Paderni, in quanto decideva arbitrariamente, come riportato più volte, di distruggere pitture e mosaici da lui ritenuti di qualità troppo scarsa per le collezioni reali, con la motivazione di non farle finire in altre collezioni.[10] Non mancavano critiche severe su metodi e scelte di scavo: secondo Winckelmann, il quale visitò il sito più volte, Alcubierre aveva tanto 'a che fare con le antichità quanto la luna con i granchi.'[11] In questa critica risuona indubbiamente la sua frustrazione di non poter prendere appunti visitando gli scavi e le collezioni a Portici. Infatti, per gli studiosi privati, era molto difficile ottenere un permesso per effettuare rilievi e disegni.[12] Per questo motivo, risultano fondamentali i disegni pubblicati nel monumentale *Voyage pittoresque ou description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* (1781-1786) di Jean-Claude Richard Abbé de Saint-Non, un'opera prestigiosa e famosa che è stata tra i primi libri a divulgare le scoperte delle città vesuviane (*fig. 1*).[13] Una visita agli scavi era possibile solo con guida autorizzata e permesso della corte. È evidente infatti che gli scavi dovevano servire *in primis* all'aumento del prestigio reale: la fondazione della Accademia Ercolanese nel 1755 e la pubblicazione dei celebri volumi delle *Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, sotto l'egida dell'Accademia ne sono chiara espressione.[14]

VOYAGE PITTORESQUE
OU
DESCRIPTION DES ROYAUMES
DE
NAPLES ET DE SICILE.
SECONDE PARTIE DU PREMIER VOLUME,
CONTENANT
Une Description des Antiquités d'Herculanum, des Plans & des Détails de son Théâtre, avec une Notice abrégée des différens Spectacles des Anciens.
Les Antiquités de Pompeii. La Description des Champs Phlégréens, & enfin celle de la Campanie & des Villes des environs de Naples.
A PARIS.
M. DCC. LXXXII.
AVEC APPROBATION, ET PRIVILÈGE DU ROI.

Fig. 1. Frontespizio della seconda parte del primo volume del Voyage pittoresque di Saint-Non, Parigi 1782 (Collezione Radboud Universiteit, foto N. de Haan).

Il fascino per il Vesuvio nel Settecento

Il Vesuvio fu molto attivo proprio nel Settecento ed esercitava una forte attrazione sugli studiosi e visitatori di Napoli, nonchè sui lettori dei loro studi e diari. Tra le prime opere vi fu quella del medico napoletano Francesco Serao intitolata

Istoria dell'incendio del Vesuvio accaduto nel mese di maggio dell'anno 1737, pubblicata a Napoli nel 1738 e tradotta in francese e inglese. Questo fascino per il vulcano si inserisce bene nel secolo dell'Illuminismo, in cui studiosi discussero vivamente fenomeni naturali quali terremoti, vulcanismo e bradisismo e i rapporti tra di loro.[15] Il grande terremoto di Lisbona del 1 novembre 1755, che provocò più di 30.000 morti, fu per esempio attribuito alla mancanza di vulcani nelle immediate vicinanze della capitale portoghese. Un'eruzione vulcanica avrebbe ridotto la pressione interna nel centro della terra, poiché si pensava che i vulcani funzionassero come valvole.[16] L'interesse enorme per il fenomeno dei vulcani si traduceva in numerose descrizioni del Vesuvio dalla seconda metà del Settecento in poi.[17] Anche qui i diari di viaggio e i primi libri pubblicati furono importanti. L'abbé de Saint-Non, per esempio, dedicò più di 50 pagine alla descrizione del Vesuvio nel suo *Voyage pittoresque*.[18] Il paradosso della devastazione vulcanica che conservava per secoli le antiche città si traduceva in immagini forti di resurrezione e di rinnovamento: anche queste idee si inserirono bene nel secolo dell'Illuminismo.[19] Inestricabilmente legata all'interesse per i fenomeni vulcanici e particolarmente per il Vesuvio nel Settecento, infine, è la figura di Sir Wiliam Hamilton, diplomatico inglese nella città partenopea per più di 30 anni (1764-1799), esperto e commerciante di antichità con una profonda passione per il Vesuvio.[20] Hamilton rendeva le sue osservazioni di pubblico dominio in varie lettere alla *Royal Society of London* scritte tra 1767 e 1795, tutte pubblicate.[21]

L'immagine di Pompei nel Settecento, fu allora quella di città risorta, strettamente connessa al prestigio dei Borboni. Nel Grand Tour dei ceti alti gli scavi di Pompei e Ercolano furono una meta indispensabile e molto frequentata. Infine, proprio nel Settecento, Napoli era la tra le più grandi città europee, in cui le scienze, la musica e le belle arti fiorivano; un centro cosmopolita, insomma, che attirò numerose persone dei ceti aristocratici, nonchè studiosi e artisti europei.

Pompei alla francese (1806-1815)

L'intervallo nel periodo napoleonico, cioè la Repubblica Partenopea e sopratutto l'avvento di Gioacchino Murat e di sua moglie Carolina Bonaparte (1808), segnò una 'vigorosa ripresa degli scavi che divengono momento fondamentale della politica culturale del regno'.[22] Infatti, i lavori venivano in gran parte finanziati con soldi privati di Carolina Bonaparte. Significativo è il notevole incremento dell'impresa, mostrato dalla cifra degli operai coinvolti. Nel 1806 troviamo in attività 80 operai, diventati 624 sette anni dopo, nel 1813. Nello stesso anno, l'architetto francese François Mazois, in servizio agli scavi, parla di 1500 zappatori del Genio che eseguivano lavori di preparazione.[23] Ovviamente, le ambizioni del programma francese erano enormi, con l'idea di liberare completamente la vecchia città. La saldatura tra diverse zone di scavo a nord con l'area dei teatri era in effetti il primo passo. Fu realmente dissotterrata la parte centrale del foro civile ed anche le mura della città, per conoscerne il perimetro esatto. Quest'ultimo dato era necessario per un altro piano realizzato in quegl'anni, l'espropriazione dei terreni.[24] Il periodo francese è stato inoltre significativo in quanto furono pubblicati velocemente i nuovi risultati degli scavi. Con l'appoggio finanziario di Carolina Bonaparte l'architetto François Mazois, di cui si è detto, era riuscito a studiare gran parte degli edifici riportati alla luce. Il risultato di quegli studi, il monumentale *Les ruines de Pompéi*, fu pubblicato tra il 1824 e il 1838, un'opera fondamentale ancora oggi per tutti gli studiosi di Pompei. Infine, anche le prime guide turistiche sul sito si datano a quest'epoca.[25]

La restaurazione Borbonica (1815-1860)

Col ritorno dei Borboni nel 1815 l'archeologia non godé più dell'interesse attivo e dell'appoggio finanziario dei sovrani settecenteschi e del governo di Murat. Molto significativa in questa fase fu la decisione di rivendere i terreni espropriati negli anni prima, con la motivazione della continua mancanza di fondi alla corte.[26] La conseguenza fu ovvia: cioè la rinuncia a uno scavo completo della città. Drammatica inoltre la riduzione degli operai impiegati dopo la restaurazione borbonica, che arrivarono alla bassissima cifra di 13 persone nel 1818.[27] Nonostante queste circostanze poco favorevoli, si continuò a scavare e furono scoperti altri edifici intorno al foro. Sotto il regno di Francesco I, succeduto al padre nel 1825, e di Ferdinando II, sul trono dal 1830, vediamo una lieve ripresa delle attività, grazie alla direzione esperta di Michele Arditi.[28] Va notato il fatto che Arditi era stato nominato già durante il periodo napoleonico ma rimase sul posto anche sotto i Borboni, fino alla sua morte avvenuta nel 1838. Arditi lavorava con architetti responsabili dei restauri, mirati alla conservazione delle decorazioni *in situ*. Sempre più importante, in effetti, divenne la sensazione dei visitatori di Pompei che pensavano di camminare in una vera città. Il numero

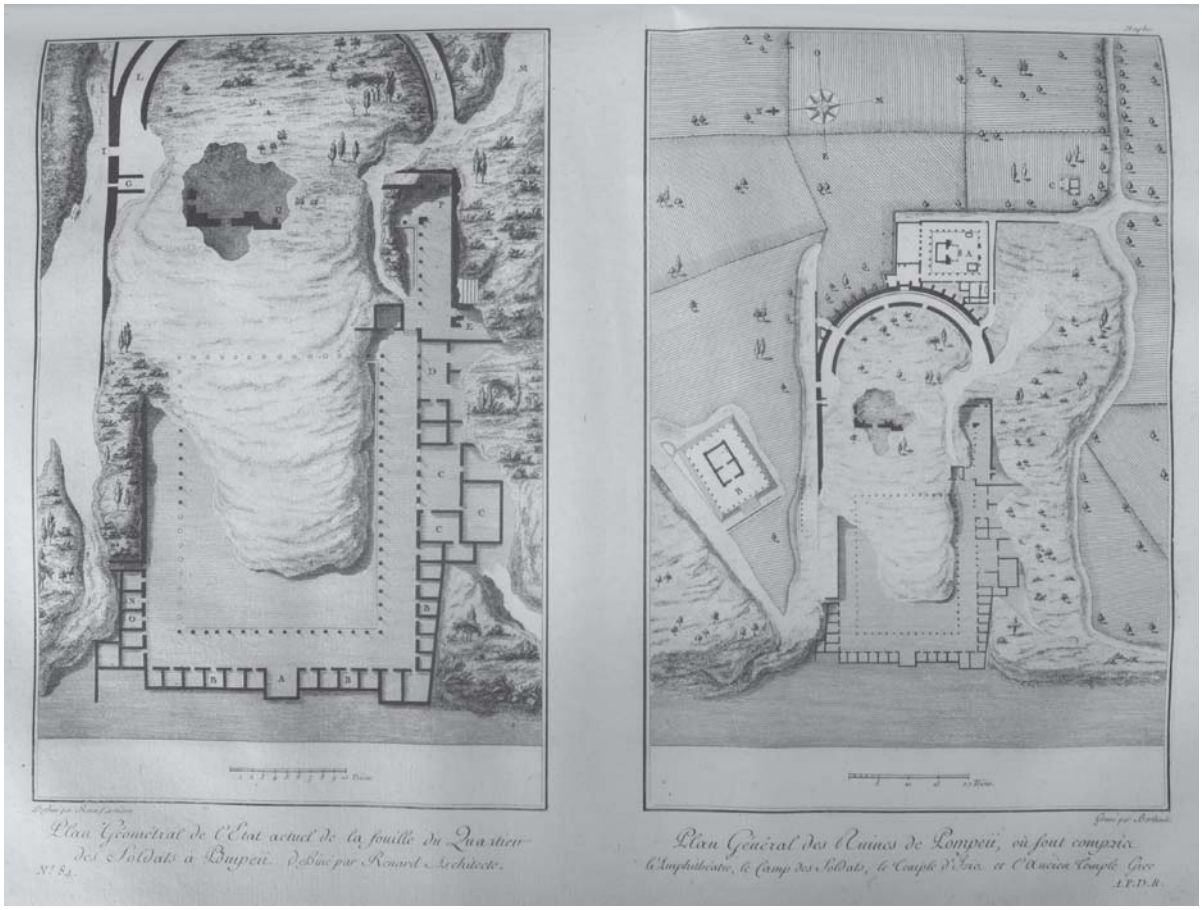
Plan Géométral de l'Etat actuel des fouilles du Quartier des Soldats à Pompeii. Dessiné par Renard Architecte.
Plan Général des Ruines de Pompeii, où sont compris

Fig. 2. Disegno dal Voyage pittoresque *di Saint-Non vol. 1.2: il teatro grande e la Caserma dei Gladiatori in corso di scavo; visibile anche il 'Tempio Dorico' (Collezione Radboud Universiteit, foto N. de Haan).*

dei frequentatori cresceva rapidamente, sopratutto dopo l'inaugurazione della linea ferroviaria Napoli - Salerno con fermata a Pompei che fu completata nel 1844.[29] Ma va sottolineato comunque, che una visita era, sempre e solo, possibile con un permesso rilasciato dalla corte.

Per la casa borbonica, Pompei rappresentò una vetrina del suo prestigio e un mezzo efficace per autorappresentarsi sul palcoscenico europeo. Innumerevoli le visite di ospiti illustri, per cui furono persino inscenati scavi finti, con ritrovamenti 'fortuiti'.[30] Interessante, infine, l'elenco dei nomi moderni attribuiti alle case scavate in questo periodo, riferiti agli ospiti illustri che avevano visitato Pompei.

Immagini di Pompei: una città greca

'Pompeii you know was a Greek city' scriveva il poeta inglese Percy Shelley in una lettera del gennaio 1819.[31] L'idea di Pompei come città greca non era nuova e non indicava in alcun modo un'opinione discordante per l'epoca. Al contrario: il concetto della grecità di Pompei ebbe ampia diffusione nel Settecento e nell'Ottocento. Decisiva fu la riscoperta nel 1767 del cosidetto Tempio Dorico a Pompei, scavato negli anni successivi, dieci anni dopo la riscoperta dei templi greci di Paestum (*fig. 2 e 4*).[32] Situato 'sull'acropoli di Pompei', con i suoi capitelli dorici e le colonne robuste, il complesso templare fu alla base della supposta origine greca della città. La descrizione di Richard Abbé de Saint-Non ne offe una chiara testimonianza: 'A très-peu de distance des murs de Pompeïi, & sur un terrain plus élevé, on trouve les restes d'un ancien Temple, qui a été bâti dans le style Grec, & dans les proportions de ceux de Pestum.'[33]

Il viaggiatore tedesco Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg scrisse nel suo diario di viaggio del 1794 che il tempio era di epoca molto più antica rispetto

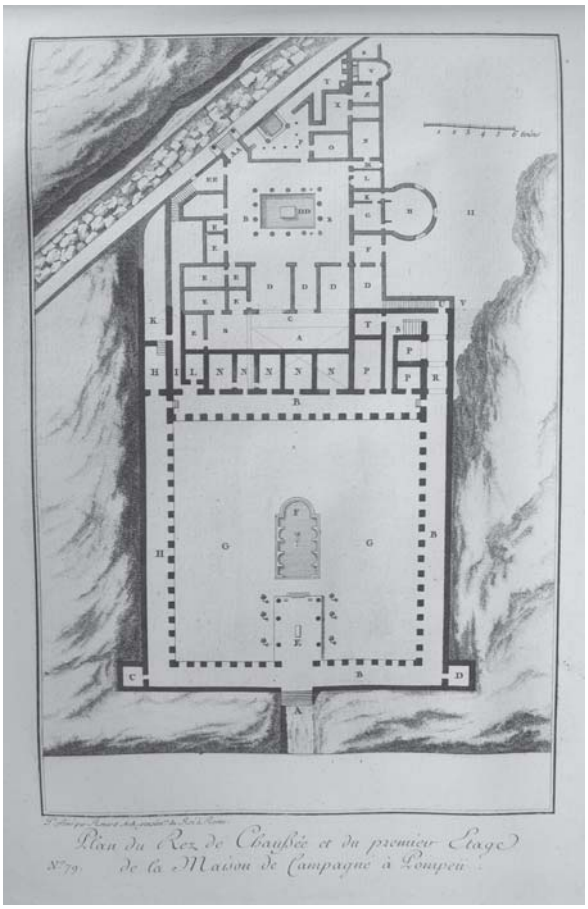

Fig. 3. Disegno dal Voyage pittoresque *di Saint-Non vol. 1.2: pianta della Villa di Diomede (Collezione Radboud Universiteit, foto N. de Haan).*

a tutti gli altri edifici fino ad allora scoperti, e che i suoi capitelli dorici testimoniavano la presenza dell'arte greca più antica a Pompei. Inoltre Graf Stolberg collegò l'architettura semplice ma solida del tempio alla poesia di Pindaro e Teocrito e alla musica dorica.[34] Il tedesco certamente non rappresenta un caso isolato. Numerosi diari di viaggio e tante guide turistiche, dall'Ottocento fino ad oggi, affermano le radici greche di Pompei con riferimento al cosiddetto Tempio Dorico, in realtà un complesso italo-etrusco con influssi greci, come sappiamo oggi.[35]

Cruciale fu inoltre il giudizio di Winckelmann, il quale, già negli anni sessanta del Settecento, espresse l'idea che le città vesuviane erano di origine greca, opinione proposta nei suoi *Sendschreiben* und *Nachrichten*.[36] Opere queste che, grazie alla loro rapida traduzione in francese, ebbero grande divulgazione in Europa ed un influsso ancora oggi da non sottovalutare. Un allievo di Winckelmann, Johann Jakob Volkmann, visitò il Golfo di Napoli durante il suo Grand Tour nel 1757. Nelle sue *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien* (Notizie storico-critiche dell'Italia) pubblicate in varie edizioni e tradotte in almeno cinque lingue, egli ripete l'idea del maestro sull'origine greca di Ercolano e Pompei nonostante il fatto che lì si parlasse latino.[37]

All'epoca, per questa supposta grecità, si trovarono conferme non solo nel Tempio Dorico ma anche in altri scavi come la Villa di Diomede, una villa suburbana, indagata negli anni 1771-1774 (*fig. 3*). Nelle sue immediate vicinanze un'iscrizione funeraria menzionava il liberto M. Arrius Diomedes e sua moglie Arria; la conclusione era che questi avevano abitato la villa omonima e che dunque si trattava di una famiglia di origine greca.[38] Il fatto che la novella *Arria Marcella* di Théophile Gautier, pubblicata nel 1852, nonchè il celebre poemetto *Euphorion* di Ferdinand Gregorovius (1858) vennero ambientati nella Villa di Diomede, ha ancor più rafforzato quest'idea. Nello stesso periodo, i primi documenti ritrovati nella Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano furono decifrati con difficoltà, ma già prima della lettura era chiaro che questi testi erano in greco.[39] Anche i risultati degli scavi nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento sembrarono confermare l'idea che Pompei fosse una città greca: la casa del Poeta Tragico o di Glauco fu scavata e restaurata negli anni 1824-1825. È una delle prime case rese visibili al pubblico, ove gran parte dei mosaici e delle pitture non vennero staccati ed asportati, ma lasciati *in situ*. Il fatto che Bulwer-Lytton abbia ambientato il suo romanzo in questa casa gli ha assicurato un posto di primo piano nella memoria collettiva.[40]

L'interpretazione delle testimonianze archeologiche non fu l'unico elemento a far concludere che Ercolano e Pompei avevano radici greche. Come nel caso di Ercolano, il cui nome già in antichità veniva messo in rapporto con Ercole, mitico fondatore della città, varie spiegazioni etimologiche del nome Pompei circolavano per evidenziarne l'origine greca. Per esempio, era molto diffusa la derivazione del nome Pompei da *pompè* nel senso di ritorno, di Ercole, o di *pompeion*, il cui significato di 'magazzino' si sarebbe riferito alla funzione della città come porto:

> La fondation de Pompéi, comme celle d'Herculanum, est attribuée à Hercule ; elle remonterait ainsi aux époques les plus reculées de l'histoire d'Italie. On ignore l'étymologie de son nom, que cependant quelques-uns font

venir de la longue suite de bœufs, *Pompa*, que le héros avait amenée d'Espagne en Italie; d'autres de la pompe avec laquelle il aurait célébré ses victoires lorsqu'il attendait sa flotte à l'embouchure du Sarno; d'autres du mot Πομπαῖος, conducteur, l'un des surnoms de Mercure comme conducteur des âmes aux enfers; d'autres enfin, et leur opinion est la plus probable, du mot Πομπεῖον, au pluriel Πομπεῖα, que les anciens glossaires traduisent par Οἴκημα κοινὸν, bâtiment commun, entrepôt.[41]

Va notato infine che nel Settecento e nel primo Ottocento l'idea di Pompei come città greca non era solo un'opinione diffusa nell'immaginario di poeti, romanzieri, pittori e viaggiatori: furono soprattutto gli studiosi ad alimentare tale convinzione. Abbiamo già visto quanto influente fu l'opinione autorevole di Winckelmann, che certamente aveva risonanza ancora nel primo Ottocento. Per l'architetto francese François Mazois, per esempio, era chiarissimo: 'Les monuments de Pompei appartiennent à l'architecture grecque' scrisse nella sua opera fondamentale *Les ruines de Pompéi*.[42] Infine, nel primo secolo degli scavi, fino all'arrivo di studiosi quali Giuseppe Fiorelli e August Mau, la completa assenza di un quadro cronologico negli studi pompeiani fu di ostacolo per una migliore comprensione dei siti archeologici di Pompei, Stabia e Ercolano.[43] Un ostacolo ma solo in retrospettiva: per gli studiosi dell'epoca, formatisi nella lunga tradizione antiquaria, il problema semplicemente non esisteva.

Immagini di Pompei: una città viva

Abbiamo già segnalato che gli scavi eseguiti all'inizio dell'Ottocento, durante il periodo di Gioacchino Murat e Carolina Bonaparte, portarono novità di rilievo a Pompei. Le zone e gli edifici scavati non furono più ricoperti ma lasciati liberi, con il risultato che per i visitatori fu possibile camminare nella parte accessibile della città. Questa opportunità ha indubbiamente determinato il formarsi di una

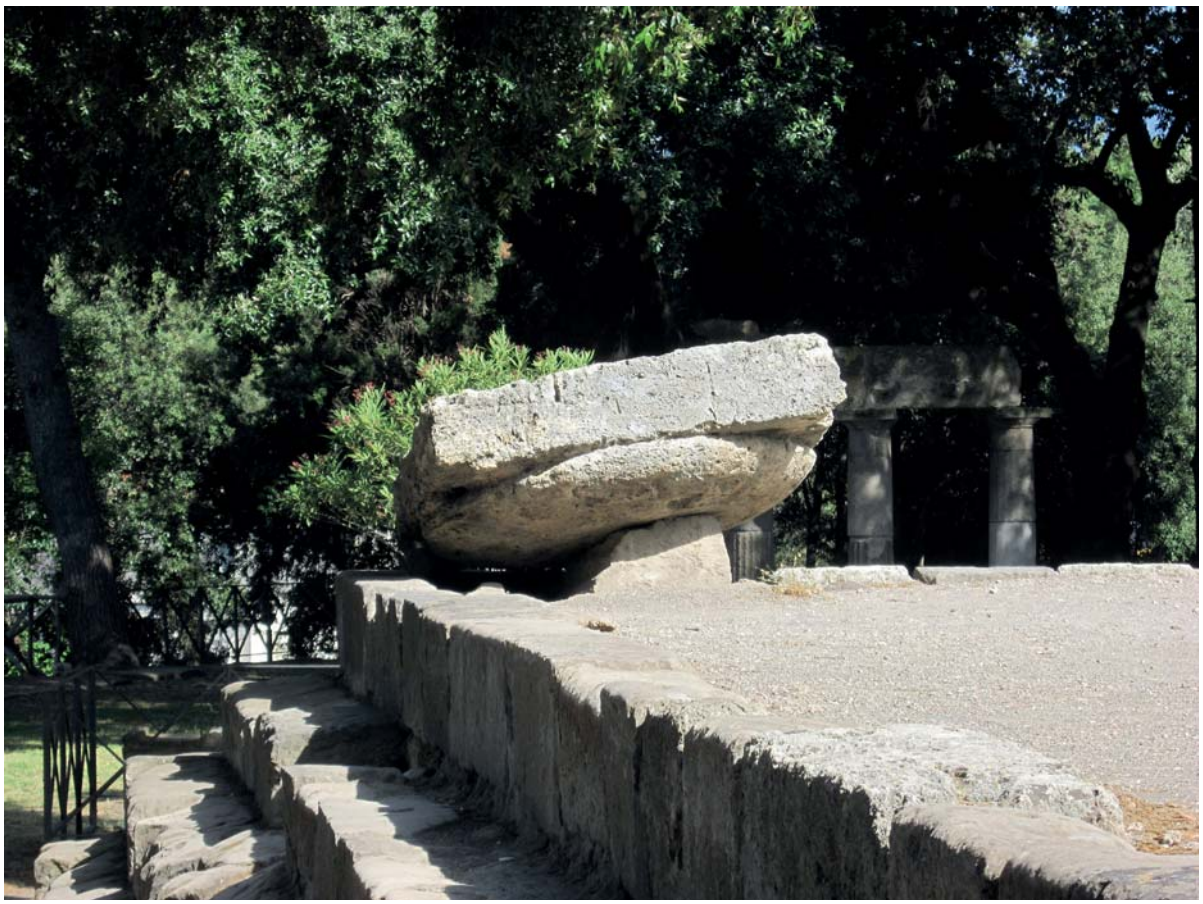

Fig. 4. Pompei, 'Tempio Dorico', angolo SE, capitello (foto N. de Haan).

forte immagine di Pompei come città viva. Il fatto che si potesse camminare per strade percorribili, che si potesse visitare case con decorazioni ancora intatte, ammirare i teatri, l'anfiteatro, vedere un panificio, tutto questo dava alla città antica una familiarità facilmente riconoscibile nonostante i tanti secoli passati. Nella *Introduction historique* del saggio *Pompeia* di Ernest Breton (1855), si legge:

> L'antiquité à Pompéi n'est plus cette antiquité vague, reculée, incertaine, cette antiquité des livres, des commentateurs, des antiquaires; c'est l'antiquité réelle, vivante, en personne si l'on peut dire; on la sent, on la voit, on la touche. Le secret de la vie publique et privée des anciens nous est tout à coup dévoilé, non plus par des inscriptions isolées, des statues incertaines, des bas-reliefs, des médailles, dont l'explication est souvent un problème, mais par le matériel entier de l'existence, depuis la distribution des demeures jusqu'aux moindres ustensiles de ménage, depuis les plus précieuses collections de livres et de tableaux jusqu'aux approvisionnements de vin, d'huile, de pain et de fruits. C'est comme une longue nuit de dix-huit siècles au matin de laquelle on retrouve chaque chose dans l'état où on l'avait laissée la veille.[44]

Stendal visitò gli scavi di Pompei più volte durante il suo soggiorno a Napoli nella primavera di 1817. 'Ce que j'ai vu de plus curieux dans mon voyage, c'est Pompéi; on se sent transporté dans l'antiquité.' Scrisse questo il 2 aprile, aggiungendo che quel giorno era stato a Pompei per l'undicesima volta.[45]

Il fascino per Pompei come città viva, dove la vita antica può essere visibile e palpabile, dunque, è un'immagine molto forte per la cultura europea. Per di più, risulta fondamentale l'idea che Pompei rendeva visibile l'universalità della vita umana. Attraverso i secoli, per l'uomo dell'Ottocento divenne possibile sentirsi vicino agli abitanti della città antica, di cui si poteva ancora vedere l'ambiente. Grazie alla conservazione realistica della vita quotidiana, gli uomini moderni si potevano identificare con gli abitanti antichi. Più della grandezza degli edifici pubblici a Roma, l'intimità delle vita di tutti i giorni congelata in un istante, affascinava l'immaginario di chiunque. L'incremento del turismo nell'Ottocento rafforzava quest'identificazione universale con la sorte degli abitanti delle città vesuviane. Non erano più solo i ceti dell'aristocrazia europea a fare viaggi in Italia, anche l'alta e la media borghesia potevano permettersi il loro 'piccolo Grand Tour'. Il numero crescente di viaggiatori e di visitatori a Pompei contribuì alla divulgazione in giornali e riviste delle immagini delle città vesuviane, anche delle immagini in senso letterale, visto che nel corso dell'Ottocento si sviluppò la tecnica della fotografia. Fotografi importanti quali Michele Amodio, i fratelli fiorentini Giacomo e Carlo Brogi nonchè il tedesco Giorgio Sommer e il francese Robert Rive, si stabilirono a Napoli, producendo album con immagini fotografiche ('*Souvenirs de Pompei*') per turisti.[46]

Immagini di Pompei: un progetto nazionale

Il 12 settembre 1860, solo pochi giorni dopo la caduta dei Borboni ed il suo ingresso trionfale nella città partenopea, Giuseppe Garibaldi, dichiarò nazionali gli scavi di Pompei ed Ercolano nonchè tutti gli altri scavi e monumenti di antichità nella regione vesuviana. Lo stesso Garibaldi, il 'Dittatore dell'Italia Meridionale', emanò il 16 settembre il seguente decreto:

> Italia e Vittorio Emmanuele (*sic*)
> Il Dittatore dell'Italia Meridionale
> Visto che gli scavi di Pompei sono miseramente abbandonati da più mesi, con dolore del mondo studioso e con danno delle popolazioni circostanti. Considerando che la nostra rivoluzione deve essere veramente Italiana, cioè degna della patria delle arti e degli studî, abbracciare in una le gloriose memorie antiche e moderne fecondandole tutte.
> Decreta
> Agli scavi di Pompei proprietà nazionale, siano consacrati 5000 scudi annui ed i lavori debbono essere immediatamente ripresi. I Ministri delle Finanze e di Lavori Pubblici facciano eseguire per quanto spetta a ciascuno il presente Decreto.
> Napoli 16 settembre 1860[47]

Inoltre, fu nominato Alexandre Dumas padre direttore degli scavi di Pompei e del neonato Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (il vecchio Museo Borbonico che ospitava le collezioni reali). A Dumas, arrivato a Napoli con le truppe di Garibaldi, non mancavano i progetti e le idee per una riforma radicale del sito di Pompei. Egli sognava scavi su vasta scala, che avrebbero portato lavoro a tante famiglie del luogo. Per di più, una casa pompeiana ricostruita e arredata *in situ* avrebbe funzionato come museo a pagamento per i visitatori. I redditi di questa casa-museo avrebbero finanziato l'altro sogno di Dumas: *L'École Nationale*

de Peinture, de Sculpture et de Littérature a Napoli, un sogno, però, mai realizzatosi. Deluso e amareggiato lasciò l'incarico e tornò in Francia nel 1863.[48]

Dopo il breve interregno di Alexandre Dumas padre fu nominato Giuseppe Fiorelli, prima come ispettore poi soprintendente dal 1863.[49] Con Fiorelli, noto per le sue posizioni liberali che ne avevano causato l'incarcerazione nel 1848-49, comincia una nuova era. Famoso presso il grande pubblico per l'invenzione dei calchi, 'rapiti alla morte' (*fig*. 5), ha avuto altri e più importanti meriti per l'archeologia e la gestione di Pompei.[50] Infatti introdusse metodi scientifici nei lavori di sterramento e di documentazione. Fu lui ad utilizzare come primo lo 'scavo di attenzione' con cui tutti i reperti venivano documentati con precisione nel loro contesto, un metodo davvero rivoluzionario.[51] Grazie alla mentalità aperta del Fiorelli, gli scienziati stranieri potevano svolgere le loro ricerche e pubblicarne i risultati senza restrizioni: dagli anni sessanta in poi vediamo le prime generazioni di pompeianisti tedeschi quali Johannes Overbeck, Heinrich Nissen e August Mau. Fiorelli fondò inoltre la Scuola Archeologica di Pompei, uno strumento importante per la formazione *in situ* della nuova generazione di archeologi, esperti che avrebbero assunto un ruolo chiave nello studio e nella gestione del ricco patrimonio della nuova Italia. Per di più, la Scuola era pensata come il *pendant* italiano delle istituzioni straniere in Italia e ad Atene. Inserite nel programma della Scuola v'erano tutte le attività che gli allievi, dai loro futuri posti di lavoro, avrebbero diretto: lo studio dei monumenti e degli oggetti, lo scavo e la sua documentazione, infine la pubblicazione scientifica.[52] L'interesse nazionale dell'iniziativa risulta chiaro dalla relazione che accompagnava la proposta al Re Vittorio Emanuele II. In tale documento, dove la mano di Fiorelli è visibile, si legge:

> Se v'ha studi ove importi supremamente all'Italia di non mostrarsi da meno delle altre nazioni civili, l'un d'essi è certamente l'Archeologia, nata, si può dire, in casa nostra, donde mossero tre civiltà, le quali vi accumularono infinita quantità di monumenti e d'opere insigni, parte esistenti all'aperto o raccolte ne' musei, e parte coperte ancora dalla terra, aspettanti che la scienza e la pubblica prosperità le restituiscano alla luce.[53]

Con Giuseppe Fiorelli, insomma, la professionalizzazione dell'archeologia come disciplina scientifica ottenne un incentivo enorme, sia negli scavi di Pompei sia, e forse ancora di più, a livello nazionale.

Fig. 5. Pompei, Granai del foro (VII 7,29), calco di una vittima rinvenuta nella Palestra Grande (II 7), accasciata e addossata al muro del portico est (foto N. de Haan).

Infine, non vanno dimenticate le sue capacità organizzative, grazie alle quali egli creò un vero parco archeologico con un piccolo museo (l'Antiquarium) sul sito. Venne introdotto l'ingresso a pagamento e fu costruita la prima biglietteria vicina alla Porta Marina.[55] Per Fiorelli, Pompei, come tutto il patrimonio storico, archeologico e artistico italiano, era un progetto culturale a servizio del Paese finalmente unito. Tale 'servizio' alla patria, non risultò limitato al solo ambito nazionale. Al contrario: il suo aspetto internazionale, di carattere scientifico e turistico-educativo era molto importante; in più, la fama acquisita era lo strumento ideale per una riuscita integrazione di Pompei nella storia collettiva della nuova Italia. Su questa linea si è continuato anche dopo il 1875, quando Fiorelli ottenne un posto di rilievo nel Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione a Roma

(Direzione Centrale degli Scavi e Musei del Regno) lasciando Pompei. La strada da lui indicata era sgombra e non venne più abbandonata.

Conclusione

Il filo rosso nella molteplice immagine di Pompei è senza dubbio l'ambiente internazionale in cui la città antica fu inserita, non solo dai Borboni ma anche nell'Italia post-unitaria, fino ad oggi. Il fatto che Pompei facesse parte del Regno delle Due Sicilie indica il motivo della sua scarsa visibilità nell'Italia risorgimentale. Strettamente connessa con il regno di Napoli dopo la restaurazione del 1815 fu, infatti, l'idea di degrado e di stagnazione. L'avversione per il regno dei Borboni, dunque, rendeva complicato per Pompei, il sito di proprietà reale, venir considerata come patrimonio italiano all'interno del progetto risorgimentale.

Infine, abbiamo anche visto che, nel primo secolo degli scavi, dalla seconda metà del Settecento alla prima metà dell'Ottocento, non vi era una netta distinzione tra studiosi e dilettanti, tra scienziati e romanzieri, poiché tutti i loro contributi servivano a produrre immagini di Pompei che si sovrapponevano. L'immaginario collettivo risulta essere determinante ancora oggi, ma gli sviluppi di Pompei nell'Italia unita portarono cambiamenti radicali. L'istituzionalizzazione della scienza nell'Italia unita, e in particolare a Pompei, si riflettè in una netta distinzione tra il mondo scientifico e quello letterario-culturale. Di conseguenza, furono superati alcuni erronei preconcetti, come quelli della origine greca di Pompei, presto accantonata. Dagli anni sessanta dell'Ottocento in poi, cominciò, si può dire, la vera romanizzazione di Pompei. Di grande importanza fu la figura di Giuseppe Fiorelli, il quale, grazie alle sue riforme, esaltò il valore universale e l'interesse nazionale del sito di Pompei. Proprio l'immagine di Pompei *romana* si inseriva bene nella memoria collettiva, e nei miti, dell'Italia unita.

Note

* Questo articolo si base sostanzialmente sulla comunicazione da me offerta al colloquio internazionale '*L'Italie et l'Antiquité du Siècle des Lumières à la Grande Guerre: modèles, héritages, ruptures*' a Toulouse nel novembre 2009. Desidero ringraziare l'organizzatore Philippe Foro per l'invito nonchè tutti i partecipanti per discussioni molto stimolanti. Eric Moormann, il quale ha letto una prima versione, mi ha dato commenti preziosi. Infine, i miei ringraziamenti vanno a Flavio Sanza e Pietro Delcorno per la correzione del mio testo italiano. Dedico questo saggio a Susanna Piras, carissima amica sin dai nostri primi giorni all'Università, e con la quale condivido, tra tante altre cose, l'amore per Pompei.

1 Per la storia degli scavi si veda Zevi 1981; Parslow 1995; Varone 2002; Guidobaldi 2005; Moormann 2015, 7-94.

2 *ILS* 5942 = *CIL* X 1018: ex auctoritate / imp. Caesaris / Vespasiani Aug. / loca publica a privatis / possessa T. Suedius Clemens / tribunus causis cognitis et / mensuris factis rei publicae / Pompeianorum restituit.

3 Sull'eruzione vesuviana del 79 d.C. si veda Sigurdsson/Cashdollar/Sparks 1982; Pescatore/Sigurdsson 1993; De Carolis/Patricelli 2003; Mastrolorenzo 2005; Richter 2007, 19-35; Scarth 2009, 39-85.

4 Braccesi 2008.

5 Goethe 1829; Stendal 1826; Dumas 1841; Dickens, 1846; Twain 1869. Cf. Grell 1982; Romero Recio 2012. Fondamentale il saggio di Moormann (2003a) nonchè la recente monografia dello stesso autore (Moormann 2015).

6 Per la tradizione lettararia Europea si veda Moormann 2001 e Moormann 2015; Fitzon 2004; Hales/Paul 2011.

7 Tellini 1998, 750-751, 804-805 e 811-814; cf. Moormann 2001. Interessante la lettura convincente in chiave politica di Nelson Moe (2002, 122-125): secondo Moe *La ginestra*, che sottolinea la forza destruttiva del Vesuvio, fu un commento critico del poeta all'immagine pittoresca del Sud nonchè alla modernità esaltata dalle forze risorgimentali nel Nord.

8 Allroggen-Bedel 1993, 1996; D'Alconzo 1999.

9 Parslow 1995; cf. Pagano 1997 e Strazzullo 1999.

10 Su Paderni si veda De Vos 1993; Parslow 1995; García y García 1998; Strazzullo 1999; Forcellino 1999.

11 Winckelmann 1762 (edizione Bruer/Kunze 1997, 78): "Die Aufsicht über diese unterirdische Arbeit wurde einem Spanischen Feldmesser oder Ingenieur, Rocco Gioachino Alcubierre, welcher dem Könige aus seinem Lande gefolget war, aufgetragen; dieser ist itzo Obrister und das Haupt von dem Corpo der Neapelschen Ingenieurs. Dieser Mann, welcher mit den Alterthümern so wenig zu thun gehabt hatte, als der Mond mit den Krebsen, nach dem Welschen Sprichworte, war durch seine Unerfahrenheit Schuld an vielem Schaden und an dem Verluste vieler schönen Sachen." Si veda inoltre Strazzullo 1999.

12 Allroggen-Bedel 1996, 2008; Fitzon 2004; Gordon 2007.

13 Saint-Non 1781-1786. Per Saint-Non si veda Chevallier 1993; Lamers 1995. Saint-Non visitò Napoli e dintorni nel 1760.

14 *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte* furono pubblicati a Napoli nella Regia Stamperia in 8 volumi tra 1757 e 1792. I prestigiosi volumi non furono messi in vendita ma servirono invece da regali per le relazioni d'affari della corte.

15 Richter 2007, 99-103; Von der Thüsen 2008; cf. Mascoli/Vallet 1993.

16 Von der Thüsen 2008, 37.

17 Von der Thüsen 2008, 8-9.

18 Mascoli/Vallet 1993, 435.

19 Fitzon 2004, 157-161.

20 Per Hamilton si veda per es. García y García 1998, 601-604; Richter 2007, 133-137; Von der Thüsen 2008, 41-64; Scarth 2009, 185-226; Moormann 2015, 46-48. Splendido inoltre il romanzo di Susan Sontag, *The Vulcano Lover. A Romance* (1992).

21 Parte delle lettere furono raccolte nel volume *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna, and other Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies* (Londra 1772), ristampato in varie edizioni e tradotto in tedesco (Berlino 1773). Molto influente, infine,

anche per le splendide tavole colorate di Pietro Fabris, è stato il volume bilingue (inglese-francese) *Campi Phlegraei. Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies* (Napoli 1776, ristampato nel 1779 con un supplemento sull'eruzione vesuviana dell'agosto 1779).

22 Zevi 1981, 13.

23 Per le cifre citate si veda Zevi 1981, 13; Varone 2002, 19.

24 Zevi 1981, 14-15.

25 Su Mazois si veda García y García 1998, 796-797; Per le guide si veda Moormann 2003a.

26 Adamo Muscettola 2001.

27 Varon 2002, 20.

28 Per Michele Arditi si veda *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 4, 1962, 38-39, s.v. Arditi, Michele (anonimo); García y García 1998, 127; De Caro 1998; Adamo Muscettola 2001.

29 Longobardi 2002, 45.

30 Zevi 1981, 15.

31 P.B. Shelley, Lettera 49, a Thomas Love Peacock, Napoli 23-24 gennaio 1819. Si veda Jones 1964, 73.

32 De Waele 2001, 5. Il primo capitolo (p. 13-85, scritto da J.A.KE. de Waele) offre un'analisi di tutte le ricerche eseguite dalla riscoperta del tempio nel 1765 fino ad oggi.

33 La descrizione fu pubblicata nel primo volume, secondo tomo (1782), p. 134-135 ; i disegni furono fatti da Jean-Augustin Renard, sulla base di osservazioni e schizzi fatti nel 1778; cf. De Waele 2001, 15-22.

34 Per Graf zu Stolberg si veda García y García 1998, 1149; Moormann 2015, 64.

35 De Waele 2001.

36 Moormann 2003b.

37 García y García 1998, 1212; Moormann 2003b, 244.

38 Per la Villa di Diomede si veda Fitzon 2004, 165-167; Pesando/Guidobaldi 2006, 252, 266-267; Rocco 2003.

39 Parslow 1995, 77-106; Pagano 2003.

40 Per la casa si veda Pesando/Guidobaldi 2006, 179-181.

41 Breton 1855, 7.

42 Mazois 1824, 21.

43 Cf. Moormann 2005.

44 Breton 1855, 6.

45 Stendhal 1826, 340-341 (Éd. Pierre Brunel, Paris 2002); Cf. Colesanti 1998.

46 Si veda il catalogo della mostra omonima *Fotografi a Pompei nell'800 dalle collezioni del Museo Alinari*, Firenze, 1990; cf. De Carolis 2015.

47 Decreto n. 53 in *Collezione delle leggi e de'decreti emanati nelle provincie continentali dell'Italia meridionale durante il periodo della Didattura, dal 7 settembre a'6 novembre 1860*, Napoli 1860. Cf. Ridley 1983, 259-288 (per il decreto: 278); D'Esposito 2008; Avvisati 2010, 42-43.

48 Ridley 1983; Schwegman 2008; D'Esposito 2008.

49 Per Fiorelli si veda García y García 1998, 493-503; *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 48, 1997, 137-142 s.v. Fiorelli, Giuseppe (G. Kannes); De Caro/Guzzo 1999; Su Fiorelli e Pompei si veda ora Osanna 2015.

50 Per i calchi si veda Dwyer 2010; Pucci 2015.

51 Barbanera 1998, 31-34.

52 Barbanera 1998, 21-34.

53 Relazione del Ministro per la Pubblica Istruzione (Domenico Berti) al Re Vittorio Emanuele II (giugno 1866), citato in Barbanera 1998, 22.

54 Longobardi 2002, 44-45.

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Due rilievi dall'Isola Tiberina nel Palazzo Rondinini
Sull'arrivo a Roma di Esculapio e della Magna Mater

Francesco Marcattili

Abstract

In this paper two marble bas-reliefs are examined that have adorned the courtyard of Palazzo Rondinini in Rome since the 18th century; these sculptures represent the arrival of the serpent of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island and the docking of the ship bringing the Mother of the Gods to the Latium coast. An attempt was made to show the origin of the two Tiber Island bas-reliefs, in particular from the excavations carried out by Thomas Jenkins in the area of the church of San Bartolomeo where, in Roman times, the shrine of Aesculapius was probably located. Therefore, a historical-religious assumption is determined and the cultural context that, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, in a particularly successful phase of the cult of Aesculapius and the metroac religion, induced authoritative patrons to commission two bas-reliefs with a rather peculiar iconography. This was on the occasion of the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the birth of Rome, in the context of a more general propaganda operation intended to recall collective events and important protagonists of the primodia Urbis. *The cults of Aesculapius and the Magna Mater, of primary importance in the Pergamum* pantheon, *contributed to the exaltation of Rome's Trojan lineage and the imperial family's ancestors, the centuries-old* syngeneia *between Rome and Pergamum.*

Fig. 1. Roma, via del Corso. Il cortile di Palazzo Rondinini (da Candilio, Bertinetti 2011, 14).

Chi, passeggiando nel centro di Roma, percorre via del Corso dirigendosi verso piazza del Popolo, giunto quasi al termine di questo importante asse stradale del cosiddetto Tridente, non può fare a meno di notare sulla sinistra, all'attuale civico 518, la bella facciata di uno dei più interessanti palazzi settecenteschi della Capitale: Palazzo Rondinini.[1] Il visitatore che, come già J.J. Winckelmann, J.W. Goethe e A. Kauffmann, ha la fortuna di accedere nel cortile è accolto, per così dire, dalle architetture e dalle sculture di un'elaborata fontana-ninfeo (*fig. 1*), il cui prospetto monumentale è realizzato da una vasca al centro e da tre edicole absidate che ospitano all'interno, su alti basamenti, le statue di Apollo, Dioniso ed Afrodite. Sopra la nicchia centrale un'iscrizione del 1764 celebra i lavori per la ristrutturazione della nobile dimora ed indica in Giuseppe Rondinini (1725-1801) l'illuminato committente e proprietario. Marchese figlio di Alessandro Rondinini e Margherita Ambra, illustre collezionista d'arte, ampliò le raccolte di famiglia[2] acquistando dal vivacissimo mercato antiquario della Roma di quegli anni numerose opere ed epigrafi per abbellire il Palazzo di via del Corso, nel quale - come è noto - si potevano ammirare celebri sculture quali la Medusa, l'Alessandro, il Bruto, la Pietà.

In alto, ai lati dell'epigrafe che ricorda appunto l'intensa attività evergetica del marchese, in una posizione simmetrica e decisamente enfatica, sono visibili due bassorilievi dall'iconografia piuttosto singolare: il rilievo sulla sinistra ritrae una figura femminile su barca in passato variamente identificata, mentre il corrispondente rilievo di destra esibisce un'articolata scena giustamente interpretata come rappresentazione del serpente di Esculapio, dell'Isola Tiberina e della personificazione del fiume Tevere. L'esegesi si deve a F. von Duhn,[3] primo dopo G.A. Guattani[4] ad aver descritto e tentato di interpretare i due rilievi, il quale ha anche il merito di aver proposto, sulla base del soggetto, una loro contestualizzazione e datazione: secondo l'ipotesi dell'archeologo tedesco, infatti, i due pezzi, realizzati nello stesso marmo ed analoghi nello stile, appartenevano al santuario di Esculapio dell'Isola Tiberina[5] e possono datarsi, con pochi dubbi, al regno di Antonino Pio, quando del resto venne coniato un medaglione dall'iconografia molto simile su cui torneremo più in dettaglio.[6] La figura femminile su barca, sempre secondo il von Duhn, potrebbe allora essere la personificazione della stessa Isola,[7] le cui rive nei primi decenni del I secolo a.C. furono in effetti regolarizzate e modellate in forma di nave con blocchi di travertino:[8] un intervento, quest'ultimo, attuato sia perché la forma allungata dell'Isola Tiberina e le sue estremità ricordavano naturalmente lo scafo di un'imbarcazione, sia per ribadire il secolare, sacro vincolo del luogo con il dio della medicina, ovvero per ricordare l'arrivo da Epidauro su trireme del serpente di Asclepio.

Colonna ritrovata all'Isola
Tiberina vicino alla Chiesa di
S. Bartolomeo ov'era anticamente il Tempio d'Esculapio.
Si vede presso il Sig.r Jenkins

Fig. 2. La cosiddetta Colonna Piranesi. Incisione di G.B. Piranesi in Vasi e Candelabri *(da Lanciani 2000, fig. 93).*

Ora le pagine che seguono cercheranno di confermare alcune delle giuste intuizioni del von Duhn, di ampliare le sue riflessioni e, sulla base di una serie di confronti iconografici e di considerazioni storico-religiose, di proporre un'interpreta-

zione più convincente del rilievo con figura femminile su barca. Ma certamente il primo dato da verificare riguarda la possibile provenienza dei due marmi dall'Isola e dal santuario di Esculapio che, infatti, credo possa essere dimostrata con una certa attendibilità.

La provenienza: gli scavi di Thomas Jenkins sull'Isola Tiberina

Come abbiamo constatato grazie alla lettura dell'iscrizione posta sopra la fontana-ninfeo del cortile, è nell'anno 1764 che viene celebrata l'attività di Giuseppe Rondinini per l'abbellimento del Palazzo in via del Corso. Tuttavia, come dimostra la documentazione d'archivio (recentemente esaminata)[9] e le normali logiche del collezionismo, va sottolineato che le acquisizioni di opere d'arte da parte del marchese - che del resto abitava nel Palazzo già dal 1757[10] - non cesseranno in quel preciso anno ma, così come i restauri al patrimonio artistico della sontuosa dimora urbana, continueranno anche negli anni successivi, fino alla parziale dispersione della collezione, iniziata per volontà del nobile stesso a partire dal 1771[11] e, soprattutto, nel 1801 dal momento della sua morte.[12] È del 1765, ad esempio, l'acquisizione dell'Alessandro Rondinini oggi nella Gliptoteca di Monaco, acquistato allo scultore Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1716-1799) per 400 scudi.[13] In ogni caso, vista la posizione dei due rilievi ai lati dell'iscrizione, è probabile che l'inserimento di questi a coronamento della fontana sia databile proprio al 1764 o poco dopo. I temi figurativi dei rilievi, che come vedremo rappresentano soggetti in più ampie ambientazioni acquatiche, contribuirono certamente a suggerire tale collocazione.

Fig. 3. Londra, National Portrait Gallery. A. Kauffmann, Ritratto di Thomas Jenkins e della nipote Anna Maria - olio su tela, 1790 (da Cesareo 2009, fig. 24).

Ora, è molto interessante rilevare come, proprio in una data forse coincidente o vicina al 1764, sia attestato uno degli interventi di scavo compiuti nei secoli passati sull'Isola Tiberina.[14] L'indagine, priva di qualsivoglia finalità scientifica e destinata solo ad acquisire reperti di valore collezionistico da immettere nel mercato antiquario, è in effetti documentata dal Lanciani, e fu compiuta nel '1765 circa' nell'area di S. Bartolomeo dove tradizionalmente, sulla base di una serie di considerazioni ed indizi archeologici, viene ubicato il santuario di Esculapio:

> '1765 circa. Tommaso Jenkins scavando nell'Isola Tiberina presso S. Bartolomeo trova la singolare colonna Piranesi, *Vasi* tomo I fig. I tav. 40, ornata con vitami e col serpente di Epidauro. Doveva sostenere un donario.'[15]

La colonna, riprodotta dal Piranesi in *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne ed ornamenti antichi* in una tavola con altri due elementi architettonici di diversa provenienza, ha la seguente didascalia: 'Colonna ritrovata all'Isola Tiberina vicino alla Chiesa di S. Bartolomeo ov'era anticamente il Tempio d'Esculapio. Si vede presso il Sig.r Jenkins' (*fig. 2*).[16]

Come è noto, Thomas Jenkins (1722-1798) era nel mercato antiquario della Roma settecentesca una delle personalità più attive, complesse ma anche controverse[17] (*fig. 3*). Pittore, cicerone, banchiere, scavatore, collezionista e mercante d'arte, nonché accademico di S. Luca ben introdotto presso la corte papale, ricevette nella sua casa-museo di via del Corso e nella sua villa di Castel Gandolfo molti nobili acquirenti romani e, soprattutto dopo la fine della Guerra dei Sette Anni (ed il Trattato di Parigi del 1763), ebbe tra le sue clientele le più eminenti monarchie ed aristocrazie europee.[18] Il suo nome e le sue attività sono legati ad altri personaggi contemporanei con la medesima

passione per l'arte classica e vocazione per il commercio antiquario quali Gavin Hamilton e Charles Townley. Ebbene, tra i diversi interventi di scavo compiuti da Jenkins a Roma e nell'agro romano,[19] si ricorda dunque quest'indagine nell'area della chiesa di S. Bartolomeo *in Insula*, durante la quale fu riportata alla luce una colonna che presentava sul fusto a rilievo un serpente attorcigliato riconosciuto dal Lanciani come il serpente-simbolo del dio di Epidauro. Tutto ciò premesso, è verosimile pensare che i due rilievi di Palazzo Rondinini, già attributi dal von Duhn all'Isola ed al santuario di Esculapio sulla base del soggetto ed inseriti a decoro del cortile negli anni 1764-1765, siano stati rinvenuti nel corso di questa esplorazione.

In mancanza di un esplicito documento d'archivio che confermi la vendita dei due marmi da parte del Jenkins (o di un suo intermediario) al marchese Rondinini,[20] esistono comunque alcuni indizi che permettono di collegare l'antiquario di origini inglesi alle attività artistiche che in quegli anni si svolgevano nel Palazzo di via del Corso (d'altra parte prossimo alla sua dimora romana),[21] nonché agli abili artigiani che vi operavano. A partire dallo stesso Bartolomeo Cavaceppi,[22] scultore attivo - tra il 1765 ed il 1770 - nel risarcire ed integrare anche alcune opere destinate alla residenza Rondinini,[23] e che, come abbiamo anticipato, proprio nel 1765 aveva venduto al marchese l'Alessandro. Jenkins e Cavaceppi, oltre ad essere in ottimi rapporti di amicizia, collaboravano attivamente: l'inglese si rivolgeva infatti allo scultore sia per restaurare le opere da alienare, sia per mediare con alcuni clienti statue e ritratti scoperti dall'antiquario anglosassone durante i suoi scavi.[24] Ma è dalla corrispondenza di un altro grande pittore-collezionista del tempo, Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779), che si comprende bene come lo stesso Jenkins, negli anni centrali del decennio 1760-1770, fosse un frequentatore – ovviamente interessato - del Palazzo del marchese Giuseppe: in una missiva indirizzata a Raimondo Ghelli datata 18 marzo 1766, Mengs pregava infatti il suo collaboratore di rivolgersi all'antiquario inglese per avere il calco di una 'una bellissima testa di Medusa', da identificare con la Medusa Rondanini.[25] Testimonianza chiara di un'altra delle redditizie occupazioni dell'abile Jenkins: la formazione di calchi per le raccolte delle sue clientele; riproduzioni che, quindi, egli faceva realizzare anche delle migliori sculture nella collezione Rondinini. Esisteva, del resto, un altro interesse che, forse più degli altri, poteva legare Giuseppe Rondinini a Thomas Jenkins: mi riferisco alla raccolta di gemme intagliate, di cui il marchese era infatti un appassionato collezionista[26] e l'inglese un competente conoscitore e commerciante, a quanto pare non sempre irreprensibile,[27] il quale era arrivato a creare un '…pregievole Museo di camei' ammirato tra gli altri, nel 1793, dalla principessa Sofia Albertina di Svezia.[28]

L'anno 1764 risulta importante anche per definire meglio la natura dei rapporti tra Thomas Jenkins e Giovan Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) il quale, come abbiamo rilevato, aveva riprodotto in *Vasi e Candelabri* la colonna detta proveniente dagli scavi dell'Isola Tiberina, specificando in didascalia come fosse esposta 'presso il Sig.r Jenkins'. Entrambi accademici di S. Luca, collaborarono in più occasioni e proprio in quell'anno l'antiquario-collezionista inglese commissionò al Piranesi una raccolta di incisioni tratte da una serie di disegni del Guercino, pittore particolarmente amato dal notabile britannico. L'opera intitolata *Raccolta di alcuni disegni del Barberi da Cento detto il Guercino, incisi in rame, e presentati al singolar merito del Sig. Tommaso Jenkins pittore, ed accademico di S. Luca, in atto di respetto e d'amicizia dall'architetto e suo coaccademico*, presentava nel frontespizio un disegno ispirato ad una scultura conservata nella bottega-museo di un altro accademico di cui abbiamo scritto in precedenza: '*ex collectione Bartholomoei Cavaceppi Statuarii Romani*'.

Il serpente di Esculapio

Verificata come plausibile la provenienza dei due rilievi marmorei dall'Isola Tiberina,[29] è necessario descrivere ed interpretare il rilievo il cui soggetto aveva permesso già al von Duhn - che ignorava gli scavi del Jenkins nell'area di S. Bartolomeo - di postulare una loro pertinenza al santuario del dio della medicina,[30] il cui fortunato culto venne introdotto a Roma nel 292 a.C. come conseguenza di una terribile epidemia e della consultazione dei *libri Sibyllini*. Ricordano le fonti che il serpente-simbolo del dio, giunto da Epidauro sulle rive fluviali della futura capitale dell'Impero, scese spontaneamente dalla trireme che lo trasportava e nuotò verso l'Isola, dove misteriosamente scomparve.[31] L'episodio rivelava limpidamente la volontà della divinità venuta da lontano: la sede romana del suo culto[32] sarebbe stata quella piccola isola ubicata in corrispondenza di una delle anse del Tevere non lontano dal Foro Boario e dal porto arcaico di Roma. Almeno un'altra importante divinità era già presente nel luogo: Tiberinus, dio del fiume celebrato *in Insula* l'8 dicembre insieme alla paredra Gaia[33] e che, se la ricostruzione di J. Le Gall è corretta,[34] doveva a sua volta avere, come

Fig. 4. Palazzo Rondinini, cortile. Rilievo con il serpente di Esculapio, la sorgente dell'Isola Tiberina ed il dio Tiberinus (da Candilio, Bertinetti 2011, 110, n. 74).

Fig. 5. Londra, British Museum. Medaglione del regno di Antonino Pio con l'arrivo del serpente di Esculapio sull'Isola Tiberina (da Rowan 2014, fig. 6).

Asclepio-Esculapio, un rapporto con la purificazione e con la guarigione.

Insieme alla posizione isolata rispetto all'abitato, che ne ha fatto per secoli un'ideale zona di esclusione, sono proprio le acque del fiume e di una sorgente, evidentemente impiegate per motivi rituali, a spiegare la scelta dell'Isola sia per un luogo di culto dedicato al dio indigeno Tiberinus, sia per l'insediamento del santuario dello straniero Asclepio,[35] le cui aree sacre - come è noto - già nel mondo greco erano prevalentemente fondate in posizione extraurbana in rapporto a fonti/pozzi d'acqua utili alle dinamiche della guarigione rituale.[36] Che delle acque del fiume Tevere, infatti, ci si avvalesse per abluzioni che si pensava favorissero il recupero della salute o, comunque, la purificazione, è testimoniato da alcune fonti letterarie già esaminate da Le Gall,[37] mentre si ritiene che la sorgente dell'Isola Tiberina sacra ad Esculapio coincida con il pozzo medievale ubicato nell'area presbiteriale della suddetta chiesa di S. Bartolomeo,[38] collegato forse alla polla che già in età romana forniva acqua per le guarigioni.[39] L'iscrizione presente sulla vera del *puteal*, oggi scarsamente leggibile, sembra far riferimento alle proprietà salutari di quell'acqua:

> *Qui sitit ad fontem veniat potumque salubrem auriat ex vena*

Ora sono proprio tali legami tra Tiberino, Esculapio e acque considerate terapeutiche ad essere efficacemente rappresentati in uno dei due rilievi esposti nel cortile di Palazzo Rondinini (*fig. 4*). Si tratta del rilievo collocato sulla destra della fontana, integrato nella parte inferiore ed ampiamente ritoccato nella zona superiore, nel quale è infatti scolpita in alto l'Isola Tiberina con le sue coste rocciose ed alcuni degli edifici/monumenti che ospitava, ed in basso la personificazione del fiume stesso ritratto di profilo secondo lo schema canonico della figura maschile semidistesa, barbata e imponente. Tiberino sta sollevando con la mano destra una patera per raccogliere le acque di una sorgente che sgorga proprio dall'Isola; sorgente resa attraverso l'immagine di un'*hydria* rovesciata verso la quale si sta dirigendo, provenendo dalla destra del campo figurativo, anche il serpente di Esculapio, che

occupa significativamente il centro del bassorilievo.[40]

Fin dall''800 l'iconografia della scultura è stata confrontata con un celebre medaglione del regno di Antonino Pio[41] (sostanzialmente contemporaneo al rilievo Rondinini) che, in sintonia con la versione riferita dalle fonti letterarie, riproduce proprio il *prodigium* del serpente di Esculapio giunto nei pressi dell'Isola Tiberina (*fig. 5*): ancora alla presenza del dio del Tevere - rappresentato in basso a destra semidisteso, barbato ed emergente dalle acque del fiume -, il medaglione mostra al centro la discesa del serpente dalla trireme che lo ha condotto a Roma, ormai ormeggiata presso i *Navalia*.[42] Il rettile, verso il quale - come nel rilievo di via del Corso - Tiberino solleva il braccio e la mano destra aperta, si sta muovendo in direzione delle rive rocciose dell'Isola, da cui si elevano alcuni edifici ed un albero (probabilmente di alloro).[43]

In sintesi, le analogie tra le due rappresentazioni sono evidenti e, nonostante l'assenza dell'imbarcazione teoforica, è possibile concludere che anche il rilievo Rondinini mostrasse nel suo contesto originario il *prodigium* che aveva accompagnato l'arrivo (l'introduzione) del serpente (del culto) di Esculapio a Roma nel 292 a.C.[44] Credo che una tale lettura possa essere confermata dall'interpretazione del rilievo simmetrico e 'gemello' con figura femminile su nave, il quale rappresenta verosimilmente l'arrivo/approdo in Italia dall'Oriente di un'altra importante divinità: mi riferisco alla Magna Mater, come Esculapio giunta nell'*Urbs* previa consultazione dei Libri Sibillini e dell'oracolo delfico in un momento di grave crisi, ed il cui ingresso a Roma fu ugualmente segnato da un *prodigium*.[45]

La nave di Cibele

In effetti, per le indiscutibili analogie storico-religiose, le fonti letterarie sembrano legare le vicende di dislocazione in terra italica delle due divinità - 'incarnate' nel simbolo del serpente e dell'aniconica pietra nera pessinuntina -, avvenute entro i limiti cronologici del III secolo a.C. e che comportarono un lungo viaggio per mare dalle sedi di culto originarie. Livio descrive con precisione le fasi che, sempre nel corso di un'epidemia diffusasi durante la seconda Guerra Punica, portarono all'introduzione nell'*Urbs* del culto metroaco (204 a.C.), sottolineando come i Romani fossero ancora *memores* dell'arrivo - del tutto analogo - del dio greco Asclepio da Epidauro. Ecco il significativo passo liviano:

'Si stava già avvicinando la data dei comizi, quando a Roma fu portata una lettera da parte del console P. Licinio; lui e il suo esercito erano travagliati da una pericolosa epidemia e non si sarebbe potuto resistere se la stessa virulenza del morbo o uno più grave non avesse contagiato i nemici…In quel tempo una nuova superstizione si era impadronita della città, perché era stato trovato un vaticinio nei libri Sibillini consultati in occasione del fatto che a più riprese in quell'anno erano piovute pietre dal cielo; ogni volta che un nemico straniero avesse arrecato la guerra alla terra d'Italia, avrebbe potuto essere scacciato dall'Italia e sconfiggersi, se la Madre Idea fosse stata portata a Roma da Pessinunte…Quel vaticinio trovato dai decemviri impressionò ancor di più i senatori perché anche i legati che avevano portato l'offerta votiva a Delfi, riferivano che le interiora degli animali erano state ad essi propizie mentre sacrificavano ad Apollo Pizio e che era stato dato il responso dell'oracolo che una vittoria…stava lì lì per toccare al popolo romano. Perciò, per conseguire più rapidamente la vittoria annunziata dai fati, dagli auguri e dagli oracoli, essi andavano pensando qual modo vi fosse per trasportare la dea a Roma. Il popolo romano in Asia non aveva ancora nessuna comunità alleata; tuttavia rammentando che anche Esculapio era stato trasportato dalla Grecia allora non ancora stretta in alleanza, per tutelare la salute della popolazione, e che adesso, per la guerra comune contro Filippo, si era pure allacciata amicizia con il re Attalo, considerando che egli avrebbe fatto tutto quello che poteva in favore del popolo romano, decretarono di mandare a lui legati…Decretarono per loro cinque navi quinqueremi per visitare quelle regioni…I legati partiti alla volta dell'Asia, spintisi fino a Delfi, visitarono l'oracolo per domandare quale speranza offrisse a loro e al popolo romano di portare a termine l'impresa per cui erano stati mandati da Roma. Dicono che fu risposto che avrebbero ottenuto ciò che desideravano con i buoni uffici del re Attalo; quando avrebbero portato a Roma la dea, allora si adoperassero affinché la ricevesse con tutti gli onori l'uomo migliore che fosse a Roma. Vennero a Pergamo dal re. Questi accompagnò i legati ricevuti con squisito senso d'ospitalità a Pessinunte in Frigia e consegnò ad essi la sacra pietra che gli abitanti dicevano esser la Madre degli Dei e diede il suo assenso a che fosse portata a Roma. M. Valerio Faltone mandato avanti dai legati annunziò che la dea stava per essere trasportata….'[46]

Tabella 1

Esculapio (*met.* 15.626-744)		**Magna Mater (*fast.* 4.247-349)**
Epidemia	**Crisi**	Non precisata [ma è un'epidemia in Livio (cfr. *supra*)]
Consultazione dell'Oracolo di Delfi e responso: necessità di trasferire il culto di Asclepio a Roma	**Consultazione e responso**	Consultazione dei Libri Sibillini e di Apollo Paean ('Guaritore'); responso: necessità di trasferire il culto della Madre degli Dei a Roma
Delegazione del Senato inviata presso i sacerdoti di Epidauro	**Ambasceria**	Delegazione di nobili romani (*proceres*) inviata presso Attalo di Pergamo
I pareri dei sacerdoti di Epidauro sono contrastanti	**Opposizione**	Opposizione iniziale di Attalo alle richieste degli ambasciatori romani
Asclepio si manifesta in sogno; il tempio e gli arredi sacri tremano; il dio appare sotto forma di serpente e concede il suo assenso al trasferimento richiesto dai 'discendenti di Enea'	**Prodigio - Epifania divina**	La terra trema: la Magna Mater parla e manifesta la propria volontà di trasferirsi a Roma, che discende da antenati frigi. Attalo lascia partire la dea
Il serpente sale sulla nave italica (*in Ausonia rate*), che si abbassa; i discendenti di Enea sacrificano sulla spiaggia un toro e partono	**Imbarco e rituali della partenza**	Come già Enea in fuga da Troia, con legno di pino viene costruita e decorata la nave (*concava puppis*) che dovrà trasportare la dea a Roma
Tappe del viaggio con elenco di luoghi; la navigazione si conclude alle foci del Tevere (*Tiberinaque ad Ostia*)	**Viaggio per mare**	Elenco di luoghi; il viaggio si conclude ad Ostia presso le foci del Tevere
Alle foci del Tevere il popolo romano e le Vestali accolgono il dio; offerte di incenso e sacrificio cruento	**Accoglienza e rituali**	Alle foci del Tevere il popolo romano e le Vestali accolgono la dea
Il serpente di Febo sceglie l'Isola Tiberina come sede del suo culto, scende dalla nave, riassume aspetto celeste e pone fine alla peste	**Prodigio - Epifania divina Arrivo a Roma**	La nave si incaglia e rimane ferma; prodigio di Claudia Quinta, che dimostra così la propria castità; ripartenza ed offerte rituali; la dea viene calata dalla nave e raggiunge su carro il Palatino

Come è noto, si descrive o si allude al trasferimento di Cibele dall'Asia Minore in molte altre fonti;[47] tra queste, ad esempio, Varrone riferisce che la dea giunse da Pergamo dopo la consultazione dei *libri Sibyllini*;[48] libri menzionati anche da Appiano,[49] che ricorda il miracolo di Claudia Quinta, la casta matrona (o vergine Vestale secondo altri autori) accusata ingiustamente di adulterio che avrebbe disincagliato la nave della dea arenatasi nelle acque della foce tiberina. *Prodigium* descritto in altri scrittori quali ad esempio Silio Italico,[50] Erodiano[51] o Giuliano,[52] sempre attenti a descrivere il decisivo ruolo della nave in quel sacro trasbordo. Sulla base delle sue fonti, Giuliano nel *Discorso alla Madre degli Dei* aggiunge un dettaglio sicuramente importante per quanto scriveremo più avanti: per rendere più credibile la vicenda, infatti, l'imperatore dichiarava che l'episodio risolutivo di Claudia Quinta e della nave non solo veniva riferito dalla maggior parte degli storici, ma era scolpito in bassorilievi bronzei visibili a Roma. Da Valerio Massimo[53] e da Tacito[54] sappiamo anche che Claudia Quinta era ritratta sul Palatino in una statua posta '*in vestibulo templi Matris Deum*'[55] miracolosamente scampata a due incendi,[56] mentre da Ovidio siamo informati che l'evento soprannaturale della nave bloccata e poi liberata, entrato prepotentemente nella cultura urbana, veniva interpretato anche a teatro (verosimilmente nel corso dei *ludi Megalenses*):[57] '*mira, sed et scaena testificata loquar: / mota dea est, sequiturque ducem laudatque sequendo; / index laetitiae fertur ad astra sonus*'.[58]

Alcuni dei temi ricorrenti nella ricca tradizione letteraria appena ricordata sono presenti appunto nel racconto di Ovidio, dalle cui opere emerge la perfetta simmetria tra i trasferimenti a Roma di Esculapio e Cibele. Il poeta di Sulmona descrive infatti nelle *Metamorfosi* il viaggio e l'arrivo del serpente da Epidauro[59] e nei *Fasti* il tragitto della pietra nera traslata da Pessinunte,[60] e le due cronache presentano analogie e rispondenze davvero forti, che possono essere così riassunte e schematizzate (*tabella 1*).

Fig. 6. Palazzo Rondinini, cortile. Rilievo con divinità femminile su barca (da Candilio, Bertinetti 2011, 108, n. 71).

Fig. 7. Roma, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini. Altare dedicato da Claudia Synthyche con Cibele su nave ed il prodigio di Claudia Quinta (da Vermaseren 1977, pl. CXIII, n. 218).

In entrambe le narrazioni vanno sottolineati il preventivo e fondamentale ruolo dei *libri Sibyllini* e del padre di Esculapio, Apollo (non a caso indicato nei *Fasti* come Paean, 'guaritore'), l'accento posto sul lungo viaggio e sulla funzione (religiosa) delle navi che trasportano le due divinità, i *prodigia* che inducono alla partenza e quindi sanciscono l'introduzione dei culti a Roma, meta voluta dalla Madre degli Dei perché certamente degna da raggiungere (*dignus Roma locus quo deus omnis eat*[61]). Un'introduzione favorita dal fatto che la città è popolata dai discendenti di Enea - definito *fugiens Phryx pius*[62] - e, come attestano le parole pronunciate dal re Attalo, dalla constatazione che 'Roma discende da progenitori frigi' (*in Phrygios Roma refertur avos*[63]).

Ora, con i preziosi dati forniti dalla tradizione letteraria, è necessario tornare a descrivere il rilievo con figura femminile su nave inserito in alto a sinistra rispetto alla fontana-ninfeo del cortile di Palazzo Rondinini[64] (*fig. 6*). Anche questo, come il precedente, si presenta molto integrato dal restauro settecentesco, segno evidente che negli scavi dell'Isola Tiberina i due marmi erano stati rinvenuti da Jenkins in uno stato di conservazione non eccellente. Risultano di restauro, infatti, l'intera testa della protagonista con la corona di foglie, il panneggio al vento sul dorso, l'avambraccio sinistro che sostiene il timone, l'avambraccio destro, le gambe e gran parte della flora acquatica visibile nella parte inferiore del rilievo, tanto che già von Duhn era costretto a concludere: '…ne è antica solo una striscia di mezzo col corpo della donna e la parte corrispondente della nave con un ramo di canna'.[65] Tanto basta, comunque, per ricostruire il soggetto del rilievo: una figura femminile, verosimilmente una divinità, ritratta seduta su una nave, che si presenta provvista di timone a poppa ed era forse rappresentata insabbiata o arenata, come sembrano suggerire le residue tracce di vegetazione palustre scolpite a diretto contatto con lo scafo.[66]

Possiamo a questo punto rivolgerci alla tradizione iconografica, per verificare come, nonostante la rarità del soggetto, esista comunque nel patrimonio figurativo romano (ma non solo)[67] una dea che viene rappresentata seduta su barca: e questa divinità è proprio la Madre degli Dei, le cui competenze del resto riguardarono a Roma anche la tutela sulla navigazione e sulle operazioni di alaggio che si svolgevano nel tratto fluviale tra Ostia e la futura capitale dell'Impero.[68] La prima testimonianza da descrivere è l'ormai celebre altare della Mater Deum e di Navisalvia ai Musei Capitolini[69] (*fig. 7*), databile all'età giulio-claudia e rinvenuto nel '700 nella zona dell'antico Emporio e dell'attuale Lungotevere Testaccio, nell'area in cui verosimilmente la nave che trasportava la pietra nera attraccò nel 204 a.C.[70] In sintonia con il racconto delle fonti letterarie, la scena illustrata nel lato principale dell'ara - dedicata da Claudia Synthyche - mostra l'imbarcazione teoforica e il miracolo di Claudia Quinta, stante sulla destra con *suffibulum*, chitone ed *himation*, ed impegnata a trarre in salvo - nel ruolo di Navisalvia, appunto[71] - la nave di Cibele. La dea è rappresentata di profilo e con il capo velato, seduta su un trono fissato direttamente sul ponte dello scafo; quest'ultimo, dotato di prora con rostro desinente a voluta, appare provvisto di *gubernaculum* a poppa e di due cinte laterali parallele nella parte alta della murata. Elementi, remo-timone a poppa e cinta, significativamente presenti anche nella nave scolpita nel rilievo Rondinini.

La Madre degli Dei è rappresentata su nave anche in un'ametista della collezione Lewis a Cambridge con lo stesso prodigio di Claudia Quinta[72] e in una serie di antefisse i cui esemplari sono stati rinvenuti nel contesto di luoghi significativi della topografia metroaca di Roma (Palatino, Via Sacra), del Suburbio (lungotevere presso Porta S. Paolo e via Ostiense; rive dell'Almone) e di Ostia.[73] Ebbene queste antefisse, diverse per tipologia, qualità e conservazione, riproducono comunque Cibele in un medesimo schema iconografico (*figg. 8-9*): la dea, modellata in piena frontalità e turrita, è seduta su un trono fiancheggiato da due leoni sedenti rivolti verso la divinità; come nell'altare dei Musei Capitolini, il trono con alto schienale è collocato centralmente sul ponte della nave, caratterizzata sempre da scafo ricurvo e timone a poppa, ma nelle terrecotte distinta anche dall'albero, dal pennone, dalle sartie e da vele significativamente imbrogliate: segno che la navi-

Fig. 8. Ostia, Antiquarium. Antefissa con Cibele su nave (da Vermaseren 1977, pl. CCLXIX, n. 427).

Fig. 9. Disegno di un'antefissa della Collezione Campana con Cibele su nave (da Vermaseren 1977, pl. CCLXXI, n. 432).

gazione non si sta svolgendo in mare aperto, ma che l'imbarcazione è in secca o, comunque, è ormai in procinto di attraccare o è già approdata.

Considerata la cronologia dei bassorilievi nel Palazzo Rondinini, è importante ricordare come l'arrivo della nave di Cibele ed il *prodigium* di Claudia Quinta siano celebrati anche in un medaglione con legenda *DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA*.[74] La dea è sempre ritratta seduta su trono con leoni ai lati, e la nave che la trasporta - della quale in questo caso è visibile solo la zona di prua - è raffigurata nei pressi della riva, dove è rappresentato un gruppo di donne con fiaccole alzate in attesa del divino approdo. Tra queste, grazie al braccio destro impegnato con l'ausilio di una corda a muovere l'imbarcazione, si riconosce ancora una volta Claudia. Proprio la datazione al regno di Antonino Pio dei rilievi Rondinini e del medaglione di Faustina divinizzata[75] ci persuade ad ampliare subito le nostre riflessioni, nel tentativo di definire meglio i presupposti storico-religiosi ed il contesto culturale che hanno spinto l'autorevole committenza a pensare, per il santuario di Esculapio sull'Isola Tiberina, due rilievi dall'iconografia piuttosto peculiare e che con ogni probabilità erano parte di un ciclo scultoreo più ampio.

Memoria e propaganda dinastica nel II secolo d.C.: Esculapio e Cibele tra Pergamo e Roma

Ora non è certamente casuale che nel corso del II secolo d.C. i culti di Esculapio e della Madre degli Dei abbiano ricevuto un'attenzione molto particolare da parte della dinastia e delle classi dirigenti. Come hanno dimostrato gli studi di M. Melfi,[76] infatti, è soprattutto nel corso del II secolo d.C., ed in particolare durante il regno degli Antonini, che nei santuari greco-orientali dedicati ad Asclepio si rileva una vera e propria rinascita architettonica e religiosa: cospicui interventi di monumentalizzazione, di ristrutturazione o, comunque, strategie di promozione interessarono infatti *Asklepieia* di grande tradizione come quelli di Epidauro, Atene, Lebena, Cos e Pergamo. Le ragioni di questo rinnovamento sono molteplici: da un lato c'è il ruolo - evidenziato dalla Melfi - di Asclepio-Esculapio come divinità tutelare degli intellettuali e della cultura neosofistica del tempo; dall'altro - come dimostrano tra l'altro la testimonianza di Elio Aristide ed il suo soggiorno pergameno[77] - emergono concrete necessità sanitarie e terapeutiche, scaturite in particolare dalla grave epidemia che colpì vaste zone dell'Impero dal 165 al 189 d.C.[78] In questa lunga fase, del resto, sono evidenti i segni di un'ideologia volta a riordinare il culto di Asclepio e di Igea in virtù delle esigenze del culto imperiale: a Pergamo, soprattutto, il cui importante *Asklepieion* verrà ricostruito da Antonino Pio, già Adriano era stato onorato come *neos Asklepios*, mentre Marco Aurelio e Faustina saranno celebrati e ritratti nella locale monetazione proprio con le fattezze delle divinità mediche.[79] Ma ad Antonino Pio sono attribuiti interventi anche nel santuario di Esculapio sull'Isola Tiberina,[80] attuati forse nell'imminenza o in occasione del 450° anniversario del trasferimento del

Fig. 10. Sesterzio con busto della Diva Faustina e Mater Deum Salutaris su trono (da Turcan 1983, pl. XVI.2).

culto di Asclepio nell'*Urbs*,[81] cronologicamente vicino alle celebrazioni per il nono centenario della fondazione di Roma (148 d.C.);[82] anniversario quest'ultimo solennizzato anche con i due medaglioni che ricordavano l'introduzione a Roma dei culti di Esculapio e Cibele descritti in precedenza, associati a medaglioni che, nella stessa serie 'programmatica' o 'commemorativa', rappresentavano significativi soggetti dei *primordia Urbis* quali ad esempio la partenza di Enea da Troia ed il suo arrivo in Italia, Marte e Rea Silvia, la Lupa e i Gemelli, il Ratto delle Sabine, l'augure Atto Navio, Orazio Coclite.[83]

In questa meditata operazione di propaganda che, più in generale, intendeva richiamare alla memoria collettiva eventi ed importanti protagonisti delle leggende e della storia romana delle origini, venivano poste in risalto ancora una volta la discendenza troiana dell'*Urbs* e della stirpe imperiale,[84] quindi la secolare *syngeneia* tra Roma e Pergamo, ed i culti di Esculapio e della Magna Mater contribuirono certamente ad avvicinare ed omologare le due città.[85] Proprio in un tale contesto politico e storico-culturale, quindi, possiamo inquadrare anche la realizzazione dei due rilievi Rondinini, i quali - come i coevi e similari medaglioni - celebravano nel marmo gli analoghi destini di due divinità primarie anche nel *pantheon* pergameno, giunte a Roma nel III secolo a.C. ed ora così vicine alla *domus Augusta*.

Nelle pagine precedenti abbiamo toccato con mano il fondamentale ruolo di Attalo nell'introduzione del culto metroaco a Roma, tanto che Varrone, nel *De Lingua Latina*, arrivava a non menzionare Pessinunte, rievocando invece l'arrivo della dea direttamente dal *Megalesion* di Pergamo.[86] Questa iniziale e decisiva influenza della capitale asiatica è evidente anche nella documentazione archeologica: non è certamente casuale, infatti, che la superstite statua di culto del tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino replichi un tipo statuario di Cibele rinvenuto nella stessa Pergamo,[87] ed è del pari significativo che i due più importanti santuari romani della dea siano stati fondati in aree *intra moenia* come il Palatino e la Sacra via, dense di memorie, leggende e culti ancestrali. In prossimità, dunque, della *casa Romuli*, della *Roma Quadrata*, del *Lupercal*, dell'*Atrium Vestae*, luoghi/edifici/contesti ricchi di riferimenti ad Enea ed alla saga troiana, nei quali Cibele appariva come divinità collegata alla fondazione della città e protettrice degli Eneadi.[88]

Sono dunque tali legami tra la divinità orientale, le origini di Roma, Pergamo e la lontana Frigia[89] ad essere ancora celebrati nel corso del II secolo d.C., quando la religione metroaca venne piegata, come il culto di Esculapio, alle esigenze della propaganda dinastica.[90] Al riguardo sono particolarmente rilevanti il legame topografico tra il tempio di Antonino e Faustina del Foro Romano e la discussa *tholus Cybelis*,[91] quindi la verosimile identificazione della Magna Mater con Faustina stessa quale risulta dalle testimonianze numismatiche: insieme a diversi medaglioni in bronzo,[92] si devono ricordare le monete con il busto-ritratto della *Diva Augusta Faustina* al dritto e Cibele al rovescio,[93] dea che in un caso è definita in legenda *Mater Deum Salutaris*[94] (*fig. 10*). Un epiteto, *salutaris*, dai molteplici significati, e che appare interessante anche per quanto abbiamo scritto nelle pagine precedenti sulla relazione tra Esculapio e la Madre degli Dei, sul ruolo giocato da Apollo Paean nell'introduzione del culto metroaco a Roma; un aggettivo che, del resto, ricorre ancora in un discusso contorniato[95] ed in un'epigrafe da Bovillae del 147 d.C., dedicata *pro salute* all'imperatore Antonino Pio, a Marco Aurelio ed alla famiglia imperiale e nella quale, appunto, si fa menzione di un *collegium salutare dendrophorum*.[96]

Note

1 Salerno/Paribeni 1965; Borsi et al. 1983; Mancinelli 1998; Candilio/Bertinetti 2011.
2 Kuhn-Forte 2011.
3 Duhn 1879, 7-8; 1886.
4 Guattani 1787, LXXVI-LXXIX (Ottobre).
5 Ipotesi accolta in Besnier 1902, 181-183 e in Guarducci 1983, 188-189.
6 La cronologia dei rilievi proposta dal von Duhn, accolta anche da Toynbee (Toynbee 1934, 114) e da Candilio/Bertinetti 2011, non si basa solo sul confronto con il medaglione di Antonino Pio, ma anche su considerazioni relative al trattamento delle superfici ed alla resa dei panneggi.
7 Duhn 1879, 7.
8 Krauss 1944; Hafner 1976; Conticello De' Spagnolis 1987-1988; Moreau 2014a, 900-902.
9 Cellini 2011; Kuhn-Forte 2011.
10 Bertinetti 2011, 17.
11 Cellini 2011, 64-66.
12 Salerno/Paribeni 1965, 73-78; Kuhn-Forte 2011, 41-42.
13 Candilio 2011, 8; Kuhn-Forte 2011, 39-40.
14 Interventi di scavo elencati in Besnier 1902, 339.
15 Lanciani 2000, 160. Su questa indagine di scavo, Bignamini/Hornsby 2010, 140-141.
16 La colonna rinvenuta sull'Isola Tiberina ha verosimilmente ispirato l'esecuzione (moderna) del fusto con serpente inserito in un candelabro con aironi prodotto nella bottega Piranesi dopo la morte di Giovan Battista. Questo candelabro fu infatti venduto nel 1784 da Francesco Piranesi a Gustavo III di Svezia ed è oggi esposto a Stoccolma (inv. NM Sk 181) (Bosso 2005, 40-42, 49-50). Ho proficuamente discusso della colonna con serpente inserita in questo riuscito *pastiche* piranesiano con la dott.ssa Raffaella Bosso, che ringrazio per la generosa disponibilità.

[17] Ashby 1913; Ford 1974; Pierce 1965; Busiri Vici 1985; Cesareo 2009; Coltman 2009; Bignamini 2010; Bignamini/Hornsby 2010, 288-294. Il ritratto di T. Jenkins alla Fig. 3, dell'anno 1790, è opera di A. Kauffmann la quale, come abbiamo ricordato (vedi *supra*), fu ospite del Palazzo Rondinini. Jenkins e la Kauffmann si frequentavano abitualmente per motivi finanziari: l'inglese le faceva infatti da intermediario quando la pittrice veniva pagata dai suoi clienti (Cesareo 2009, 224).

[18] Vaughan 2000.

[19] Per le attività di scavo nella Roma del '700, si vedano tra gli altri Bignamini/Hornsby 2010; Liverani 2010.

[20] Documento che infatti non risulta presente nel materiale d'archivio esaminato in Candilio/Bertinetti 2011.

[21] T. Jenkins, infatti, abitava in via del Corso al civico 504 (Cesareo 2009, 222).

[22] Su Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Howard 1980; Barberini/Gasparri 1994; Gasparri/Ghiandoni 1994; Piva 2000.

[23] Candilio 2011, 8; Kuhn-Forte 2011, 39.

[24] Palma Venetucci et al. 2011, 34-36.

[25] Corrispondenza ricordata in Musso 2011, 54 e nota 57. Sui rapporti tra Mengs e Jenkins, cfr. Roettgen 1993, 12-18.

[26] Cellini 2011, 64.

[27] Cfr. Vaughan 2000, 22. Pare infatti che l'antiquario inglese facesse incidere cammei che nascondeva tra le rovine del Colosseo e poi recuperava, spacciandoli quindi come antichi al momento della vendita.

[28] Come è ricordato nel *Diario Ordinario* (Cesareo 2009, 225).

[29] Sull'Isola Tiberina, Besnier 1902; Guarducci 1983, 180-197; Pasquali/Passeri 1983; Brucia 1990; Richardson 1992, 209-210; D'Arco 1996; Degrassi 1996; De Spirito 1996; *Roma e il Tevere* 1999; Brandenburg 2007; Moreau 2014a; Moreau 2014b.

[30] Besnier 1902, 137-244; Richardson 1992, 3-4; Degrassi 1993.

[31] Liv., 10.47.6-7; Ov., *met.* 15.622-744; Val. Max., 1.8.2. Fonti commentate in Besnier 1902, 152-183.

[32] In generale, sul culto di Asclepio-Esculapio a Roma, Renberg 2006-2007.

[33] Degrassi 1963, 534-535.

[34] Le Gall 1953, 67-82.

[35] Fest., 98 L.

[36] In generale, Melfi 2007a.

[37] In Cicerone (*leg.*, 2.24), Orazio (*sat.*, 2.3.288-294) e nel *Corpus Tibullianum* (3.10.7-8) si trovano riferimenti piuttosto chiari al bagno nel fiume come possibile espediente di risanamento.

[38] Claussen 1994; Tollo 2000; Brandenburg 2007, 41-51.

[39] Così Guarducci 1983, 193-194.

[40] Su questo rilievo, privo di numero di inventario e realizzato in marmo bianco, Besnier 1902, 181-183; Salerno/Paribeni 1965, 211, n. 25; Mambella 1997, 26, n. 13; Candilio/Bertinetti 2011, 110-111, n. 74 (L.M. Vigna); Moreau 2014a, 894, 905-906. Le dimensioni attuali della scultura, recentemente riportate in Moreau 2014a sulla scia di von Duhn, sono di m 1.59 x 1.11; L.M. Vigna (in Candilio/Bertinetti 2011, 110) descrive come di restauro 'la zona inferiore del rilievo, separata da un evidente taglio orizzontale e comprendente la mano, l'avambraccio sinistro della figura e quasi tutte le canne palustri; gli edifici in alto sullo sfondo; parte del vaso e della testa del serpente'.

[41] La bibliografia su questo medaglione è ora raccolta in Brandenburg 2007, 17, nota 19 e in Moreau 2014a, 893, 902-905.

[42] Secondo un'altra ipotesi, si tratterebbe invece delle architetture del Ponte Sublicio (sui *Navalia*, Coarelli 1996; Coarelli 1997, 345-361; Cozza/Tucci 2006; Arata/Felici 2011).

[43] Per F. von Duhn questo albero costituirebbe il riferimento iconografico ad un *lucus* annesso al santuario (Duhn 1879, 7). Sui *luci* si veda ora van der Meer 2015.

[44] Così già Besnier 1902, 181-183.

[45] In un recente articolo anche H. Moreau ha proposto di riconoscere Cibele nella figura femminile del rilievo Rondinini (Moreau 2014a, 907-908). In generale, sul culto metroaco nel mondo romano, ancora esauriente Graillot 1912; sulla topografia metroaca di Roma, si vedano tra gli altri Coarelli 1982, 33-53 e Pensabene 2008.

[46] Liv., 29.10-11: *'Iam comitiorum appetebat tempus cum a P. Licinio consule litterae Romam allatae se exercitumque suum gravi morbo adflictari, nec sisti potuisse ni eadem vis mali aut gravior etiam in hostes ingruisset; itaque quoniam ipse venire ad comitia non posset, si ita patribus videretur, se Q. Caecilium Metellum dictatorem comitiorum causa dicturum. Exercitum Q. Caecili dimitti e re publica esse; [nam] neque usum eius ullum in praesentia esse, cum Hannibal iam in hiberna suos receperit, et tanta incesserit in ea castra vis morbi ut nisi mature dimittantur nemo omnium superfuturus. videatur. Ea consuli a patribus facienda ut e re publica fideque sua duceret permissa. Civitatem eo tempore repens religio invaserat invento carmine in libris Sibyllinis propter crebrius eo anno de caelo lapidatum inspectis, quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset eum pelli Italia vincique posse si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret. Id carmen ab decemviris inventum eo magis patres movit quod et legati qui donum Delphos portaverant referebant et sacrificantibus ipsis Pythio Apollini omnia laeta fuisse et responsum oraculo editum maiorem multo victoriam quam cuius ex spoliis dona portarent adesse populo Romano. In eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis velut praesagientem animum de fine belli quod depoposcisset provinciam Africam. itaque quo maturius fatis ominibus oraculisque portendentis sese victoriae compotes fierent, id cogitare atque agitare quae ratio transportandae Romam deae esset. Nullasdum in Asia socias civitates habebat populus Romanus; tamen memores Aesculapium quoque ex Graecia quondam hauddum ullo foedere sociata valetudinis populi causa arcessitum, tunc iam cum Attalo rege propter commune adversus Philippum bellum coeptam amicitiam esse - facturum eum quae posset populi Romani causa -, legatos ad eum decernunt M. Valerium Laevinum qui bis consul fuerat ac res in Graecia gesserat, M. Caecilium Metellum praetorium, Ser. Sulpicium Galbam aedilicium, duos quaestorios Cn. Tremelium Flaccum et M. Valerium Faltonem. Iis quinque naves quinqueremes ut ex dignitate populi Romani adirent eas terras ad quas concilianda maiestas nomini Romano esset decernunt. Legati Asiam petentes protinus Delphos cum escendissent, oraculum adierunt consulentes ad quod negotium domo missi essent perficiendi eius quam sibi spem populoque Romano portenderet. Responsum esse ferunt per Attalum regem compotes eius fore quod peterent: cum Romam deam devexissent, tum curarent ut eam qui vir optimus Romae esset hospitio exciperet. Pergamum ad regem venerunt. Is legatos comiter acceptos Pessinuntem in Phrygiam deduxit sacrumque iis lapidem quam matrem deum esse incolae dicebant tradidit ac deportare Romam iussit. Praemissus ab legatis M. Valerius Falto nuntiavit deam apportari'* (traduzione di L. Fiore).

[47] Citate in Gérard 1980, 153-154, nota 1.

[48] Varro, *ling.* 6.15.

[49] App., *Hann.* 56.

[50] Sil., 17.1-47.

[51] Herod., 1.11.

[52] Iulian., *Met. th.* 1-3: 'Anche se a qualcuno la storia apparirà poco credibile ed indegna di un filosofo o di

un teologo, raccontiamola ugualmente, perché è riferita concordemente dalla maggior parte degli storici ed è anche immortalata in bassorilievi bronzei nella potentissima città di Roma cara agli dèi' (traduzione di V. Ugenti).

53 Val. Max., 1.8.11.

54 Tac., *ann.* 4.64.3.

55 Papini 2004, 386-389.

56 Sono gli incendi che colpirono il tempio della Magna Mater nel 111 a.C. e nel 3 d.C. (D'Alessio 2006, 433-437, 443-444; Coarelli 2012a, 250-253, 267, 277, 296-303, 330-332, 364-365).

57 Cfr. Littlewood 1981; Porte 1984; Becher 1991.

58 Ov., *fast.* 326-328.

59 Ampia esegesi del passo delle *Metamorfosi* in Pfaff-Reydellet 2008.

60 Pfaff-Reydellet 2004. Sui risvolti storici di questo trasferimento, cfr. anche Giardina 2012.

61 Ov., *fast.* 270.

62 Ov., *fast.* 274.

63 Ov., *fast.* 272.

64 Inv. 1807. Sul rilievo, dalle dimensioni attuali identiche al rilievo con il serpente di Esculapio (1.59 x 1.11), Besnier 1902, 181-183; Salerno/Paribeni 1965, 212, n. 26; Candilio/Bertinetti 2011, 108, n. 71 (L.M. Vigna); Moreau 2014a, 895, 906-908.

65 Duhn 1886, 169. Così anche L. M. Vigna in Candilio/Bertinetti 2011, 108: 'È antica solo la parte centrale del rilievo, a partire dalla base del collo della figura fino al fondo della barca'.

66 Non è forse casuale che tra la vegetazione superstite nella parte originale del rilievo compaia proprio una canna palustre, pianta particolarmente rilevante nella religione metroaca: si pensi al collegio dei *Cannophori* ed alla processione della *Canna intrat* (15 marzo), cerimonia che probabilmente rievocava l'esposizione ed il ritrovamento di Attis tra i canneti del fiume Gallos in Frigia (Fishwich 1966).

67 Ambrosini 2010.

68 Gérard 1980, 170-171; Coarelli 1982, 46; Zevi 1997, 452-466; D'Alessio 2008, 382-384.

69 Inv. n. 321. Vermaseren 1977, 45-46, n. 218; Coarelli 1982, 42-46; Simon 1997, 748, n. 5; Winsor Leach 2007; D'Alessio 2008; Vilogorac Brčić 2012.

70 Zevi 1997, 453, nota 43; D'Alessio 2008, 384.

71 Come è noto, esistono altre due attestazioni epigrafiche del culto congiunto della Mater Deum e di Navisalvia (*CIL*, 6, 493 - *ILS*, 4097; Vermaseren 1977, 46, n. 219 - *CIL*, 6, 494 = *ILS*, 4098; Vermaseren 1977, 81, n. 303).

72 Henig 1975, 49, n. 193; l'ametista è ritenuta di dubbia autenticità in Middleton 1892, 72, n. 140.

73 Vermaseren 1977, 38, nn. 202-203; 71, n. 265; 96, n. 340; 99, nn. 350-351; 124, n. 397; 135-138, nn. 427-435.

74 Turcan 1983, 29, n. 5. In generale, sull'iconografia di Cibele nella monetazione romana, vedi anche Calabria et al. 2010.

75 Il medaglione è collegato ai rilievi Rondinini anche nel recente Moreau 2014a, 908. Per la stretta relazione tra l'iconografia dei medaglioni 'commemorativi' di Antonino Pio e le immagini di formato maggiore nella scultura coeva, cfr. Rowan 2014, 114.

76 Melfi 2004; 2007a, 504-506, 524-539; 2007b; 2007c, 141-147; 2010a; 2010b.

77 Nicosia 1979; Harris/Holmes 2008; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010.

78 Lo Cascio 2012.

79 Le Glay 1976.

80 Besnier 1902, 191-192; cfr. Moreau 2014a, 905.

81 Melfi 2007a, 525: '…Antonino Pio…si era fatto carico della stessa ricostruzione dell'Asklepieion di Pergamo progettata dal predecessore, e, soprattutto, aveva rifondato il santuario dell'Isola Tiberina a Roma, celebrando il 450esimo anniversario del trasferimento del culto a Roma'.

82 Guarducci 1983, 188-189; Moreau 2014a, 903-904.

83 Da ultima, Rowan 2014, che tuttavia non collega questi medaglioni in maniera specifica alle celebrazioni per il nono centenario della fondazione di Roma: 'Pius' "commemorative medallions" thus cannot be connected with the 900th anniversary of Rome in 148, but rather should be seen as part of a wider interest in the past under both Hadrian and Pius, an interest which manifested itself in the construction of a temple to Rome and Venus, in other building works throughout the Empire, and in the release of numismatic imagery which referred to Roman early history'.

84 Sulla leggenda delle origini troiane di Roma un'efficace sintesi recente è in Zevi 2012, con bibliografia precedente.

85 Significativo in tale contesto fu anche il ruolo del senatore Sex. Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus, ricordato nelle opere di Pausania (2.27.4) e di Elio Aristide (*or.* 23.281), non a caso onorato come benefattore sia dagli Epidaurii che dai Pergameni.

86 Varro, *ling.* 6, 15.

87 Pensabene 1982, 88-89; Coarelli 2012a, 271-276; 2012b.

88 Coarelli 1982, 36-37; Wiseman 1984; Pensabene 2001; Zevi 2012, 52. Si veda inoltre D'Alessio 2006, 430-432, al quale si rimanda per una sintesi generale sulle fasi del tempio palatino della Magna Mater e per la bibliografia relativa alle indagini archeologiche dirette nell'area del santuario da P. Pensabene. Su questo importante luogo di culto del Palatino si veda anche Coarelli 2012a, 249-282.

89 Sulle origini pergamene della leggenda arcade, Mavrojannis 2003 e 2004.

90 Graillot 1912, 150-225.

91 Coarelli 1982, 36.

92 Turcan 1983, 27-30, nn. 1-6.

93 Turcan 1983, 30-31, nn. 1-4.

94 Turcan 1983, 30, n. 3.

95 Turcan 1983, 52-57, n. 4.

96 Vermaseren 1977, 151-152; Rocco 2012, 614-615.

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The Decline and Fall of the Mithraea of Rome

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Abstract

The end of paganism has traditionally been explained as a result of the rise of Christianity. In recent scholarship, the romantic image of an epic battle between pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity has been significantly altered and corrected. According to the new interpretative model, pagans and Christians lived amicably side by side well into the fifth century, as paganism petered out in a natural way. At the micro-level of the Mithraea of Rome, however, the archaeological record contains clear signs of religious hatred that challenge this revisionist model. The present article discusses how, when, and why the Mithraea in Rome ceased to exist, and it elaborates the question of how these data impact our current understanding of Christian attitudes towards paganism in Late Antiquity.[*]

Introduction

At the height of the Age of Enlightenment, Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) famously argued that the decline and fall of the Roman Empire resulted directly from the rise of Christianity.[1] According to Gibbon, it was precisely the clash between the age-old pagan civilization and the new, intolerant Christian creed that ultimately caused the end of Roman civilization and the collapse of the Roman Empire. Ever since, there has been a tendency, be it conscious or subconscious, to ascribe the end of paganism - I use this term loosely to denote the aggregate of traditional Roman religion, Imperial cult, and the so-called oriental religions[2] - to a direct confrontation with Christian intolerance. Gaston Boissier (1823-1908), for example, writing one century after Gibbon, displayed great sympathy for the religious traditions that preceded Christianity, describing the heroic struggle of the pagans against Christianity in terms similar to those of Gibbon. Just like Gibbon, Boissier was convinced that 'la fin du paganisme' was the final outcome of 'les dernières luttes religieuses en Occident au quatrième siècle.'[3] In the 20th century András Alföldi (1895-1981)[4] drew on numismatic research to further support the prevailing notion of what he called '[t]he reaction of the last representatives of the old Roman traditions against Christianity and their relentless struggle in the defence of the religion of their fathers.'[5] Likewise, Herbert Bloch (1911-2006) conceived of intergroup relations in oppositional terms, coining the phrase 'the last pagan revival in the West'.[6] Even in the 21st century, Gibbon's influence continues to be strong, especially in French-written scholarship. In a recent study on the rise of intolerance in Late Antiquity, for example, Polymnia Athanassiadi quite explicitly contrasted a free and tolerant 'anthropocentric' Roman model with a restrictive, intolerant 'theocentric' Christian model.[7]

In an interesting turn of events, the second half of the 20th century saw a group of influential British and American scholars, led by Peter Brown (*1935) and Glen Bowersock (*1936), attempt to erase this all-pervasive image of a pagan struggle against Christian intolerance.[8] According to the new model, the Roman empire was transformed non-violently into a Christian society, and paganism did not disappear overnight but petered out slowly and gradually. One especially important protagonist of this new movement is Alan Cameron (*1938), whose *magnum opus*, *The Last Pagans*, meticulously demolishes the idea of a 'pagan revival' as it had been propagated by his predecessors, Alföldi and Bloch.[9] Clearly, this new scheme of things leaves no room for the notion that the end of Antiquity was brought about by a great battle between pagans and Christians. As noted above, however, there remain staunch pockets of resistance against this new peace-and-harmony model, most notably in French scholarship, where the school of Brown, Bowersock, and Cameron has been disparagingly dubbed 'l'école anglo-saxonne',[10] or worse, 'le club anglo-saxon'.[11]

What is perhaps more troubling than the recent Anglo-French divide is the virtual absence in the scholarly discourse, on either side, of references to archaeological data, let alone a pertinent discussion of recent scholarship on these data. For example, in Cameron's *Last Pagans* we find hardly any mention of the important work done in this field by Eberhard Sauer, who has studied evidence

Fig. 1. Mithraea in Rome: 1. Santo Stefano Rotondo; 2. San Clemente; 3. Via Giovanni Lanza; 4. Via Giuseppe Passalacqua; 5. Castra Praetoria; 6. Via Firenze; 7. Palazzo Barberini; 8. San Silvestro; 9. San Lorenzo in Damaso; 10. Crypta Balbi; 11. Domus Augustana; 12. Circus Maximus; 13. Baths of Caracalla; 14. Santa Prisca (map author; adapted from Coarelli 1979, map facing p. 80).

of religious hatred in the archaeological record.[12] The strong predilection for literary sources is an element that the French and 'Anglo-Saxon' schools of thought appear to have in common.[13] Needless to say, the study of texts is extremely valuable and necessary. The obvious problem, however, with the exegesis of historical texts without firm grounding in archaeological evidence is that without the benefit of archaeology, our view of Late Antiquity runs the risk of becoming too one-sided. Of course, I do not wish to claim that the interpretation of archaeological evidence is by definition less problematic than that of textual sources, but, as I will argue at length below, evidence suggests that the archaeological record contains clues that are essential for understanding the transformation of Roman society from pagan to Christian.

In what follows, I propose to present a case-study relating to Mithraic cult rooms in the city of Rome, on the basis of a clearly defined and coherent set of archaeological data. This particular focus is worthwhile for several reasons. First, ever since French philosopher Ernest Renan (1823-1892) remarked that 'if Christianity had not carried the day, Mithraicism would have become the religion of the world', the cult of Mithras has been viewed as one of the greatest competitors of Christianity.[14] Second, quantitative analysis of historical and archaeological evidence has shown that the sanctuaries most prone to being destroyed

by Christians were those of Mithras.[15] Finally, the fact that the destruction of Mithraea coincides with the construction of some of the first churches in Rome, is another factor too significant to be disregarded. In the following sections, I will, therefore, analyse the evidence of how and when the Mithraea of Rome ceased to exist. I will then explain why this happened, by taking into account the larger historical context, as such a procedure will allow us to come to a deeper understanding of the particular chronological distribution of the data presented in this article. Documentation of all the relevant archaeological data is provided in an appendix.

Delimiting the Evidence

In determining which sites to study, the most convenient starting point is Filippo Coarelli's topographical catalogue of Mithraism in Rome, in which he identified a total of forty sites: ten Mithraea and thirty other known find-places of Mithraic monuments.[16] On the basis of a critical re-evaluation of the archaeological and epigraphical evidence, Alison Griffith determined that five of Coarelli's find-places of Mithraic monuments must have represented actual Mithraea.[17] On the other hand, she found that one of Coarelli's Mithraea was in fact only a possible Mithraeum. Among the fourteen Mithraea thus identified by Griffith, there are two whose identification remains problematic in my opinion: at the Ospedale San Giovanni, and in the Baths of Titus. For a discussion of these two cases, as well as the one in the Vigna Muti, the reader is referred to the second appendix at the end of this article. Finally, it should be noted that since the appearance of Griffith's dissertation, two additional Mithraea have come to light, at Via Giuseppe Passalacqua and at the Crypta Balbi.

On the basis of archaeological or epigraphical evidence, we can now, therefore, identify and locate a total of fourteen Mithraea in Rome.[18] Eight are extant and can be visited at San Clemente, Santa Prisca, Santo Stefano Rotondo, Crypta Balbi, the Baths of Caracalla, Palazzo Barberini, Circus Maximus, and Via Giovanni Lanza.[19] Three Mithraea are known only from excavation reports; they are located at San Lorenzo in Damaso, at Via Giuseppe Passalacqua, and at Via Firenze. On the basis of inscriptions, three more Mithraea are known to have existed at San Silvestro, at the Castra Praetoria, and in the Domus Augustana, but these have never been excavated. Another Mithraeum, supposedly destroyed by the urban prefect Gracchus, is known exclusively from literary sources. It cannot be linked to any of the archaeologically attested Mithraea. As is evident from the map (*fig. 1*), the known Mithraea appear to be distributed evenly throughout the city of Rome.

Analysing the Evidence

An analysis of the physical end of the Mithraea of Rome is expected to produce interesting results, especially considering that archaeological data uncovered outside Rome clearly indicate that the destruction of Mithraea may have been a rather common phenomenon in Late Antiquity.[20] In the modern-day region of Alsace-Lorraine, for example, there are two iconic examples of Mithraea that ceased to exist as a result of violent destruction: the Mithraea at Sarrebourg and at Koenigshoffen/Strasbourg.[21] Each contained an enormous tauroctony relief that was pulled down and hacked into more than 300 pieces, while the other cult images were broken and scattered. The Sarrebourg Mithraeum, moreover, produced a most bizarre and gruesome find: the skeleton of a man in his thirties, lying face down on the base where the tauroctony relief had stood, his hands shackled behind his back with an iron chain; a rare testament to the human cost of religious violence in Late Antiquity. Given the widespread destruction of Mithraea throughout the Roman Empire[22], one inevitably wonders whether the evidence on Mithraea in the city of Rome, where Christianity is known to have been an important factor early on, reflects a similar pattern.

For determining whether a Mithraeum in Rome was violently destroyed by Christians, I will be using the following criteria:[23]

1 The deliberate destruction of Mithraic images, in particular the tauroctony;
2. Other signs of violent engagement with Mithraic objects, e.g. the scattering of objects;
3. The wholesale erasure of a Mithraeum, which occurred, for example, when a church was built over it.

Signs of Violent Destruction in the Extant Mithraea

The following observations are based on a thorough review of the evidence, of which the reader finds full documentation in the appendix at the end of this article. In the Mithraea under the churches of San Clemente, Santa Prisca, and Santo Stefano Rotondo, the evidence for violent destruction by Christians is unmistakable. As for *San Clemente*, the altar, decorated with the tauroctony scene, was hammered into pieces and parts of it were

carried outside the sanctuary, which clearly took an inordinate amount of effort. The small statue of Mithras Petrogenitus was broken in three and the statues of Cautes and Cautopates had been so thoroughly smashed that only a few fragments could be retrieved. The only object found intact was a bust of Sol, who also appears in Christian art and may have been perceived as less offensive than other pagan deities. The Mithraeum was destroyed in a targeted and laborious way, and it was subsequently built over by a church.

At *Santa Prisca*, the evidence for religious hatred is even stronger. The doors of the Mithraeum were badly damaged. The stucco sculpture group of Mithras killing the bull was smashed into pieces and scattered, the head of Mithras removed to the far end of the sanctuary. The *opus sectile* head of Mithras was taken from the wall and thrown down onto the pavement. The statue of Cautes was missing its head - it may have been reduced to unrecognizable chips and powder - and the faces of several figures on the walls were mutilated by axe strokes. Incidentally, one of the figures whose faces had been cut off was Sol, which demonstrates that even he was not always spared. The destruction was thorough and laborious, as evidenced also by the fact that the Mithraeum was built over by a church.

Equally clear is the evidence for iconoclastic destruction at the Mithraeum at *Santo Stefano Rotondo*. The wall-painting of Luna was not damaged, but the stucco tauroctony relief that sat next to it was smashed into pieces. The great marble tauroctony relief was broken with a huge hammer blow. This was a solid marble slab of one by one and a half metres, six centimetres thick, so someone must have used substantial force to destroy it. Even though the relief has now been artfully restored, the fracture pattern in the stone (*fig. 2*) can still be seen with the naked eye. A second, smaller tauroctony scene was pulverized and fragments of the border and two torchbearers are all that remain. A very tiny tauroctony relief (16.3 x 16.5 x 4 cm) was the only bull-killing scene found intact. The fact that the three larger tauroctony scenes were all destroyed, suggests that this image was particularly hated and was, therefore, specifically targeted. This notion appears to be confirmed by the fact that the other monuments in the Mithraeum were not all destroyed, but were instead laboriously scattered throughout the sanctuary. It is interesting to note that Isis and

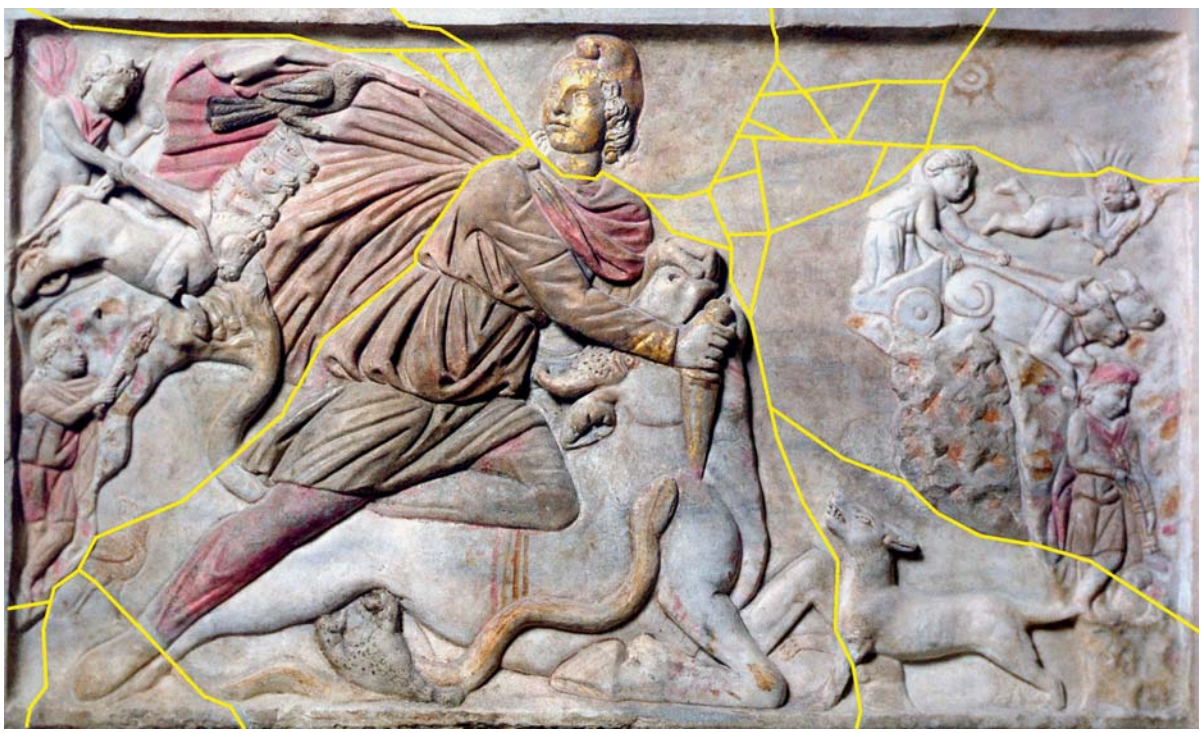

Fig. 2. Fracture lines in the great marble tauroctony relief of the Mithraeum of Santo Stefano Rotondo, indicated in yellow (image author; adapted from Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2013, 250, fig. 158).

Cautopates were both beheaded and the head of Isis was placed next to the body of Cautopates, which can perhaps be considered evidence of a desire to add insult to injury. To sum up, the destruction at Santo Stefano Rotondo was targeted and laborious. Significantly, this Mithraeum was also built over by a church.

The Mithraea at the Crypta Balbi and the Baths of Caracalla were also destroyed. In the case of the *Crypta Balbi* Mithraeum, the cult objects, including a small tauroctony relief and a large crater, were broken into pieces, scattered and used as rubble. In the *Baths of Caracalla*, the marble tauroctony relief had been hacked into pieces and the figure of Mithras in one of the niches had his face removed. Likewise, Sol's head in a relief of Sol and Luna had been completely obliterated. Even though no churches were built over these two Mithraea, the fact that their cult objects and religious monuments were systematically destroyed, indicates that this must have been the work of Christian iconoclasts.

The next two Mithraea are remarkable exceptions among the Mithraea of Rome, as they do not appear to have been destroyed. At *Palazzo Barberini*, the grand tauroctony fresco was found intact. All cult objects had been removed. At the *Circus Maximus*, the main tauroctony relief was simply put to the side, face down, and a smaller tauroctony relief was also left undamaged. A head of Sol sculpted on a pilaster was found intact. The statues of the torch-bearers were no longer in their niches; presumably they were removed from the sanctuary when it was dismantled. As to why the Mithraea at Palazzo Barberini and at the Circus Maximus were not destroyed, the answer probably lies in their specific topography. It is hard to imagine an iconoclast foolish enough to attack an imperial building or the home of a powerful Roman aristocrat when there were softer targets to be found.

The Mithraeum at *Via Giovanni Lanza*, finally, is a peculiar Mithraeum. It was installed in a *domus* from the Constantinian period, which shows that Mithraism still had a following in 4th-century Rome. Nevertheless, it is such a strange, makeshift Mithraeum that it makes one wonder what considerations guided its construction. It does not display the characteristic shape of a Mithraeum, and it is a rather cramped space, completely unsuitable for holding banquets. It was newly installed in the late 4th century, later than any other Mithraeum in Rome, yet its furnishing consists purely of monuments that were already well over a hundred years old. The altar was a reused Ionian capital on top of a base, and instead of the normal pair of torchbearers, there were two statues of Cautopates. Cumont dryly observed that the Mithraeum had not been destroyed.[24] Of course, there is no denying that the monuments were found intact. One still wonders, though, from where these monuments originated, especially considering that the most logical scenario here is to suppose that they came from one or more demolished Mithraea. The fact that this little cult room is so abnormal in every way may very well be an indication of the kind of harrassment that Mithraism had to face in the 4th century.

Signs of Violent Destruction in the No-longer-extant Mithraea

When we now turn to the evidence relating to Mithraea of which little or no architectural remains survive, it is apparent that in these cases it will be more difficult to retrieve evidence of violent destruction. Yet, as we will see, even here some interesting patterns can still be ironed out.

At *San Lorenzo in Damaso*, the tauroctony relief was smashed into pieces to such a degree that the figure of the god has been almost completely lost, and the head of the statuette of Mithras Petrogenitus had been completely obliterated. This shows that the Mithraeum almost certainly suffered a violent destruction. According to the latest archaeological insights, the Mithraeum was not actually built over by the basilica, but it was located directly in front of it.[25] Clearly, this position must have still made it a conspicuous target for Christian iconoclasts.

The Mithraeum at *Via Giuseppe Passalacqua* appears to have been destroyed in a targeted, thorough and laborious way. Nothing remained of the tauroctony fresco, except one torchbearer and traces of a second. This might, of course, be due to accidental damage, but what was certainly not an accident is that the whole place was ransacked and its objects mixed with rubble and thrown on a pile in the antechamber, with no other apparent purpose than to render the Mithraeum inaccessible. No church was ever built over it.

The end of the Mithraeum at *Via Firenze* is difficult to interpret because the evidence is very scanty. All that remained of this Mithraeum was the original tauroctony wall-painting; all monuments had been removed and not even a fragment was recovered of the stucco tauroctony relief that had apparently replaced the painting. For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the Mithraeum was situated just outside the apse of the church of San Caio (demolished in 1885), and there

is, therefore, the possibility that the Mithraeum was destroyed and built over by a church.[26] As far as we know, however, this church was first built in 1630 by the Barberini pope Urban VIII, on what were then believed to be the ruins of the ancient title church of Gaius. When it was demolished in 1885, no rigorous archaeological investigation was done on this site, so we may never know whether there had in fact been an older church there; the ancient *titulus Gaii* is now generally equated with the church of Santa Susanna, one block up Via XX Settembre.[27] In order to determine whether the Mithraeum at Via Firenze belongs to the select group of Mithraea built over by churches, we should compare it to extant Mithraea. When we do this, it becomes immediately apparent that the situation at Via Firenze closely resembles that at Palazzo Barberini, where all movable religious objects had been removed from the sanctuary, and does not resemble at all what we found at San Clemente, Santa Prisca and Santo Stefano Rotondo, where the religious objects were scattered. There is no conclusive evidence that Mithraic monuments were targeted, that objects were scattered, or that a church was erected over the Mithraeum at Via Firenze. On this basis, it is most plausible that Mithraeum of Via Firenze was not destroyed by Christians.

The Mithraeum near *San Silvestro* was never excavated and apart from the inscriptions none of the Mithraic monuments were recovered, so we cannot be certain whether the Mithraeum was destroyed. There is no early Christian basilica in the vicinity, only a small *diaconia*, Santa Maria in Via Lata, which was built into a Roman warehouse. The church of San Silvestro was first built in the 8th century[28] and the convent of Santa Maria Maddalena delle Convertite, which occupied the site of the Mithraeum for centuries, was not built until 1520. Even though the Mithraeum near San Silvestro has not been excavated, we may surmise, therefore, that it was not built over by a church.

The Mithraeum at the *Castra Praetoria* must have been destroyed when the castra were demolished by Constantine in 312. Its destruction should therefore be regarded as collateral damage rather than a case of targeted religious violence.

At the *Domus Augustana*, finally, there is no evidence about how the Mithraeum there ended. The most plausible scenario is that an early Christian emperor, quite possibly Constantine himself, decided that he would not tolerate the presence of a Mithraeum in his own palace.

To summarize, a preponderance of the evidence points towards a clear pattern of violent destruction in as many as half of the known Mithraea in Rome. In fact, there are so many indications of wilful acts of damage that it becomes virtually impossible to argue that all these documented cases are the product of mere coincidence. How consistent the evidence really is, becomes particularly apparent when we compile it into a table; see table 1.

Table 1. Termination of the Mithraea of Rome

1 = tauroctony targeted for destruction				
2 = objects/fragments scattered				
3 = Mithraeum built over by church				
Location	**1**	**2**	**3**	**end**
San Clemente	+	+	+	destroyed by Christians
Santa Prisca	+	+	+	destroyed by Christians
Santo Stefano	+	+	+	destroyed by Christians
San Lorenzo	+	+	–	destroyed by Christians
Crypta Balbi	+	+	–	destroyed by Christians
Baths of Caracalla	+	+	–	destroyed by Christians
Via Passalacqua	?	+	–	destroyed by Christians
Via Lanza	–	–	–	not destroyed, but consisting of salvaged items
Circus Maximus	–	–	–	not destroyed
Palazzo Barberini	–	–	–	not destroyed
Via Firenze	?	–	–	not destroyed
San Silvestro	?	?	–	unknown, no indication that it was destroyed
Castra Praetoria	?	?	–	demolished by Constantine
Domus Augustana	?	?	–	most likely dismantled by a Christian emperor

End Dates of the Mithraea

Now that we have established that a significant number of Mithraea in Rome ceased to exist through violence, it is imperative that we also determine when this happened. Because archaeological data alone cannot provide a decisive answer in every individual case, they will be supplemented, where necessary, with topographical and historical data.

The only Mithraeum for which we can date the end with pinpoint accuracy is the one at the *Castra Praetoria*. It was destroyed by Constantine in 312. After Constantine's victory over Maxentius, the Praetorian Guard was disbanded and its castra were completely torn down. The Mithraeum in the *Domus Augustana*, for which we unfortunately have no archaeological data, probably followed in the years after, since it is highly unlikely that, with the rise of Christianity, the presence of a Mithraeum would have been tolerated in the imperial palace.

As for the other Mithraea, precise dates for their destruction are difficult to establish. Even so, when studied comprehensively, a consistent pattern can nonetheless be shown to emerge. The destruction of the Mithraea at *San Clemente* and *Santa Prisca* occurred in the early 5th century, when the modest house churches there were replaced by monumental basilicas. The Mithraeum at *Santo Stefano Rotondo* was destroyed a few decades later, towards the middle of the 5th century, shortly before the basilica was built. As for the Mithraeum at *San Lorenzo*, the fragmentary state of the archaeological evidence prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions. Whereas it is conceivable that it was destroyed ca 380, when the basilica was built, a later date cannot be excluded.

The Mithraeum at the *Baths of Caracalla* appears to have been destroyed by Christians, but on the basis of the archaeological evidence we cannot tell when this happened. The sanctuary was located in a public building, but it was clearly isolated from the visiting areas of the baths and it had its own entrance, which suggests that worshippers came from outside and were not just people who worked at the baths. This, plus the fact that it was destroyed, puts the Mithraeum in a different category from the one at the Circus Maximus, discussed below. The closest parallel for a Mithraeum in a bath complex being destroyed by Christians is found at the Terme del Mitra in Ostia. Just like the Mithraeum of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, it was located in the underground service area, close to the water mill. It contained a large sculpture group of Mithras killing the bull, now in the local museum. What very few visitors realize when they marvel at the fine quality of the sculpture is that, when it was found, the heads of Mithras and the bull had been cut off, and so had the arms of the god and the horns, knees, tail and ear of the bull.[29] The Ostian Mithraeum was destroyed in the late 4th century, when a Christian oratory was installed above it. The Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla in Rome may have been destroyed around that same time, or perhaps a bit later, in the early 5th century, when the other Mithraea in the city were destroyed.

The end of the Mithraeum at the Circus Maximus is particularly difficult to date because it was not destroyed. We may, however, find an approximate end date by taking its specific topographical context into account. The Mithraeum was located in an imperial building connected with the organization of games in the Circus Maximus. The people who worked and worshipped there were therefore presumably in the employment of the emperor, and when they were instructed, either directly or by means of legislation, to clear this building of all visible reminders of paganism, in particular altars and idols, they had no choice but to comply. In addition to the fact that an imperial building is perhaps not the most suitable target for Christian aggression, an early deconsecration would also explain why the Mithraeum at the Circus Maximus was not destroyed by Christians. If the Mithraeum had already been converted to secular use before the iconoclastic surge began - as I propose it was - there would be little reason to want to destroy it.

The destruction of the Mithraeum at *Via Giuseppe Passalacqua* in all probability took place in the early 5th century, as is clear from the find of an oil lamp with the Chi-Rho monogram and fragments of a late antique crater in the rubble. The destruction layer in the Mithraeum at the *Crypta Balbi*, which among other things contained fragments of a similar crater, has been dated to the middle of the 5th century.

The Mithraea at San Silvestro, Via Firenze, Palazzo Barberini, and Via Giovanni Lanza do not appear to have been destroyed, yet it is still pertinent here to try to establish when they were abandoned. The end of the Mithraeum of *San Silvestro* must postdate the late 4th-century inscriptions that were retrieved from it; in other words, it was probably abandoned in the early 5th century. The ends of the Mithraea at *Via Firenze* and *Palazzo Barberini* are more difficult to date. We know for a fact that the *domus* of the Nummii Albini

was still occupied by that family in the late 4th century, but we cannot be sure until when they remained pagan. In my opinion, the most plausible explanation is that as a result of the wholesale christianization of the senatorial aristocracy at the turn of the century, Christian sons who inherited the family estates had their fathers' Mithraea stripped of all cult objects. Alternatively, it is conceivable that the houses, and therefore the Mithraea, were simply abandoned - we know that by the middle of the 5th century, the eastern part of the Alta Semita belonged to the *disabitato*. This, however, would not explain why all objects were removed from these Mithraea. The makeshift Mithraeum at Via Giovanni Lanza, finally, was apparently installed in the 4th century and may have continued to exist into the 5th century in closely guarded secrecy, undetected in spite of its proximity to the titulus Equitii.

When we now collect the end dates in a table, it becomes particularly evident that the majority of Mithraea of Rome were abandoned or destroyed not in the 4th century, when 'les dernières luttes religieuses' were supposed to have taken place, but instead at a later point in time, that is to say in the early 5th century, when Christians had gained complete control of the city; see table 2.[30]

Conclusion

To summarize, the picture that has emerged is that the end of the Mithraea in Rome happened not in a single wave of violence, but in stages. First, in the first half of the 4th century, several Mithraea were closed down rather matter-of-factly by Constantine and his successors. This happened in case of the Mithraea at the Castra Praetoria, Domus Augustana, and Circus Maximus. At this stage, there is no evidence for a systematic programme of destruction aimed at obliterating the Mithraea in Rome. In the second half of the 4th century, there are some early signs that the coexistence between Christians and Mithraists was not always entirely peaceful. For example, the altar in the Mithraeum at San Clemente was suddenly in need of repair, and the sculptures that were hidden away in the Mithraeum of Via Giovanni Lanza had to be salvaged from other Mithraea. But even at this stage, there is no clear-cut evidence for widespread destruction of Mithraea in Rome. Only in the final phase, in the first half of the 5th century, does the collective evidence indicate an actual surge in violence. The Mithraea at Santa Prisca and San Clemente were ransacked and filled with rubble, so that churches could be built over them, and the Mithraeum at Santo Stefano followed a few decades after. The Mithraea at the Crypta Balbi and at Via Giuseppe Passalacqua were also destroyed, but in these cases no churches were built over them. The former was converted into a stable; the latter was rendered inaccessible by filling its only point of access with rubble. Naturally, the Mithraea in the houses of powerful senators, at Via Firenze and Palazzo Barberini, were left in peace. These may have continued to exist well into the 5th century, although, with a view to the christianization of the senatorial aristocracy, it is perhaps more

Table 2. End dates of the Mithraea of Rome

Location	**end date**	***terminus post quem***	***terminus ante quem***
Castra Praetoria	312	defeat of Maxentius	destruction of Castra Praetoria
Domus Augustana	312 or later	defeat of Maxentius	–
Circus Maximus	312 or later	defeat of Maxentius	–
Baths of Caracalla	4th/5th century	–	–
San Lorenzo	late 4th century?	–	–
Santa Prisca	early 5th century	various objects	basilica (ca 400)
San Clemente	early 5th century	–	basilica (ca 410)
Santo Stefano	early 5th century	(Chonodomarius)	basilica (ca 450)
Crypta Balbi	early 5th century	crater	destruction layer (ca 450)
Via Passalacqua	early 5th century	crater; oil lamp	–
San Silvestro	early 5th century	inscriptions	–
Via Firenze	early 5th century?	–	–
Palazzo Barberini	early 5th century	–	–
Via Lanza	early 5th century?	–	–

likely that their own occupants stripped them of their cult paraphernalia. As we shall see in the next section, all outward display of Mithraic affiliation by even the most powerful senators had come to an end by 390. In all of Rome, there is only a single example of a Mithraeum that demonstrably survived the wave of iconoclasm with its religious monuments intact: the makeshift Mithraeum at Via Giovanni Lanza.

Contextualizing the Evidence

Rome's senatorial aristocracy played a vital role in the final years of Mithraism, and it is only by drawing in evidence of Mithraic priests from the senatorial class that we can begin to understand the larger patterns underlying the demise of Mithraic worship in Rome. The pertinent evidence can be subdivided into three periods that correspond neatly to the different stages of Mithraeum destruction recorded above. This chronological match becomes particularly evident when we look at the dates of inscriptions recording Roman senators who served as Mithraic priests; see table 3.

Characteristic for the first stage of anti-paganism (312-357) is a distinct paucity of Mithraic inscriptions. In fact, from this period, when Constantine and his successors were promoting Christianity at the expense of other religions, we have only one dated inscription by a Mithraic senator. It appears that during this first stage, Roman senators were adopting a cautious attitude, keeping their heads low, so to speak. Perhaps they hoped or believed that Constantinian religious policy was a temporary fashion that would go away by itself.

During the second stage (357-390), which is the period when the first physical signs of tensions between Christians and Mithraists begin to appear, the involvement of senators in the worship of Mithras all of a sudden becomes tremendously strong, and, as witnessed by their inscriptions, they identify themselves quite conspicuously as priests of Mithras and other mystery gods. The inscriptions provide a particularly valuable context for our archaeological data in that they establish that Mithraism was still thriving during this period and had patrons among leading citizens of Rome. The question of whether these senators were actually devotees of Mithras or merely used religion as a political instrument, is inconsequential. Let us imagine, for the sake of argument, that

Table 3. Mithraic senators of the 4th century

Senators	**inscriptions**	**date**
C. Magius Donatus Severianus[31]	*CIL* VI 507	313
Nonius Victor Olympius[32]	*CIL* VI 749-753	357-362
Aurelius Victor Augentius[33]	*CIL* VI 749-753	357-362; 376
Iunius Postumianus[34]	*CIL* VI 2151	4th century
Agrestius[35]	*CIL* VI 47	4th century
C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus[36]	*CIL* VI 846	4th century
Publilius Ceionius Caecina Albinus[37]	*CIL* VIII 6975	364-367 (Numidia)
Petronius Apollodorus[38]	*CIL* VI 509[39]	370
Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius[40]	*CIL* VI 510	376
	CIL VI 31118	376
Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus[41]	*CIL* VI 504	376
Anonymous[42]	*AE* 1971, nr 35	376
Tamesius Augentius Olympius[43]	*CIL* VI 754	after 376
Rufius Caeionius Sabinus[44]	*CIL* VI 511	377
Caelius Hilarianus[45]	*CIL* VI 500	377
Sextius Rusticus Iulianus[46]	*AE* 1953, nr 237	4th century
Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius[47]	*AE* 1953, nr 238	374
	CIL VI 1675 = 31902	374-380
	CIL VI 31940	374-380
	ILS 1264	385 (Antium)
P. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus[48]	*CIL* VI 1778-1779	384

Christianity had already won the hearts and minds of the whole Roman populace, and that Mithraic temples were no longer in use. Would ostentatiously styling one-self a priest of Mithras not then be utterly senseless and politically ineffective? The fact that the senatorial aristocracy used the pagan religions as the linchpin of their re-found identity, shows, if nothing else, that the ideas connected with the old religions were still potent and very much alive until the last decade of the 4th century.

This active involvement of senators in the worship of Mithras came to an end ca 390. Praetextatus had died in 384, Kamenius in 385, and Iulianus in 387/388. Caecina Albinus was still alive, but appears to have been kept in check by his Christian wife and daughter. We have one final Mithraic inscription from Rome (not by a senator) and dated 391, though it is suspected to be a forgery.[49] In the third stage (390-450), pagan senators realized that their efforts had led to nothing. Anti-pagan policies and legislation had been intensified. Aside from the legal ramifications, going against this would have amounted to political suicide, so naturally the senators, with their finely honed political instincts, knew better than to keep pressing the point. Instead, these last pagans went with the only remaining option - christianization - and reluctantly conformed to the new situation. This spelled the end of Mithraism in Rome. Not only did Christianity now reign supreme, the Mithraic religion no longer enjoyed the support and protection of powerful senators. From this last period onwards, there is not a single new Mithraic monument or inscription. If there were any remaining Mithraists, they must have operated below the radar, as was apparently the case at the makeshift Mithraeum at Via Giovanni Lanza. This is also the time when churches were built at various key positions in the city, thus transforming the city's landscape, and it is hardly a coincidence that at least three Mithraea were built over by such churches. It is exactly at this juncture that Mithraea are destroyed on a large scale. Nor was this kind of religious violence limited to pagan monuments, for in the very same period, synagogues were also being destroyed throughout the empire.[50]

Quite significantly, it was precisely in this third stage that the church father Jerome wrote a letter to Laeta, daughter of Caecina Albinus, who, as one will recall, was one of the Mithraic senators on our list. In his letter, Jerome gives Laeta advice on how to raise her daughter in the Christian faith and on how to keep trying to convert her father, who was apparently still alive and pagan in 403. Jerome also brings up the story of how one of Laeta's ancestors on the mother's side of her family, the urban prefect Gracchus[51], had supposedly destroyed a Mithraeum and had paraded its idols through the streets.[52] Jerome applauded such actions, because, according to him, Mithraic images were monstrous things (*portentuosa simulacra*). Whether this curious incident had actually taken place or Jerome simply fabricated the story for added effect, we cannot tell. Yet what is interesting about this letter is that at the beginning of the 5th century, Jerome felt safe to write and publish it in the first place. Had someone dared to send such a message to an aristocratic young lady just a few decades before, he would no doubt have felt the full brunt of a senator's wrath. By 403, however, Christians were apparently protected to such an extent that even the most powerful senators opted to ignore their jibes.

Towards the end of the 4th century, the anti-pagan legislation of Christian emperors, the growing power of the bishop of Rome, and a new ideology of martyrdom in the Catholic Church gradually led to a shift in the religious landscape from pluriformity to a totalitarian regime, where one faith was promoted at the expense of others as the ultimate point of reference for all questions. While each of these factors contributed to the demise of Mithraism in Rome, I submit that the final push that had a crucial and decisive effect, was the christianization of the senatorial aristocracy, without whose active support the polytheistic religions were destined to be extinguished. As is evident from their inscriptions, Roman senators had played a crucial role in the final phase of Mithraism, both financing Mithraea and personally leading various congregations. This suggests that the two phenomena - cessation of senatorial support and the end of the Mithraea of Rome - were not merely correlated, but that there was in fact a causal link. By 400, these senators were either dead, christianized, or bullied into silence, and without the patronage of these powerful men, the fate of the Mithraea of Rome was sealed.

Conclusion

In the introduction, we discussed two different lines of interpretation for the religious transformation of Late Antique society. According to the traditional model, Christians defeated pagans in a protracted battle that had as its predictable outcome the triumph of Christianity and, as a consequence, the decline and fall of classical civiliza-

tion. The revisionist model, on the other hand, argued that the opposition between pagans and Christians has been greatly overstated, and that Roman society in fact transitioned naturally into a new, Christian world. The evidence presented in this article suggests that neither model is sufficient to account for the archaeological data, and that they both fail, therefore, to fully explain the larger historical processes reflected by these data. Whereas the traditional model placed too much emphasis on active pagan opposition against Christianity and the cultural superiority of classical civilization, the revisionist model, by insisting that the process of christianization was essentially peaceful and harmonious, is incapable of explaining the clear signs of tensions that obviously existed between pagans and Christians.

At the micro-level of the Mithraea of Rome, the archaeological record has yielded incontrovertible evidence that Mithraea in Rome were being violently destroyed by Christians in the period of ca 390-450. The traditional framework of continuous religious struggle cannot adequately explain why in the whole Christian era, from Constantine onwards, there was actually only a relatively short and late period of violence against pagans. More specifically, it cannot explain why the majority of Mithraea of Rome were abandoned or destroyed not in the 4th century, when the great religious struggles were supposed to have taken place, but rather in the early 5th century, i.e. at a time when Christians had gained complete control of the city. The notion of peaceful transformation, on the other hand, fails to clarify why there was a surge of religious violence in the first place. Clearly then, the archaeological evidence calls for a more nuanced approach, inducing us to formulate a narrative of events that is capable of accommodating and explaining the full complexity of the evidence.

In the course of this article, we have established that the violent destruction of Mithraea in Rome began as soon as the active involvement of the senatorial aristocracy in Mithraic worship had ended. It stands to reason, therefore, that up until that time, there had existed a balance of power between Christians and pagans, in which their relationship was not necessarily harmonious, but neither party stood to gain from an escalation of violence. The fact that the emperor was Christian, and Rome's senatorial aristocracy was still overwhelmingly pagan, meant that Christians were in fact a privileged group but not actually all-powerful. This situation changed as a result of the wholesale de-paganization of the senatorial aristocracy by the end of the 4th century. No longer protected by the leading citizens of Rome, Mithraea soon became the targets of Christian iconoclasts, who were eager to fortify their religious identity by seeking to eradicate anything that was not Christian. The process of polarization was intensified further by the rantings of anti-pagan church fathers such as Jerome, for whom the destruction of pagan sanctuaries was considered both a natural by-product of and a glorious means of achieving the complete christianization of the city and the world. In the 4th century, pagans and Christians did not always get along, but they had a common understanding that they would not attack one another. Yet, when the senatorial aristocracy was christianized, the balance of power shifted irrevocably, and Christians were now free to attack and destroy the remaining Mithraea in order to completely rid the city of the last traces of paganism. This subtle narrative that has emerged from the data of the Mithraea of Rome has the great advantage of explaining, on the one hand, why in the 4th century, there was no open conflict between pagans and Christians, and, on the other, why in the 5th century, Christian responses to the remnants of the pagan past tended to be far from amicable.

Appendix A: Catalogue of the Mithraea of Rome

In order to properly evaluate the archaeology of the Mithraea vis-à-vis the notion of peaceful transition from classical to Christian Antiquity, it is necessary here to present a summary of the relevant archaeological data relating to the Mithraea in Rome. Each lemma will include: 1. a synopsis of technical data; 2. a brief description of the archaeological context; 3. a summary of archaeological evidence; 4. observations concerning the dates of the Mithraea (beginning and end); and 5. bibliography, limited to one or two key publications followed by references to *TMMM*, *CIMRM*, Coarelli 1979, Griffith 1993, *LTUR*, Moormann 2011, and Carandini 2013 (or *FUR*). The Mithraea are presented in topographical order.

*Santo Stefano Rotondo (*Castra Peregrina*)*

1. Regio II *Caeliomontium*. Extant. Dimensions: 10 x 4.5 m (phase I); 10 x 9.5 m (phase II). In use: late 2nd century, until early 5th century. Discovered: 1969.
2. The Mithraeum was built into the barracks of the Castra Peregrina, which housed Roman soldiers detached from the provincial armies for special service. The camp was still in use in 357, when Chonodomarius, the defeated king of the Alemanni, was sent there to waste away as a prisoner.[53]

3. The Mithraeum has two podia. The ceiling, presumably vaulted, was demolished when the foundations for the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo were laid. Like the Mithraea at San Clemente and Santa Prisca, this Mithraeum had been filled with rubble. A wall-painting of Luna was found intact and there are faint traces of a corresponding wall-painting of Sol. All that remains of a great stucco tauroctony relief, are a preliminary sketch scratched into the plaster of the cult niche and some scattered fragments, including a miraculously preserved gilded head of Mithras. A large marble tauroctony relief was found broken into pieces by a forceful blow with a heavy, blunt instrument. It has been carefully restored, and it is a truly magnificent work of art, preserving much of the original guilding and polychromy. The excavators found fragments of another, small tauroctony relief with two torchbearers, but its central characters, Mithras and bull, were missing. A fourth, tiny tauroctony relief was found intact. On one of the podia lay a headless statue of Cautopates with a disembodied head of Isis next to it. Other monuments were found more or less intact, scattered across the sanctuary: an inscribed statue of Mithras Petrogenitus, a statuette of Mithras Petrogenitus, a statuette of Telesphorus, inscribed altars and other dedications. A dedication by the temple custodian of the command area of the Castra Peregrina, Aurelius Bassinus, firmly establishes the link between Mithraeum and castra.[54]
4. On stylistic grounds as well as on the basis of the inscriptions, the founding of the Mithraeum can be dated to ca 180.[55] The Mithraeum was nearly doubled in size when it was renovated towards the end of the 3rd century, which indicates that it apparently had a thriving community at the time. Numismatic and dendrochronological evidence suggests that the church was built in the 450s and early 460s.[56] This provides a *terminus ante quem* of ca 450 for the end of the Mithraeum.
5. Lissi-Caronna 1986. Coarelli 1979, 70, nr 2; Griffith 1993, 26-31, nr 1D; E. Lissi Caronna, in *LTUR* I (1993) 251; Moormann 2011, 164-165. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. f.t. 26.

San Clemente

1. Regio III *Isis et Serapis*.[57] Extant. Dimensions: 9.6 x 6 m. In use: late 2nd or early 3rd century, until early 5th century, when the basilica was built.[58] Discovered: 1867.
2. The Mithraeum was built into the *cryptoporticus* of a *domus* of the late Flavian period. There is no evidence to suggest that the house belonged to an official of either the Ludi or the Moneta.
3. The Mithraeum has two podia and a vaulted ceiling. It was walled up and filled in to serve as the foundation for the 5th-century basilica of San Clemente. An inscribed altar with tauroctony scene was found broken into pieces, partly inside the sanctuary, partly outside. It shows traces of having been repaired before it was finally broken. A small statue of Mithras Petrogenitus was found with horizontal breaks below the neck and knees. Its lower arms are lost; they presumably held sword and torch. There were statue fragments of Cautes and Cautopates, and there was also an inscribed cippus dedicated to Cautes. A bust of Sol was found intact except for the tip of his nose.
4. On the basis of the style of the Corinthian capitals in the antechamber, the installation of the Mithraeum can be dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century. The building of the apse for the basilica in the early 5th century provides a terminus ante quem for the end of the Mithraeum, because that is when it was filled in to serve as part of the foundation for the basilica. As Irma Della Giovampaola has noted with a subtle use of litotes, up to that time the Christian house church and the Mithraeum had coexisted, even if not in an altogether peaceful manner.[59]
5. Guidobaldi 1992. *TMMM* II 105, nr 64; 203-206, nr 19, fig. 30-32; *CIMRM* I, nr 338-348; fig. 95, 96*a*, *b*, 97. Coarelli 1979, 70, nr 3; Griffith 1993, 45-62, nr 5D; I. Della Giovampaola, in *LTUR* III (1996) 257-259; Moormann 2011, 166. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. 116; tav. f.t. 20.

Via Giovanni Lanza 128

1. Regio V *Esquiliae*.[60] Extant. Dimensions: 2.70 x 2.20 m.[61] In use: late 4th century, until early 5th century? Discovered: 1883.
2. The Mithraeum at Via Giovanni Lanza (formerly Via dello Statuto) is situated 20 metres east of the apse of San Martino ai Monti. It was a tiny Mithraeum, built into the cellar of a reasonably affluent domus from the Constantinian period. The room is far too small for ritual banqueting. It could be accessed only from the garden by descending a flight of stairs. In the garden stood a small Iseum.[62]
3. This is an unusually small Mithraeum with a vaulted ceiling but no podia. The excavator, Carlo Lodovico Visconti, called it 'un mitrèo di ripiego' ('a makeshift Mithraeum'). The altar consisted of a reused Ionian capital placed upside down on top of a square base. A small tauroctony relief was found intact except for a clean horizontal break. There was also a statue of Cautopates, lower right arm lost, and another statue of Cautopates, right arm and head lost.
4. On stylistic grounds, the tauroctony relief can be dated to ca 200, the one Cautopates statue is late 2nd century, and the other is early 3rd. In other words, the monuments are considerably older than the Constantinian *domus* in which they were found. The curious re-use of monuments is probably best explained in the context of the so-called pagan revival of the second half of the 4th century. There is no indication of when the Mithraeum was finally abandoned.
5. Visconti 1885; tav. III, V; Gallo 1979b; fig. 1-8; for the sculptures, see also: S. Ensoli, in Ensoli/La Rocca 2000, 524-525, nr 161-163. *TMMM* II 199-200, nr 15, fig. 25; *CIMRM* I, nr 356-359; fig. 102-104; Coarelli 1979, 71, nr 5; Griffith 1993, 67-71, nr 7D; J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 260-261. Cf. *FUR*, tav. 23.

Via Giuseppe Luigi Passalacqua

1. Regio V *Esquiliae*.[63] No longer extant. Dimensions: 5.95 x 3.75 m. In use: late 2nd century, until early 5th century. Discovered: 1928.[64]
2. The Mithraeum was located in a building on the main road that runs west-southwest into the city from Porta Praenestina, now Via Statilia.[65] In Late Antiquity, this was a sparsely populated green area within the walls.

3. This was a very small Mithraeum, with a single podium along half of the right wall and with a vaulted ceiling that had almost completely collapsed. On the rear wall there was a wall-painting of Cautopates and perhaps also a trace of Cautes. In between, where one would expect to find the tauroctony, no trace of painting was found. The antechamber of the Mithraeum was filled with rubble, making the sanctuary inaccessible. Most of the objects found, were among this rubble. A particularly interesting find was a large glazed crater, broken into pieces, with plastic decoration depicting several Labours of Hercules. Fragments of a similar crater were found in the Crypta Balbi Mithraeum, but the specimen from Via Giuseppe Passalacqua is better preserved. It is definitely late antique and probably dates from the mid to late 4th century.
4. Among the non-Mithraic objects found in the rubble was a fragmentary oil lamp decorated with the Chi-Rho monogram.[66] These lamps were popular in the late 4th and early 5th century, which puts the end of the Mithraeum around 400.[67]
5. Bellelli/Messineo 1994; J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 259-260; Moormann 2011, 166.

Castra Praetoria

1. Regio VI *Alta Semita*. No longer extant. Dimensions: unknown. In use: late 2nd century, until early 4th century. No architectural remains discovered thus far.
2. This Mithraeum was located in the Castra Praetoria, the barracks of the imperial guards.
3. The evidence for the existence of this Mithraeum consists of three items. A fragment of a double-sided Mithraic relief was found in the castra in 1902; one side depicts the tauroctony scene, only the left part of which is preserved, and the other side shows Mithras dining with Sol. A statue of a torchbearer was found in the castra in 1882; its head, arms and feet were lost. And last but not least, an interesting inscription was found outside the city wall at only a short distance from the castra.[68] It records how Quintus Pompeius Primigenius, an otherwise unknown father and priest of this place (*pater et sacerdos huius loci*)[69], had built the sanctuary (*sacrarium*) and paid for a statue of the god.[70] The inscription is dedicated for the health and return of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, and of the *cohortes praetoriae*. This last element clearly establishes the link between the Mithraeum and the Castra Praetoria.
4. On the basis of the inscription, we know that the Mithraeum already existed in 198-202, when Septimius Severus was away on military campaign. Constantine completely destroyed the Castra Praetoria when he conquered Rome in 312, which provides the end date for the Mithraeum.
5. *TMMM* II 100, nr 37; 197, nr 12; *CIMRM* I, nr 397-398; 235-236, nr 626; Coarelli 1979, 73, nr 21; Griffith 1993, 85-88, nr 14D.

*Via Firenze (*Domus of the Nummii Albini*)*

1. Regio VI *Alta Semita*. No longer extant. Dimensions: not given.[71] In use: late 2nd or early 3rd century, until early 5th century? Discovered: 1885.
2. The Mithraeum was discovered underneath Via Firenze in 1885 during the construction of the Ministero della Guerra, now Ministero della Difesa. It was located in one of five underground vaulted rooms that were surrounded on three sides by a cryptoporticus, in a domus on the ancient *Alta Semita*. The domus has been identified as the property of the Nummii Albini on the basis of inscriptions.
3. The Mithraeum had a single podium and a vaulted ceiling. The actual podium was not found back, but its existence is demonstrated by the fact that the mosaic pavement stopped one meter before the long north-eastern wall.[72] On one of the walls was a colourful tauroctony wall-painting, found coated with a new layer of white plaster, in which traces were found of a preliminary sketch for a stucco tauroctony relief.[73] Nails had been driven into the wall to support the weight of the relief, not a single fragment of which was found. When the plaster was carefully removed, the tauroctony fresco appeared. Unfortunately, the fresco could not be salvaged in its entirety, but the head of Mithras and the figures of the two torchbearers, undamaged by the pickaxe and nails, were detached by the Commissione archeologica municipale and sent to the Capitoline Museums for preservation.[74] One can only hope that some trace of these extraordinary pieces may one day be rediscovered. No photo or drawing of the painting was ever published, but it was reported to be of good quality.[75]
4. Alessandro Capannari dated the style of the fresco to ca 200. Later on, it appears to have been replaced by a stucco relief. It is unclear when the Mithraeum ended, but the house appears to have remained in the possession of the Nummii Albini throughout the 4th century.
5. Capannari 1886; tav. IIII. *TMMM* II 197, nr 11; *CIMRM* I, nr 386-388; Coarelli 1979, 72, nr 18; Griffith 1993, 82-84, nr 13D; J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 262; Moormann 2011, 167. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. f.t. 10.

Palazzo Barberini

1. Regio VI *Alta Semita*. Extant. Dimensions 11.83+ x 6.25 m (not the entire length has been excavated). In use: late 2nd century, until 5th century? Discovered: 1936.
2. The Mithraeum was installed in the westernmost of three underground rooms belonging to a mid-1st-century domus, presumably as part of a cryptoporticus. The domus was located in the wealthy residential area flanking the *Alta Semita* (now Via del Quirinale - Via XX Settembre). It may have belonged to the domus of the exceedingly wealthy Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius, parts of which have been excavated in the gardens of Palazzo Barberini; the Mithraeum sits just north of its porticus. Archaeologically, however, the Mithraeum has not been confirmed to be part of the same *domus*.
3. The Mithraeum has two podia and a vaulted ceiling. The tauroctony wall-painting with Mithraic side scenes on either side was found intact in the cult niche. Walled into the small projecting elevation beside the right podium, in front of the cult niche, is a small inscribed marble base. No movable objects were found in the Mithraeum.

4. The Mithraeum was installed in the second half of the 2nd century. In the Severan period, the left podium was enlarged and a number of large pilasters were constructed on top of it. The style of the fresco dates from the second quarter of the 3rd century.[76] There is no indication of how long the Mithraeum remained in use.
5. Gatti/Annibaldi 1943-1945. *CIMRM* I, nr 389-395; fig. 111; Coarelli 1979, 72, nr 17; Griffith 1993, 77-81, nr 12D; J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 263-264; Moormann 2011, 164. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. 189a; tav. f.t. 10.

San Silvestro

1. Regio VII *Via Lata*. No longer extant. Dimensions: unknown. In use: 4th century, until early 5th century? Discovered: 15th century.
2. The Mithraeum has not been rediscovered by archaeologists, but it appears to have been located between the Via Lata (now Corso Vittorio Emanuele) and the western end of Piazza San Silvestro in Capite, where Palazzo Marignoli now stands.
3. The evidence for the existence of this Mithraeum is a group of inscribed altars and bases dating from the second half of the 4th century. These inscriptions are significant, because they demonstrate that Mithraism was still very much alive at this time and, what is more, that it was actively supported by the leading citizens of Rome. Furthermore, they give an interesting insight into the workings of Mithraism. Six inscriptions are formulaic in character, each recording the consul year, the names of the Mithraic fathers, and what Mithraic ranks these fathers conferred on what dates. In the first five inscriptions, a *vir clarissimus* by the name of Nonius Victor Olympius was *pater patrum*, 'father of fathers', while his son Aurelius Victor Augentius was *pater*, 'father'. Please note that Nonius Victor's second son, 'Aurelius Victor Olympius', who appears in *PLRE*, is a mere phantom, a careless conflation of Aurelius Victor Augentius and Nonius Victor Olympius.[77] The last inscription, from 376, was dedicated by Augentius alone, now *pater patrum*, who conferred the rank of *hierocorax* on his son, Aemilianus Corfo Olympius, thirty years after he himself had been initiated into the Mithraic mysteries. It is a small miracle that we find as many as six of the seven Mithraic ranks preserved in this small sample of inscriptions: *hierocoracica*, *cryphios*, *leontica*, *persica*, *heliaca*, and *patrica*.[78] And finally, there is an inscription of an entirely different nature. It is inscribed on a block of stone found while laying the foundation for Palazzo Marignoli in 1867. The block is unusually wide, because the back contains a row of seven niches, corresponding to the number of Mithraic grades. On the front is a verse inscription, written in a *tabula ansata*. It commemorates how the Mithraeum had been founded by the grandfather, Victor (i.e. Nonius Victor Olympius), and renovated by the grandson: Tamesius Augentius Olympius.[79] The fact that the grandson is said to be an heir, suggests that his father, Aurelius Victor Augentius, had passed away.
4. The Mithraeum was first built by Nonius Victor Olympius, probably before 347 (when his son was initiated). The dated inscriptions, ranging from 357 to 376, show a vibrant congregation in which all the different Mithraic ranks were represented. The last inscription recalls a rebuilding of the Mithraeum, most likely in the last quarter of the 4th century, after the death of Aurelius Victor Augentius.
5. Gallo 1979a; fig. 1-5. *CIL* VI 749-754; *TMMM* II 92-95, nr 7-13; 196, nr 9; *CIMRM* I, nr 399-406; Coarelli 1979, 73, nr 22; Griffith 1993, 102-106, nr 22D; J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 264-265. Cf. *FUR*, tav. 15.

San Lorenzo in Damaso

1. Regio IX Circus Flaminius. No longer extant. Dimensions: unknown. In use: 3rd century, possibly until late 4th century?[80] Discovered: 1937.
2. Remnants of this Mithraeum were found underneath the guards lodge of the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Its architecture was almost completely destroyed by the construction of the palazzo at the end of the 15th century. The sanctuary was located in a building just east of the stabula of the *Factio Prasina*, the circus faction of the Greens, which pope Damasus tore down to build his basilica.[81]
3. There is not a trace of podia or a vaulted ceiling. The remains of a coarse mosaic floor and parts of two brick walls are insufficient to reconstruct a floorplan. The excavators reported seeing a fragment of a wall painting with stars and moon crescents. The lower part of a tauroctony relief was found, broken into pieces, the figure of the god almost entirely destroyed. A statuette of Mithras Petrogenitus was found, but its head had been completely obliterated. There was also a statuette of Cautopates, arms lost, head broken off and found back elsewhere.[82] The corresponding statue of Cautes was not retrieved. A marble slab gives the name of the man who built and dedicated the cave: a Mithraic father called Proficentius.[83] He also dedicated a round altar.[84] Fragments of two more inscriptions were found. One was dated to the year when Maximus was consul, presumably L. Valerius Poplicola Balbinus Maximus, cos. 253.[85] The other was was a dedication to the Unconquered (i.e. Mithras).[86]
4. The inscriptions appear to date from the 3rd century. The founding of the basilica has traditionally been ascribed to pope Damasus (pont. 366-384), and numismatic and ceramic evidence confirms that it was built in the last quarter of the 4th century. In this instance, however, the construction of the basilica cannot provide a firm *terminus ante quem* for the end of the Mithraeum, because the church was not actually built over Mithraeum.
5. Nogara/Magi 1949; for a plan of remains of the sanctuary, see Royo 1984, fig. 17. *CIMRM* I, nr 421-428; fig. 117, 118; Coarelli 1979, 74, nr 27; Griffith 1993, 107-109, nr 23D. J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 266; Moormann 2011, 167. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. f.t. 13.

Crypta Balbi

1. Regio IX Circus Flaminius. Extant. Dimensions: unpublished.[87] In use: late 2nd century, until early 5th century. Discovered: 2000.
2. The Mithraeum was built into an *insula* from the period of Trajan, located just outside the *exedra* of the Crypta Balbi.

3. The Mithraeum had two podia and a vaulted ceiling. There is no trace of a large tauroctony scene, but a small tauroctony relief was broken into pieces and used as rubble in a wall. Only the top half has been found back, on which we immediately recognize the familiar scene in the cave: Mithras killing the bull, the raven watching, and in the corners the figures of Sol (top left) and Luna (top right).[88] Particularly noteworthy among the objects found in the 5th-century destruction layer are fragments of a glazed crater with plastic decoration, one of which depicts a female figure, perhaps Victoria. Similar craters have been found in the Mithraeum at Via Giuseppe Passalacqua and in the Mitreo delle Sette Porte in Ostia, as well as in the Villa of Maxentius on the Via Appia and at an undisclosed location in Rome.[89]
4. The Mithraeum was first built at the end of the 2nd century and underwent renovations at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century. The glazed crater probably dates from the mid to late 4th century. In the middle of the 5th century, the Mithraeum was destroyed and its cult furnishings were broken into pieces. Fragments of the tauroctony relief were used as rubble in a wall. The aisle between the podia was filled with rubble to create a level floor, and the room was subsequently used as a stable. This mid-5th-century destruction layer provides the *terminus ad quem* for the end of the Mithraeum.
5. For some prelimary notes, see Ricci 2004a; 2004b; for a detailed discussion of the pottery finds, see Saguì 2004a; 2004b; on the floors, see Del Vecchio et al. 2005; on the wall decoration, see Moormann 2011, 168. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. f.t. 19.

Domus Augustana

1. Regio X *Palatium*. No longer extant. Dimensions: unknown. In use: early 3rd century, probably until early 4th century. No architectural remains discovered thus far.
2. This Mithraeum was in the imperial palace on the Palatine. It has not been found.
3. The sole evidence for its existence is an inscription found in Trastevere near the Ponte Emilio (not *in situ*):[90]

> *D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucius) Septimius Auggg(ustorum) lib(ertus) Archelaus*[91] *| pater et sacerdos Invicti | Mithrae domus Augustanae | fecit sibi et Cosiae Primitivae | coniugi bene merenti libertis liberta |busque posterisq(ue) eorum.*
> *For the divine spirits. Lucius Septimius Archelaus, freedman of the (three) Augusti, father and priest of the Unconquered Mithras of the Domus Augustana, made this for himself and for his well-deserving wife Cosia Primitiva and for his freedmen and freedwomen and for their descendan*ts.

As noted by Cumont, this inscription is remarkable, inasmuch as it signals a worship of Mithras in the imperial household.[92]
4. Archelaus was a freedman of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, which means that the inscription must date from 209-211 or later.
5. *TMMM* II 100, nr 35; *CIMRM* I, nr 511; Coarelli 1979, 75, nr 38 (find-spot of the inscription, not location of the Mithraeum!); Griffith 1993, 160-161, nr 40D; J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 266.

Circus Maximus

1. Regio XI Circus Maximus. Extant. Dimensions: unpublished.[93] In use: late 3rd century, until 5th century? Discovered: 1931.
2. The Mithraeum was located across the street from the short end of the Circus Maximus, in an imperial building that was in all likelihood associated with the organization of games.
3. The Mithraeum has two podia, and it had a vaulted ceiling, now lost. The great tauroctony relief was found intact, face down on the floor. Only the tip of Mithras' nose was missing. On the border above the relief is an inscription.[94] A second, much smaller tauroctony relief was also found intact. Among the other finds were a marble serpent's head, a fragment of a small relief with Cautes, and a marble pilaster, broken in two, with a head of Sol at the top end. There were also several fragmentary inscribed dedications, and one complete one.
On either side of the first arch is a niche with a statue base, where the torch-bearers once stood, but the statues were not found back. Finally, there were a number of other finds, including a statuette of Minerva and two bases for Venus statuettes, but according to the excavator, these could not be attributed with certainty to the Mithraeum.
4. The brickwork of the walls added to create the Mithraeum is dated to the second half of the 3rd century. There is no indication of when the Mithraeum was abandoned.
5. Colini 1931; Pietrangeli 1940. *CIMRM* I, nr 434-455, fig. 120-121; Coarelli 1979, 74, nr 31; Griffith 1993, 124-130, nr 31D; A.M. Ramieri, in *LTUR* III (1996) 266-267; Moormann 2011, 166. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. 177; tav. f.t. 25.

Baths of Caracalla

1. Regio XII *Piscina Publica*. Extant. Dimensions: 23 x 9.7 m. In use: 3rd century, until early 5th century? Discovered: 1912.
2. The Mithraeum was built into the subterranean service area at the western edge of the baths, near the water mill. It had its own entrance on the Via Antoniniana and could be closed off from the service area by means of a door or gate.
3. The Mithraeum has two podia and a vaulted ceiling. The marble tauroctony relief that once stood against the back wall was almost completely destroyed; only fragments of it remain. In one of the niches there was a wall painting of Mithras holding a solar disc.[95] His face has been cut away, but we can still recognize him by his characteristic Phrygian hat. A relief was found of Sol (curly hair and radiate crown). There is a gaping hole in the relief where his face used to be. Other finds include pieces of roughly worked stone, perhaps a sculpture of the birth-giving rock? In the antechamber of the Mithraeum, a cippus was found with Greek inscriptions on the front and back.[96] In a small room

connected with the antechamber, a marble statue of Venus Anadyomene was found broken, her head missing. As one of the planetary gods, she may well have belonged to the sanctuary; a mosaic representation of Venus Anadyomene can be seen on the left podium in the Mitreo delle Sette Porte in Ostia.
4. The baths were built between 212-216, but it is not clear exactly when the Mithraeum was installed. Nor is it clear when it was terminated.
5. Ghislanzoni 1912. *CIMRM* I, nr 457-463; fig. 124-127; Coarelli 1979, 74, nr 32; Griffith 1993, 144-148, nr 34D; M. Piranomonte, in *LTUR* III (1996) 267-268; Moormann 2011, 165-166. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. f.t. 31.

Santa Prisca

1. Regio XIII *Aventinus*. Extant. Dimensions: 11.25 x 4.20 m (phase I); 17.50 x 4.20 m (phase II). In use: late 2nd century, until early 5th century, when the basilica was built.[97] Discovered: 1934.
2. The Mithraeum was built into a late Trajanic cryptoporticus belonging to a *domus* first built in the late Flavian period. It was situated in a wealthy district, close to the Baths of Licinius Sura. On the basis of an inscription found nearby, Vermaseren and Van Essen argued that the building might even have belonged to the *privata Traiani*, Trajan's private residence.[98]
3. The Mithraeum has two podia and a vaulted ceiling. It was walled up and filled in to serve as the foundation for the 5th-century basilica of Santa Prisca. The Mithraeum was located just outside the apse of the church. Its doors were badly damaged in Antiquity. In front of the cult niche, three pieces were found of a marble slab with an inscription for the Unconquered Sun God Mithras. The right wall of the Mithraeum shows a procession of figures representing the seven Mithraic grades, labeled with dipinti.[99] On the left wall is a procession of Mithraic lions, whose faces had been mutilated with an axe.[100] Next to this is a painting of Mithras and Sol dining together, where the head of Sol had been damaged by the stroke of an axe.[101] The stucco sculpture group of Mithras Tauroctonus and Oceanus in the cult niche was found broken into pieces and scattered. The head of Mithras was found all the way at the other end of the Mithraeum, behind the niche of Cautes.[102] In front of this niche, a marble statue of Cautes was found, but its head was missing.[103] The corresponding statue of Cautopates was not found back at all. In one of the side rooms of the Mithraeum, a head of Mithras (or Sol) in finely carved opus sectile was found largely complete, although some fragments were scattered and others lost when it was thrown down.[104]
4. On the basis of their style, the earliest paintings in the Mithraeum have been dated to ca 195, which puts the installation of the Mithraeum at the beginning of the Severan period. The sanctuary was enlarged in ca 220, probably a sign that it had a thriving community. The many finds (glass, pottery, etc.) are entirely consistent with a continuous use of the Mithraeum until the beginning of the 5th century, when it was filled up with earth and debris to serve as a foundation for the basilica.[105]
5. Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965. *CIMRM* I, nr 476-500; fig. 129-143; II 29; fig. 250; Coarelli 1979, 75, nr 37; Griffith 1993, 131-138, nr 32D; M. Andreussi, in *LTUR* III (1996) 268-269; Moormann 2011, 165. Cf. Carandini 2013, II tav. 168; tav. f.t. 30.

Appendix B: Three Spurious Mithraea in Rome

Among the Mithraea identified by Coarelli[106] and by Griffith[107], there are three cases where the identification as a Mithraeum remains uncertain: Vigna Muti, Ospedale San Giovanni, and the Baths of Titus. I shall now explain my reasons for doubting or rejecting these three so-called Mithraea.

As for the *Vigna Muti*, the Roman sculptor and antiquarian Flaminio Vacca (1538-1605) wrote in his memoirs that a lion-headed idol and a relief of the same figure had been found in a room in the vigna of Orazio Muti, which was across the street from San Vitale.[108] Griffith decided that this was only possibly a Mithraeum, because she thought that none of the monuments found was Mithraic. Contrary to Griffith, I consider the leontocephaline god, commonly referred to as Aion, to be quite specifically Mithraic. His role in Mithraism has been discussed at length by Howard Jackson (apparently overlooked by Griffith), and again, more recently, by Raffaella Bortolin.[109] Still, the little information that we have about the find context of these sculptures does not support the identification as a Mithraeum. All we know is that they were found 'in una stanza vota con la porta rimurata'. Griffith interpreted this as a vaulted room, i.e. possibly a Mithraeum, but there is good reason to argue that we are rather dealing here with an empty room (*vota* = *vuota*). This seriously weakens the case for a Mithraeum at this site, and so, having followed a different line of reasoning, we must come to the same conclusion as Griffith, that this is only a possible Mithraeum.

As for the *Ospedale San Giovanni*, we know that during construction work there in the 1960s, a room was found with a rectangular floor plan with podia on three sides.[110] In the absence of Mithraic monuments or inscriptions, the identification hinged on the interpretation of faint traces of a fragmentary wall-painting as a tauroctony scene. The excavator thought that she recognized the head of a youth with curly brown hair and a halo, his right arm held high and his left leg bent on a dark mass, oozing vermilion drops towards the ground. Unfortunately, no-one else appears to have seen this, and none of it can be made out in the published photographs.[111] In short, there is simply not enough evidence to warrant the identification of this room as a Mithraeum.

Finally, the purported Mithraeum at the *Baths of Titus*. As rumour has it, a Mithraeum was discovered in the 'Casa di Tito' near the Colosseum.[112] The site was never excavated or even described, and the sole piece of evidence that we have for its existence are rather clumsy reproductions of a tauroctony wall-painting that was supposed to have been seen there. While there are different versions of the drawing in different collections[113], they all seem to trace back to the artist Francesco Bartoli (ca 1675-1730), son of Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635-1700). The pioneer of ancient Roman topography, Rodolfo Lanciani (1845-1929), made a bold attempt to piece together the archaeological context from various snippets of information. Using the evidence available to him, Lanciani tentatively associated the fresco with a group of underground rooms discovered in 1668 and described by Pietro Santi Bartoli as being located in the ruins of the 'Casa di Tito' at a distance of 250 palmi (ca. 55 m) from the western side of the Colosseum. Lanciani took this to mean 55 metres from the *eastern* side of the Colosseum, i.e. in the Baths of Titus.[114]

There are, however, two problems regarding the location of this Mithraeum. First of all, the reported location of the fresco cannot be taken at face value, because, as Thomas Ashby (1874-1931) already noted, 'Francesco Bartoli's statements as to the locality to which the paintings belonged [are not] by any means always trustworthy.'[115] Second, Lanciani's floor plan of the underground rooms is misleading. The dimensions of the rooms were actually 23 x 23 *palmi* (ca 5 x 5 m), but for some reason Lanciani decided to draw them not as squares but as rectangles with the proportions of a Mithraeum.[116] All in all, there is no confirmation that there was ever a Mithraeum in the underground rooms of the 'Casa di Tito'.

An even bigger problem concerns the fact that the very authenticity of the painting must be called into question because of its many iconographic anomalies.[117] In the drawings (e.g. *fig. 3*), Mithras is adorned with a diadem and radiate nimbus instead of his usual Phrygian cap, and he is facing forward rather than away from the bull, which is quite uncommon. The bull is rearing up on its hind legs and is made to look like a sea creature, with fin-like hooves but without the characteristic fishtail of a sea-bull. The serpent is

Fig. 3. Tauroctony painting, purportedly seen at the 'Casa di Tito' (Turnbull 1740, pl. 9).

slithering in the wrong place, near the bull's hind quarter, and in the wrong direction, away from where the bull is stabbed. The dog and Cautopates are absent, Cautes is nude, which is highly unusual, and the Sun is where the Moon should be, top right instead of top left. In the Eton, Holkham and Turnbull drawings, there is also a river-god, but in the *Codex Nettuno* he is absent. With regard to the archaeological value of Bartoli's drawings in general, Ashby remarked that 'Francesco Bartoli's veracity is by no means of suspicion' and 'he cannot be trusted for colours, nor even for details, which he often varied arbitrarily for reasons of his own.'[118] As a result, we have no way of reconstructing what Bartoli saw or where he saw it. Since neither the location nor the authenticity of the wall-painting could be ascertained, we cannot reasonably conclude that there was an actual Mithraeum at the Baths of Titus.

Notes

* I am very grateful to Leonard Rutgers for his valuable criticism and suggestions, and I also thank Eric Moormann and Bouke van der Meer for fruitful discussions. Any mistakes are, of course, my own.

1 Gibbon 1776-1788.

2 The term 'oriental religions' is somewhat misleading, because, whereas the Romans presented them as being of Eastern origin, they were in fact developed in Rome; the term was invented by Franz Cumont: Cumont 1907.

3 Boissier 1891.

4 Also known as Andreas or Andrew Alföldi, depending on the audience.

5 Alföldi 1937, 7; 1942-1943.

6 Bloch 1945, 199-244; 1963, 193-218.

7 E.g. Athanassiadi 2010; the underlying notion here seems to be that before the advent of Christianity, Rome was happily 'anthropocentric'; see also Arietta Papaconstantinou's review of this book in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2011.07.32.

8 E.g. Brown 1995; Bowersock 1978, who depicts the emperor Julian as a cruel, self-serving despot rather than a valiant defender of Roman values.

9 Cameron 2011.

10 E.g. Ratti 2012.

11 E.g. Athanassiadi 2010.

12 See esp. Sauer 1996; 2003.

13 Alan Cameron is an expert on Claudian, while on the opposing team Pierre Chuvin and Stéphane Ratti are experts on Nonnus and the *Historia Augusta* respectively.

14 Renan 1898. Cf. also Clauss 2013.

15 Followed by a narrow margin by Zeus and Asclepius. See Bayliss 2004, 17, chart 1. Cf. Clauss 2013, 249: 'Die Erinnerung an Mithras wurde in der Antike weitaus gründlicher getilgt als bei anderen Kulten.'

16 Coarelli 1979, with a map facing p. 80, which is reproduced in Beard et al. 1998, vol. 1, xx-xxi, map 3. (I am discounting the marble relief found at Palazzo Primoli, which, Coarelli indicated, belongs to the Egyptian gods rather than Mithras; Coarelli 1979, 74, nr 28). The same ten Mithraea are found, along with five others, in the list compiled by Manfred Clauss, among whose uncertain Mithraea one should include the Mithraeum on the Capitoline hill, which cannot be regarded as 'epigrafisch oder archäologisch nachgewiesen'; Clauss 1992, 16-18; 17 n. 4.

17 Griffith 1993, nr 6D; 13D; 14D; 22D; 40D.

18 I.e. Griffith's fourteen Mithraea, plus the Mithraea at Via Passalacqua and Crypta Balbi, minus the so-called Mithraea at the Baths of Titus and Ospedale San Giovanni. There must, of course, have been many more. Based on the number of find-places of Mithraic monuments in Rome (ca 40) and the number of tauroctony reliefs from Rome (ca 100), and allowing for the fact that one Mithraeum could house multiple tauroctonies (both simultaneously and successively), I would estimate that there existed at least 50 Mithraea in Rome. For the find-places of Mithraic monuments, see Coarelli 1979. On the number of tauroctony reliefs, see Clauss 1992, 16; 17 n. 3; cf. Bjørnebye 2014, 72.

19 I.e. Coarelli's ten Mithraea, plus the Crypta Balbi Mithraeum, minus the Mithraeum at San Lorenzo in Damaso (which cannot be regarded as extant), and minus the so-called Mithraea at Ospedale San Giovanni and Vigna Muti.

20 See e.g. Sauer 1996. We find violently destroyed Mithraea from Britain (Caernarfon, Housesteads, Carrawburgh, Rudchester) to Syria (Doliche, Hawarte).

21 Sarrebourg (Pons Saravi): *CIMRM* I, nr 965-984; Koenigshoffen: *CIMRM* II, nr 1335-1375. For the story of their destruction, see esp. Sauer 2003, 79-88.

22 See note 20, above.

23 Cf. Sauer 2003, 38.

24 *TMMM* II 199: 'Il n'a pas été détruit.'

25 See Frommel/Pentiricci 2009, I 270, fig. 4; 171, fig. 92.

26 For the location of the Mithraeum at Via Firenze relative to the church of San Caio, cf. Capannari 1886, tav. IIII, fig. 3; 1885, tav. I.

27 Kirsch 1918, 9, 70-74; G. De Spirito, in *LTUR* I (1993) 214; A. Milella, in *LTUR* IV (1999) 387-388; cf. also Carandini 2013, vol. 1, 466. Carlo Cecchelli, however, was convinced that Santa Susanna and the titulus Gaii were two distinct churches, see Armellini/Cecchelli 1942, 1459.

28 Krautheimer 1980, 113.

29 Sauer 2003, 18; 16, fig. 2.

30 Precise dates for the final abandonment and/or destruction of the individual Mithraea are difficult to establish, because in most cases we only have either a *terminus post quem* (e.g. pottery in the rubble) or a *terminus ante quem* (e.g. a basilica on top of the rubble). But when we study the Mithraea comprehensively as a group, the pattern that emerges appears to be quite consistent.

31 *PLRE* I, Severianus 9; *FS*, nr 2326.

32 *PLRE* I, Olympius 18; *FS*, nr 2573.

33 *PLRE* I, Augentius 2; *FS*, nr 788.

34 *PLRE* I, Postumianus 4; *FS*, nr 2120.

35 *PLRE* I, Agrestius 1-2; *FS*, nr 545.

36 *PLRE* I, Volusianus 5; *FS*, nr 1130.

37 *PLRE* I, Albinus 8; *FS*, nr 2857.

38 *PLRE* I, Apollodorus; *FS*, nr 2653.

39 = *CIG* 6012b; *IG* XIV 1018; *IGUR* I 129.

40 *PLRE* I, Aedesius 7; *FS*, nr 448.

41 *PLRE* I, Faventinus 1; *FS*, nr 3318.

42 *FS*, nr 13.

43 *PLRE* I, Augentius 1.

44 *PLRE* I, Sabinus 13; *FS*, nr 999.

[45] *PLRE* I, Hilarianus 4; *FS*, nr 1005.
[46] *PLRE* I, Iulianus 37; *FS*, nr 3089.
[47] *PLRE* I, Iulianus 25; *FS*, nr 1128.
[48] *PLRE* I, Praetextatus 1; *FS*, nr 3468.
[49] *CIL* VI 736 = 30823; Lebegue 1889; Clauss 1992, 17 n. 3: 'bei dem auf dem Relief angebrachten Text handelt es sich um eine moderne Fälschung'; the assertion that this is 'das bisher späteste datierte Mithras-Relief' (Clauss 2012, 35) or 'the latest known Mithraic monument' (Clauss 2001, 31) is therefore incorrect.
[50] Rutgers 2009, 82: 'In the late fourth and early 5th century, attacks on synagogues were not just a recurring phenomenon, they also occurred empire-wide, in very different locations.'
[51] *PLRE* I, Gracchus 1; perhaps identical to Furius Maecius Gracchus, *PLRE* I, Gracchus 3.
[52] Hier. *Ep.* 107.2.
[53] Amm. 16.12.66.
[54] *AE* 1980, nr 48.
[55] Lissi-Caronna 1986, 45.
[56] The church of Santo Stefano Rotondo was dedicated but not built by pope Simplicius (468-483); *LP* XLVIII: 'Hic dedicavit basilicam S. Stefani in Celio monte.' A chestnut tree felled in 451 was used for the architraves, see Valeriani 2003, 2032 n. 11. Cf. Brandenburg 2004, 204, who dates the building to the early 460s.
[57] Incorrectly attributed to Regio II by Della Giovampaola.
[58] For the date of the basilica, see Guidobaldi 1978, 86; 1992, 276.
[59] Della Giovampaola 1996, 258: 'Dunque per un certo periodo di tempo il luogo di culto cristiano ed il mitreo coesistettero, anche se non in modo del tutto pacifico.'
[60] Attributed to Regio III by Coarelli, but it appears to be east of the district line.
[61] Gallo has the correct measurements; Vermaseren's length of 3.70 m is an obvious typographical error.
[62] The Iseum is referred to as a 'lararium' in older literature; it has been positively identified as an Iseum by Serena Ensoli.
[63] Incorrectly attributed to Regio II by Calzini Gysens.
[64] The Mithraeum was excavated in 1928, but no report was published until seven decades later, when Gloria Bellelli discovered four pages of summary notes, sketches, and a plan of the Mithraeum in the archives of the Soprintendenza.
[65] Cf. Vacca 1594, 44, nr 115 [114]: 'Appresso di essa vi fu scoperta una strada selciata, e molto spaziosa, e vidi che si partiva da porta Maggiore, ed andava a S. Gio. Laterano.'; *FUR*, tav. 13; Carandini 2013, II tav. f.t. 22.
[66] Another oil lamp with Chi-Rho monogram was found in the rubble of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum, Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 360, nr 214; pl. LXXXVI.2.
[67] Bellelli postulated an end around the middle of the fourth century; I do not see a reason for such an early date.
[68] *CIL* VI 738; *TMMM* II 100, nr 37; *CIMRM* I (II), nr 626.
[69] Cf. the Castra Peregrina, where Aurelius Sabinus was identified as *pater huius loci*; *AE* 1980, nrs 49 and 50.
[70] Cf. *FS*, nr 2761.
[71] According to Capannari's plan (tav. IIII, fig. 3), the Mithraeum measured approximately 12 x 5 m, which is a normal size for a Mithraeum.
[72] See also Capannari 1886, tav. IIII, fig. 2, which shows where the mosaic floor stops.
[73] Capannari indicates the northeastern wall, but surely he meant northwestern. The short, northwestern wall is where one would expect to find the tauroctony scene, whereas the long, northeastern wall is a completely unsuitable place: it has three windows and the one podium ran along it, so that the celebrants would be lying with their feet against the tauroctony fresco if it were placed there. Moreover, the fresco is nowhere to be seen in Capannari's drawings of the northeastern (tav. IIII, fig. 1) and southeastern (tav. IIII, fig. 2) walls, so it must have been on the northwestern wall.
[74] Capannari 1886, 24; Visconti 1886, 415; I have found no mention of the fate of the paintings since they arrived at the museum. Alessandro Capannari sadly passed away on 24 December 1886, otherwise he could have seen to it that the paintings were treated with the care that they deserved.
[75] Capannari 1886, 22 notes that 'il dipinto è condotto con non poca cura'; Visconti 1886, 415, however, calls its style mediocre.
[76] Meyboom 1982.
[77] *PLRE* I, Olympius 17 (misreading *CIL* VI 752); *ibid.* stemma 22; cf. Cameron 2011, 143, who repeats the mistake.
[78] The rank of *cryphius* (veiled one) is to be equated with that of *nymphus* (bridegroom) recorded in the dipinti at Santa Prisca.
[79] *CIL* VI 754; *TMMM* II 94-95, nr 13; *CIMRM* I, nr 406, who curiously omits the name Olympii.
[80] For the date of the basilica, see Frommel/Pentiricci 2009, 233. Based on the lack of 4th-century finds, Pentiricci posited that the Mithraeum did not continue to exist beyond the 3rd century; *ibid.*, 186. However, given the fact that the stratigraphy of the site was completely compromised, this argument is not compelling.
[81] For the Stabula, see F. Coarelli, in *LTUR* IV (1999) 339-340; cf. also Carandini 2013, I 514, 523.
[82] For a photo of the statuette with its head reattached, see Nogara/Magi 1949, fig. 7.
[83] *AE* 1950, nr 199; *CIMRM* I, nr 423.
[84] *AE* 1937, nr 231 (Aebutius, line 1, corrected in *AE* 1949, nr 172); *CIMRM* I, nr 422; cf. *FS*, nr 447.
[85] *AE* 1950, nr 200; *CIMRM* I, nr 424.
[86] *AE* 1950, nr 201; *CIMRM* I, nr 425.
[87] Lorenzo Bianchi gives tentative dimensions of ca 25 x 12 m, which would make it the largest Mithraeum in Rome (Bianchi 2004, 62); cf. also the anonymous author in EJMS who gives the dimensions 31.5 x 12 m, http://www.uhu.es/ejms/CryptaBalbi/Balbi.htm. As one can see on the detailed plans published by Mario Ricci, however, it cannot have measured more than ca 14 x 7 m. See Ricci 2004a, 157-165, fig. 1-5; 2004b, 231-241, fig. 1-6.
[88] Ricci 2004b, 238, fig. 10 (b/w ph.).
[89] The crater from the Villa of Maxentius was first erroneously ascribed to the Domus Augustana, corrected by Saguì 2004b, 277, N.B. According to Mazzuccato, it dates from the 9th (!) century, e.g. O. Mazzuccato, in Ensoli/La Rocca 2000, 504-506, nr 128, but this should be rejected, see Saguì 2004a, 172; 2004b, 256.
[90] *CIL* VI 2271 *TMMM* II 100, nr 35; *CIMRM* I, nr 511.
[91] The cognomen Archelaus was erroneously omitted by Cumont and by Vermaseren.
[92] *TMMM* II 100: 'Cette inscription est remarquable, en ce qu'elle signale un culte de Mithra dans la *familia* impériale.'
[93] As seen in Pietrangeli's map, the sanctuary, from entrance up to cult aedicula, measures approximately 10.5 x 9.5 m.
[94] *AE* 1933, nr 96; *CIMRM* I, nr 436, who incorrectly prints

Ti(tus) instead of Ti(berius).

[95] Cf. Moormann 2011, 165-166: 'Some suggest that the man should be a torchbearer, *dadophoros*, an identification that might fit better considering his secondary position on the side wall.' From an iconographic point of view, however, this suggestion is problematic, because the figure does not show the defining characteristics of a torchbearer (i.e. crossed legs and a torch).

[96] *IGUR* I 194; *CIMRM* I (II), nr 463.

[97] For the date of the basilica, see Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 115-116.

[98] Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 14-18.

[99] For the Latin texts, see Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 155-160; cf. *CIMRM* I, nr 480, where Luna and Mercury had erroneously exchanged places. Fragmentary traces of nearly identical dipinti were found in the lower layer of paintings, see Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 168-169.

[100] Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965) 148-150; axe marks seen in nr 1, 2, 3, 8.

[101] Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 150, nr 9b.

[102] Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 129.

[103] *CIMRM* I, nr 477; Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 341, nr 19.

[104] Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 442, nr 27; pl. XXXVI-XXXVII; cf. Carandini 2013, I fig. 149 (colour ph.).

[105] Vermaseren/Van Essen 1965, 43, who note that 'the entire 150 cubic metres of sand did not produce one single item later than the 4th or at the latest the beginning of the 5th century.'

[106] Coarelli 1979.

[107] Griffith 1993.

[108] See esp. Vacca 1594, 44-45, nr 117-118 [116-117]; cf. J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 262-263; *CIMRM* I, nr 381-383; Coarelli 1979, 72, nr 14; Griffith 1993, 89-91, nr 15P. Cf. *FUR*, tav. 16.

[109] Jackson 1985; Bortolin 2004.

[110] See esp. Santa Maria Scrinari 1979; cf. J. Calzini Gysens, in *LTUR* III (1996) 261-262; Coarelli 1979, 71, nr 11; Griffith 1993, 39-41, nr 3D.

[111] Santa Maria Scrinari 1979, fig. 4 and 6.

[112] See esp. Lanciani 1895; cf. J. Calzini Gysens in *LTUR* III (1996) 260; *CIMRM* I (II), nr 337; fig. 94; Coarelli 1979, 70-71, nr 4; Griffith 1993, 63-66, nr 6D.

[113] Topham Collection at Eton (*Eton* II, nr 19); Windsor Castle Library (inv. 11405 = *Codex Nettuno* 156); Holkham Hall (*Holk*. II, nr 36); Turnbull 1740, 175-176 and pl. 9.

[114] Lanciani 1895, 175.

[115] Ashby 1914, 5, who gives specific examples of locations given by Bartoli that were shown to be incorrect.

[116] Lanciani 1895, 176; cf. Caylus 1757, fig. 1.

[117] Adolph Michaelis already regarded the composition as modern, but Thomas Ashby remained convinced of its genuineness, because there existed several copies, see Ashby 1914, 19, nr 19. The drawing at Eton may well be a genuine Bartoli, but this certainly does not make it a faithful reproduction of an ancient tauroctony fresco.

[118] Ashby 1914, 3.

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Kassiber an den Doktorvater
Erinnerungen zum dritten Todestag des Bonner Archäologen Nikolaus Himmelmann

Stephan Lehmann

Zusammenfassung

Einer der bedeutendsten Klassischen Archäologen der Nachkriegszeit, Nikolaus Himmelmann, starb im Jahr 2013. Als sein Schüler versuche ich, im Lichte meiner persönlichen und fachlichen Erinnerungen dem akademischen Lehrer und berühmten Wissenschaftler hier ein kleines Denkmal zu setzen. Seit seiner Promotion im Jahre 1954 arbeitete Himmelmann - später auch als Professor an der Bonner Universität - bis zu seinem Tode für sein Fach. Die vielen internationalen Ehrungen weisen auf seine Anerkennung als Archäologe hin und die zahllosen Publikationen zeugen von der eminenten Bedeutung als Wissenschaftler. Kaum ein zentrales Thema der antiken Kunst und Kultur, zu dem er sich nicht geäußert hätte. Im Zentrum seiner Arbeit stand aber immer die Bedeutung der griechischen Religion für die jeweilige Kunst- und Lebenswelt, die Reflektion archäologischer Methodik und vor allem die Darstellung des Menschen von der homerischen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Hierbei interessierte ihn zum einen die realistische Darstellungsweise des antiken Menschen in der Kunst, etwa als Sklave und Handwerker, wie auch die idealisierende künstlerische Darstellung von Athleten, Intellektuellen und Politikern. Die Ausstellung 'Herrscher und Athlet' im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn aus dem Jahr 1989 bedeutete für ihn, dem die Arbeit mit dem archäologischen Gegenstand von besonderer Bedeutung war, einen Höhepunkt. Zweifellos war Himmelmann von seiner fachlichen Ausstrahlung ein kosmopolitischer und zugleich deutsch-deutscher Archäologe, der auch von seiner akademischen Herkunft wie auch von seinem Selbstverständnis her, die bedeutenden Traditionen der Archäologie durch den Eisernen Vorhang nicht unterbrochen sah. Seine kulturkritischen Überlegungen zur utopischen Vergangenheit der Archäologie in der modernen Kultur aus dem Jahr 1976 sollten eine über die Fachgrenzen hinaus wirkungsmächtige Veröffentlichung werden. Hier zeigt er sich als Gelehrter, der die politischen und kulturellen Veränderungen seiner Zeit sensibel wahrnahm und interpretierte. Zentraler Leitsatz für sein Schaffen war: 'Theoretische Überlegungen werden in der Archäologie immer eine dienende Rolle haben und können der konkreten Problematik der Denkmäler nur folgen'.

Am 19. Dezember 2013 verstarb mit Nikolaus Himmelmann der renommierteste deutsche Archäologe der Nachkriegszeit. In seinem luziden Nekrolog vom Januar 2014 hat Helmut Kyrieleis in der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* die Leistungen dieses herausragenden Wissenschaftlers gewürdigt, der freilich auch ein wirkungsmächtiger akademischer Lehrer war (*Abb. 1*).[1]

Die nachfolgenden Erinnerungen gelten demnach nicht nur dem exzellenten Wissenschaftler, sondern auch dem herausragenden Hochschullehrer Himmelmann. Angesichts der im Jahr 1999 in Bologna beschlossenen europäischen Hochschulreform und deren Folgen für die deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen schildern sie freilich auch eine mittlerweile untergegangene deutsch-deutsche Wissenschaftslandschaft.[2] Denn meine persönlichen und die fachlichen Erinnerungen an Himmelmann gelten einem bedeutenden Archäologen und Hochschullehrer, dessen Laufbahn in einem Land verlief, das tief vom verlorenen Zweiten Weltkrieg gezeichnet und dann bald in zwei Staaten geteilt war, die sich - auch wissenschaftlich und wissenschaftspolitisch - immer weiter voneinander entfernten, um 1989/90 unerwartet und in einer unglaublichen Geschwindigkeit wieder zu einem Land zusammenzuwachsen.

Die äußeren Stationen der wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn von Nikolaus Himmelmann sind schnell genannt:[3] Er hat ab dem Jahr 1950 Klassische Archäologie an den Universitäten Marburg und Basel sowie in München studiert, wo er bereits im Jahr 1954 bei Ernst Buschor mit einer Arbeit zum bekannten spätklassischen Ilissos-Relief in Athen promoviert wurde (*Abb. 2*).[4] Nach einer Tätigkeit an der Glyptothek in München und einer einjährigen Studienreise durch Länder des Mittelmeerraumes, die ihm durch das angesehene Reisestipendium des Deutschen

Abb. 1. Gruppenbild 'Schüler mit Meister' anlässlich des 80. Geburtstages von Nikolaus Himmelmann am 31. Januar 2009. Aufgenommen im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn auf der Treppe zur Bibliothek (Foto W. Klein).

Abb. 2. Spätklassisches Grabrelief vom Ilissos (Nationalmuseum Athen), das einen jung Verstorbenen mit seinem trauernden Vater zeigt, Gipsabguß im Treppenhaus des Archäologischen Museums der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (Foto St. Lehmann).

Abb. 3. Ansicht des Akademischen Kunstmuseums von der Hofgartenseite. Die mehrmals erweiterte Alte Anatomie von 1825 beherbergt heute die Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn sowie das Archäologische Institut mit Bibliothek und Hörsaal (Foto St. Lehmann).

Archäologischen Instituts ermöglicht worden war, wirkte er seit dem Jahr 1956 als Assistent von Friedrich Matz am Archäologischen Seminar der Universität Marburg. Dort hat er sich im Jahr 1958, also noch vor Vollendung des 30. Lebensjahrs, mit einer Untersuchung zum klassischen Götterbild habilitiert.[5] Im Jahr 1962 folgte er einem Ruf auf die Professur für Klassische Archäologie an die Universität des Saarlandes, von wo er 1966 auf den Lehrstuhl an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn wechselte. In dieser Position, die auch mit der Direktion des Akademischen Kunstmuseums der Universität verbunden war, lehrte und wirkte Himmelmann bis zu seiner Emeritierung im Jahr 1994 (*Abb. 3*).

Die fächerübergreifende und internationale Reputation, die Himmelmann auf Grund seiner herausragenden Forschungen genoss, spiegeln sich auch und besonders in seiner Wahl in verschiedene wissenschaftliche Akademien wider. So war

er Mitglied der Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur seit 1967, zunächst als ordentliches Mitglied und ab dem Jahr 1974 dann als korrespondierendes Mitglied, da er in diesem Jahr zum ordentlichen Mitglied der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste in Düsseldorf gewählt wurde. Seit 1986 war er Corresponding Fellow der British Academy in London und im Jahr 2003 wählte ihn die Accademia dei Lincei in Rom zu ihrem Mitglied. Im Jahr 1981 wurde er Member am Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton und 1988 wählte ihn der Rat der Archäologischen Gesellschaft in Athen zum Ehrenmitglied. Für seine wissenschaftlichen Verdienste wurde Himmelmann zudem die Ehrendoktorwürde von den Universitäten in Athen (1987) und Thessaloniki (1996) zuerkannt. Im Jahre 1990 verlieh ihm die Hellenische Republik den Phönix-Orden, einen griechischen Verdienstorden für Ausländer, und schließlich ehrte ihn die Italienische Republik im Jahr 1993 durch die Verleihung des Komturkreuzes zu ihrem Verdienstorden.

In einem Interview, das der amerikanische Historiker Richard Cándida Smith im Jahr 1995 mit Himmelmann führte, betonte dieser überraschend und dennoch bezeichnend für ihn, wie wichtig ihm seine langjährige Mitgliedschaft in einer nicht offiziellen, sondern informellen Gelehrten-Gesellschaft, nämlich im Bonner Wissenschaftlichen Kränzchen war: '… I am a member of a small club of scholars in Bonn. The club was founded in the middle of the nineteenth century. We dicuss things seven times a year; it's a sort of private academy. It includes scientists and historians, jurists, philologists, and myself. …'.[6] Diese traditionsreiche und exklusive Vereinigung Bonner Professoren unterschiedlicher Fächer trifft sich bis heute privat zu zwanglosem wissenschaftlichen Austausch und Diskussion ihrer Forschungsergebnisse, die in einer geselligen Tischgemeinschaft enden.[7]

Himmelmanns aktive Jahre als Hochschullehrer und darüber hinaus auch die meiste Zeit seines Ruhestandes waren geprägt von seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit. Davon zeugt ein ungeheuer weites und reiches Schrifttum zu zentralen Themen der antiken Kunst und Kultur.[8] Daneben stellte sich Himmelmann aber auch den 'administrativen' Aufgaben des archäologischen Wissenschaftsbetriebs. Seit 1963 war er Mitglied der Zentraldirektion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Berlin, seit 1976 dann deren stellvertretender Vorsitzender und Vizepräsident. Im Juni 1988 wurde ihm die Ehre zuteil, den Eröffnungsvortrags auf dem in Berlin stattfindenden XIII. Internationalen Kongress für Klassische Archäologie zu halten.[9]

Himmelmann gab verschiedene Festschriften und Sammelbände heraus und war von 1966–1977 Mitherausgeber des *Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft*. Ferner gab er zusammen mit Géza Alföldy und Frank Kolb eine der Reihen der 'Antiquitas' heraus.[10] In den Jahren von 1977 bis 1987 stand er als Vorsitzender dem geschichtsträchtigen 'Verein von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinland' vor. In dieser Zeit gelang die finanzielle Sicherung für die seit 1842 erscheinenden *Bonner Jahrbücher*, die ursprünglich allein vom Verein herausgegeben wurden.

Aus Platzgründen kann hier nicht ausführlich auf die Forschungsinteressen und archäologischen Themenbereiche eingegangen werden, denen sich Himmelmann zeit seines Forscherlebens widmete. Deshalb will ich mich im Folgenden auf drei Interessenfelder konzentrieren, die mir besonders wichtig erscheinen, weil sie deutlich hervortreten und thematisch einen Großteil seiner Publikationen bestimmen.

Immer wieder und aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven kommt er auf den religiösen und politischen Gehalt der Bildwelt der attischen Grabreliefs klassischer Zeit zurück.[11] Hierin eingebunden sind zugleich archäologische Beobachtungen zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte. Damit einher geht das ihn ebenfalls seit seiner Promotion beschäftigende Thema der wissenschaftlich-archäologischen Methodik.[12] Wie sehr er sich hierbei auch dem Studium der zeitgenössischen Philosophie, Geschichts- und Religionsforschung sowie Soziologie widmete, geht aus dem oben erwähnten Interview mit Smith eindringlich hervor.[13]

Himmelmanns Forschungen zur Darstellung des Menschen in der antiken Kunst und dem Nachwirken dieser Darstellungen ist der wirkungsmächtige Beitrag eines Archäologen zur epochenübergreifenden Erforschung des Menschenbildes. Sie beginnt mit der Figur in homerischer Zeit und durchschreitet die Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart.[14] Dabei widmete sich Himmelmann der idealen und realistischen Darstellungsweise des Menschen und ihrer zeitgebundenen Interpretation. Hier sind zunächst vertiefende Studien Himmelmanns etwa zur realistischen Kunst der hellenistischen Metropole Alexandria zu nennen, auf die dann zügig Untersuchungen zur idealen Nacktheit folgten, also dem wichtigen Phänomen, Menschen gegen die Realität unbekleidet darzustellen.[15] Diese folgenschwere antike Darstellungsweise und ihre Nachwirkungen beschäftigten Himmelmann wis-

Abb. 4. Marmorstatue des nackten Napoleon von Antonio Canova, H 3,45m, entstanden zwischen 1802 und 1806, London, Apsley House (Foto nach N. Himmelmann, Herrscher und Athlet, *Bonn 1989, Abb. 5).*

senschaftlich über Jahre hinweg bis zu seinem Lebensende. Bei letzterer Frage ging er unter anderem dem Phänomen nach, warum etwa mittelalterliche Darstellungen antike Götter und vor allem auch Göttinnen nackt zeigen können.[16] Einen ersten Abschluss dieser Forschungen bildete dann sein grundlegendes Werk *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst*.[17] Hier zog er die verschiedenen Fäden seiner Forschungen zusammen und interpretierte die Entwicklung der idealen Nacktheit als heraushebende und rühmende Darstellungsform der menschlichen Figur, die sich zu einer Form heroisierender Auszeichnung weiterentwickelt (*Abb. 4*).[18] Das genannte Buch löste eine Diskussion aus, die über die Fachgrenzen hinaus griff und bis heute stimulierend auf die Forschung wirkt, wie etwa der an der Universität Freiburg verankerte Sonderforschungsbereich 'Helden - Heroisierungen - Heroismen' der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zeigt.[19] Daneben widmete Himmelmann sich auch eingehend den verschiedenen Aspekten des Realismus in der griechischen Kunst. Einen gewissen Abschluss dieser Studien bildet die Vorlage seiner umfassenden Ergebnisse zu den Bildern von Handwerkern und Sklaven und körperlich gehandicapten Personen aus dem Jahr 1994 (*Abb. 5*).[20] Im Zusammenhang und Nachgang der Bonner Ausstellung 'Herrscher und Athlet' von 1987 widmete Himmelmann sich dann verstärkt auch der Interpretation griechischer Porträts von Machthabern, Dichtern und Denkern mit ihren idealen und realistischen Tendenzen im Ausdruck und in der Gestaltung der Gesichter (*Abb. 6*).[21]

Abb. 5. Bronzestatuette eines Banausen, 40,3 cm, 1. Jhr. v.Chr., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Foto nach Kat. Power and Pathos, *Florenz 2015, Abb. S. 263).*

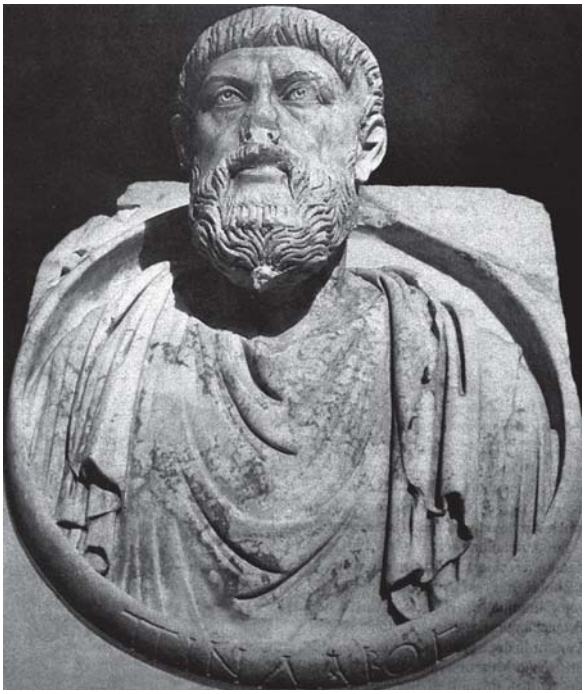

Abb. 6. Spätantike Tondobüste des Pindar, nach einem Vorbild aus der Mitte 5. Jhrs. v.Chr., Aphrodisias, Museum (Foto nach N. Himmelmann, Das Bildnis Pindars, Antike Welt *24, 1993, 56 Abb. 1.).*

Abb. 7. Sarkophag des Junius Bassus, nach 359 n. Chr., Vatikanische Museen, Museo del Tesoro, hier Gipsabguß im Museo della civiltà romana (Foto G. Dall'Orto).

Durch seine späteren Forschungsinteressen treten seine Verdienste um die Erforschung der kaiserzeitlichen und spätantiken Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben etwas in den Hintergrund, müssen hier aber erwähnt werden. Seit Beginn seiner Sarkophag-Studien in den 1950er Jahren legte Himmelmann hierzu regelmäßig Arbeiten vor, die mit seinem Buch über die römischen Sarkophage des 3./4. Jahrhunderts nach Christus einen gewissen Abschluss fanden (*Abb. 7*).[22]

Die große internationale Anerkennung und breite Wirkung seiner Publikationen in der altertums- und kunstwissenschaftlichen Fachwelt werden getragen durch die Ergebnisse seiner wegweisenden Forschungen und theoretischen Erwägungen. Die zahlreichen Beiträge in der ihm bereits zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 31. Januar 1989 gewidmeten Festschrift spiegeln diese Anerkennung wider.[23]

Himmelmann war über archäologische Neuerscheinungen sowie Publikationen der Nachbardisziplinen, die seine Interessen berührten, immer sehr gut informiert. Mit 'modernen' Trends in der Archäologie setzte er sich bis an sein Lebensende eindringlich und, wenn es sein musste, auch kritisch auseinander. Helmut Kyrieleis zitiert in seinem oben erwähnten Nekrolog aus seinem wirkungsmächtigen methodenkritischen Aufsatz aus dem Jahr 1960 ein Diktum, das gleichsam als Leitsatz über dem Lebenswerk Nikolaus Himmelmanns stehen könnte: 'Theoretische Überlegungen werden in der Archäologie immer eine dienende Rolle haben und können der konkreten Problematik der Denkmäler nur folgen, nicht aber vorangehen.'[24] Gemäß diesem Grundsatz lehnte Himmelmann alle Versuche ab, das archäologische Material in ein Theoriekorsett zu zwängen bzw. in Hypothesengebäude zu pressen und äußerte, was das betraf, auch deutliche Worte der Kritik.

Aus dem Bisherigen dürfte hinreichend deutlich geworden sein, dass mit Nikolaus Himmelmann in Bonn ein Gelehrter und Lehrer von ungewöhnlicher Schaffenskraft und Ausstrahlung wirkte, der - wie auch die große Zahl seiner Schüler zeigt - auch international und selbst über die deutsch-deutsche Grenze hinweg eine große Anziehungskraft ausübte.

Letzteres erklärt auch, wieso ich als Zeitzeuge und deutscher Klassischer Archäologe eine eher ungewöhnliche akademische Biographie aufweise, die untrennbar mit dem Namen Himmelmann verbunden ist. Gerade deshalb erscheint mir die Zeitschrift *BABESCH* als unabhängiger und international wahrgenommener Ort, an dem

grundsätzlich an bewährte humanistische Traditionen und die folgenreiche Vorbildwirkung akademischer Lehrer, hier am Beispiel eines international auch über die engeren Fachgrenzen hinaus wirkungsmächtigen Klassischen Archäologen und Altertumswissenschaftlers, erinnert werden kann. Dabei will ich zugleich auch auf gesamtdeutsche Kontinuitäten und Traditionen hinweisen, deren Kenntnisse gefährdet sind bzw. gar verloren gehen könnten.

Himmelmanns Schüler bin ich während seiner späten Bonner Universitätsjahre geworden, und meine Erinnerungen an ihn sind ganz entscheidend durch die besonderen deutsch-deutschen Lebensumstände geprägt, die mich zu ihm an die Universität Bonn geführt haben. Bereits Jahre bevor ich im Sommersemester 1980 mein Studium wieder aufnehmen konnte, war ich als Student der im Ostteil Berlins gelegenen Humboldt-Universität von Himmelmanns 1956 als Buch erschienen Dissertation *Studien zum Ilissos-Relief* in den Bann gezogen worden. Zu dieser Zeit studierte ich bei Ludger Alscher (1916-1985), dem profiliertesten Universitätsarchäologen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, der gleich Himmelmann Schüler des einflussreichen Münchner Archäologen Ernst Buschor (1886-1961) gewesen war.[25] Wie mir Himmelmann später erzählen sollte, hatte Alscher in der Liste der Universität Bonn für die Nachfolge von Ernst Langlotz (1895-1978), der bis 1963 Ordinarius gewesen war, auf Platz 1 gestanden. Allerdings hatte er den Ruf auf Weisung der politischen Stellen in der DDR nicht annehmen dürfen, so dass dann Himmelmann zum Zuge kam. Ich weiß nicht, ob sich die beiden sowohl von Friedrich Matz (1890-1974) als auch von Ernst Buschor beeinflußten Archäologen persönlich kannten und in Kontakt standen. Doch sicher ist, dass Alscher und Himmelmann sich offensichtlich schätzten. Und der aus Münster stammende Alscher kam in seinen Lehrveranstaltungen immer wieder auf Himmelmanns geistesgeschichtlich konturierte Arbeiten zurück. Hier zeigte sich eine gesamtdeutsche Fachkontinuität, die heutzutage oft unterschätzt wird. Zu dieser auch bewusst angestrebten Kontinuität gehört auch, dass Himmelmann immer Kontakte zu Kollegen in der DDR pflegte und in den 1980er Jahren, also noch vor dem Fall der innerdeutschen Grenze, als Gastprofessor in Jena gelehrt hat; er sah sich hier in der Pflicht. Nach seiner letzten Rückkehr aus Jena sprachen wir beide über seine ihn politisch nachdenklich stimmenden Erlebnisse in der DDR.[26] Dabei fragte er mich auch nach meiner Meinung zu der dortigen politischen Lage. Die despektierlichen Bemerkungen zu den dort lehrenden Archäologen, die ich in meine Antwort einflocht, überging er, wie es generell seine Art war.

Nachdem ich im Jahr 1977 einen Ausreiseantrag aus der DDR gestellt hatte und deshalb von der Humboldt-Universität relegiert worden war, gab ich einer Bonner Freundin einen Brief an Himmelmann mit, den diese ihm persönlich übergab und seine umgehende Antwort dann zurück nach Ost-Berlin schmuggelte. In meinem Schreiben hatte ich Himmelmann gefragt, ob ich bei ihm über ein mich interessierendes Thema aus der römischen Kunstgeschichte promovieren könne und ihm auch erklärt, wieso ich gerade auf ihn als Doktorvater gekommen sei. Damals gab es noch die Möglichkeit das Studium mit der 'grundständigen Promotion' abzuschließen, worauf mich Himmelmann in seiner verständigen und hilfsbereiten Antwort ausdrücklich hinwies. Besonderer Umstände wegen sollte es dann allerdings erst Anfang 1980 dazu kommen, dass wir uns persönlich kennenlernten. In der Zwischenzeit hatte ich ihm mittels eines aus dem Zuchthaus Brandenburg geschmuggelten Kassiber lediglich mitteilen können, dass es mit der Fortsetzung meines Studiums in Bonn wohl noch etwas dauern würde.

Die im universitären Umfeld nicht alltägliche Vorgeschichte meiner Promotion hat das Verhältnis zwischen Himmelmann und mir entscheidend geprägt. Ich für meinen Teil war ihm dankbar für die noble und diskrete Art, mit der er meine inneren und äußeren Widerstände, also meine bedrückenden Erlebnisse und Zweifel, aber auch das politische Engagement und die Fluchthilfe für Freunde, also all das tolerierte, was mich oft kaum an das Studium denken ließ. Zur Toleranz des Lehrers kam die Hilfsbereitschaft der Kommilitonen, die mich sofort in ihren Kreis aufnahmen. So tauchte ich sogleich in die besondere Bonner Atmosphäre des Archäologiestudiums ein, in dieses sich selbst fordernde und andere fördernde Miteinander der Studierenden, die im Teekeller des Akademischen Kunstmuseums gar ihre eigene kleine 'Akademie' errichtet hatten und in Hauskreisen gemeinsam antike Autoren lasen und diskutierten. Dabei waren es fraglos die besondere Fähigkeit unseres akademischen Lehrers, seine ohne Wenn und Aber fordernde Art sowie das durch ihn geschaffene kosmopolitische Klima, die viele Studierende nicht nur aus allen Regionen Deutschlands, sondern auch aus dem Ausland anzogen.[27]

Himmelmanns Vorlesungen waren ein Ereignis, weil er sein thematisches Ringen um den Gegenstand durch die Klarheit des Vortrags

Abb. 8. Blick auf den Thermenboxer im Saal der Abgüsse hellenistischer Skulpturen des Akademischen Kunstmuseums der Universität Bonn (Foto M. Sondermann).

nachvollziehbar machte und das jeweilige Thema zudem in einer nüchternen und zugleich ungemein komprimierten Diktion vermittelte.[28]

Dabei bewahrte er stets die persönliche Distanz. Doch die Qualität seiner Lehre, die sich auch in den mitunter harten fachlichen Korrekturen an den Beiträgen seiner Studenten äußerte, erzeugte unter den Kommilitonen das Gefühl einer großen Verbundenheit, was er wiederum sehr schätzte. Im Übrigen ging seine persönliche Distanz einher mit der großen Zuverlässigkeit eines guten Lehrers. Ganz gleich, ob es um Gutachten, Empfehlungen oder Hilfen ging, hatte man einmal mit Himmelmann über ein solches Anliegen gesprochen und dann die nötigen Vorarbeiten erledigt, reagierte er umgehend. So lag beispielsweise sein Gutachten zu meiner Dissertation bereits nach einer Woche beim Prüfungsamt vor. Erst im Rückblick wird mir richtig klar, wie sehr Himmelmann sich für seine Schüler verantwortlich fühlte und welchen Anteil er an ihrer Entwicklung nahm, obwohl dies schon damals durch manche Bemerkungen seiner stets informierten Frau angedeutet wurde. Die exzellente Lehre und die Verlässlichkeit des Lehrers münzten sich in einer großen Loyalität seiner Schüler aus. Die Treffen anlässlich der ‚runden' Geburtstage von Nikolaus Himmelmann waren deshalb immer ein besonderes Ereignis. Denn dort wurde die Vertrautheit der Schülerinnen und Schüler mit dem Lehrer, aber auch untereinander, noch nach vielen Jahren immer wieder spürbar.

Himmelmanns akademischer Unterricht war gelebte Nähe zum archäologischen Gegenstand, was durch das Bonner Akademische Kunstmuseum mit seinen Sammlungen von Originalen und Gipsabgüssen in großartiger Weise ermöglicht wurde (*Abb. 8*). Dabei war es ein besonderes Anliegen des Lehrers, die musealen Aspekte und die geistesgeschichtlichen Hintergründe in die Lehre und die archäologische Forschung einzubeziehen.[29] Schaut man sich die Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte des Akademischen Kunstmuseums an, so erkennt man neben den jeweils aktuellen Ausstellungen die kontinuierliche und sorgfältige Aufarbeitung der bedeutsamen Museumsgeschichte seit der im Jahre 1818 erfolgten Gründung der preußischen Universität im Rheinland.[30] Hier im Museum erhielten frisch promovierte Schüler Gelegenheit zu einer ersten Bewährung.[31] Den im Jahr 1981 erschienene Katalog der Bonner Abguss-Sammlung, das erste Verzeichnis solcher Art an einer deutschen Universität, erarbeiteten bereits die Studierenden.[32] Was aber Himmelmann angeht, so krönte die große, von Olivetti gesponserte Ausstellung 'Herrscher und Athlet', die anlässlich des 2000-jährigen Jubiläums der römischen Stadtgründung von 'Bonnae' im Sommer 1989 gezeigt wurde, seine Bonner Museumsarbeit (*Abb. 9*). Begonnen hatte sie 1969 mit der Ausstellung 'Antiken aus dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum'.[33]

Nikolaus Himmelmann machte von sich wenig Aufheben. Eine bemerkenswerte Ausnahme von dieser Regel bildet das oben bereits mehrfach erwähnte Interview mit Richard Cándida Smith. Dieses Interview wurde am 20. und 21. Februar 1995 im Rahmen des vom J. Paul Getty Trust organisierten 'Art Historical Oral Documentation Project' geführt und in der Open Library veröffentlicht.[34] Es beleuchtet den intellektuell-biographischen Werdegang Himmelmanns ebenso eindrücklich wie ausführlich. Er berichtet hier über

Abb. 9. Der Bundespräsident Richard von Weizsäcker und seine Frau Marianne mit Nikolaus Himmelmann vor der Bronzestatue des Thermenboxers in der Bonner Ausstellung 'Herrscher und Athlet' (Foto W. Klein).

seine Herkunft und seine Familie, über die wichtigen geistigen Impulse der 1950er Jahre, zu denen auch seine Auseinandersetzung mit den Schriften Heideggers gehörte. Auf die zum Teil bohrenden Fragen nach seinen wissenschaftlichen und anderen Interessen und Urteilen antwortet er offen und unprätentiös, was bewirkt, dass einem der Mensch und Gelehrte Himmelmann bei der Lektüre des Interviews in berührender Weise nahekommt. Deutlich werden hier auch die Gemeinsamkeiten mit anderen bekannten Wissenschaftlern seiner Generation, die von den Soziologen die 'Flakhelfer-Generation' genannt wurde, doch mit Helmut Schelskys Klassiker der politischen Literatur durchaus auch als die 'Skeptische Generation' bezeichnet werden kann. Im Interview offenbart sich demnach auch der politische Mensch Himmelmann. Als solcher reagierte er aufmerksam auf seine Umwelt und gesellschaftliche Veränderungen, und zwar ohne Pathos, dafür in kritischer, aber auch toleranter Art und Weise. Dabei wird seine tiefe Abneigung gegenüber allen ideologischen Aufwallungen deutlich, die auch in seinen Schriften stets greif- und spürbar ist.

Dass der Verzicht auf ideologische und tagespolitische Äußerungen nicht zugleich eine Absage an die klare Positionierung in aktuellen theoretischen und methodischen Fragen bedeutete, zeigt Himmelmanns Taschenbuch *Utopische Vergangenheit. Archäologie und moderne Kultur* aus dem Jahre 1976.[35] Dort geht er voraussetzungsvoll und hellsichtig auf eine Reihe kulturgeschichtlicher Phänomene ein, die von der Forschung erst Jahre später aufgegriffen werden sollten. Herausgegriffen sei hier nur das von ihm problematisierte Thema 'Geschichte und Erinnerung'. Daraus ist dann im Verlauf der 1980er Jahre eine komplexe Forschungsdiskussion entstanden, zu der Him-

Abb. 10. Sommersemester 1983: Auf der Außentreppe des Akademischen Kunstmuseums Bonn sind Studierende im fortgeschrittenen Semester, Doktoranten und Dozenten (N. Himmelmann rechts Mitte, H. Gabelmann links unten, Chr. Grunwald links oben, U. Sinn links oben und D. Salzmann rechts Mitte) sowie Mitarbeiter zum sog. Jahresfoto versammelt (Foto W. Klein).

melmann sich im Jahre 2000 zurückblickend noch einmal ausführlich geäußert hat.[36] Die wissenschaftliche Eigenständigkeit Himmelmanns, die gepaart war mit der intellektuellen Freude an der Überschreitung von Fächergrenzen, so es der wissenschaftliche Gegenstand oder das in den Blick genommene Phänomen erforderte, verbindet ihn mit anderen Gelehrten seiner Generation, etwa mit Christian Meier.[37] Mit diesem teilte Himmelmann zwar nicht die Freude am öffentlichen Diskurs, doch die Aufgabe, sich regelmäßig im Feuilleton der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* von 1985 an bis in sein Todesjahr 2013 hinein - in seinem Fall natürlich mit archäologischen Beiträgen - zu Wort zu melden.[38]

Himmelmann war eine leise, zurückhaltende Art der Betreuung seiner vielen Schüler eigen: Große Gesten waren ihm verpönt; wissenschaftlich gab es keinen Rabatt; unbestechlich war sein Blick und von schmerzhafter Offenheit konnte seine Kritik an den Seminarreferaten sein. Dadurch resultierte eine Prägung durch den 'Meister' - ein Begriff, den er natürlich von sich gewiesen hätte.[39] Denn Himmelmann, wie auch die anderen Vertreter der 'Bonner Schule', verwiesen immer wieder auf die Ebene der archäologischen Fragen, die es methodisch sauber zu reflektieren galt (*Abb. 10*).[40] Auf diesem Grund und in Verbindung mit dem wissenschaftlichen Eros, der Ernsthaftigkeit und Besonnenheit, aber auch der wissenschaftlichen Leistungsfähigkeit des Lehrers, ergab sich eine enge Verbindung zwischen diesem und seiner 'Jüngerschar'. Die Aufnahme zum 80. Geburtstag Himmelmanns, auf der fast alle seine akademischen Schüler und ehemaligen Mitarbeiter hinter ihm auf der Treppe zur Bibliothek versammelt sind, macht die große Wirkung und Leistung dieses Hochschullehrers bildlich greifbar (*Abb. 1*).

Bis zuletzt nahm Nikolaus Himmelmann Anteil an den Laufbahnen und wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten seiner Schüler. Zu Weihnachten und zu seinem Geburtstag gingen bei ihm die Grüße der meisten Schüler ein, denen die jeweils aktuellen Arbeiten beigelegt waren. Den Absender erreichte dann umgehend eine Antwort Himmelmanns, in der dieser sich stets auch zu Beiträgen äußerte, die ihn besonders interessiert hatten. Das geschah auch in Reaktion auf einen Artikel des Verfassers dieser Zeilen, der die Verstrickungen des bekannten Altertumsforschers Hans Schleif in die Verbrechen der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur zum Gegenstand hat.[41] Dieser Aufsatz beschäftigte Himmelmann sehr, und seiner bewegten Antwort war die Bemerkung seiner Frau beigefügt, dass er des Öfteren auf Schleif zurückkomme. Das verwundert in keiner Weise, wird doch hier ein Problem berührt, das Himmelmann immer wieder beschäftigt hat. Es handelt sich um das Spannungsverhältnis, das aus der Modernisierung der äußeren Welt samt der Herausbildung eines bürokratisch-rationalistischen Menschen auf der einen und an dem Festhalten an tradierten Wertvorstellungen sowie an einem Menschenbild auf der anderen Seite resultiert, das sich den seit der Antike überlieferten 'Werten und Tugenden' verpflichtet weiß - oder eben nicht.

Mit großer Dankbarkeit hat das Seminar
für Klassische Archäologie der Universität
Halle 2014 Bestände der archäologischen
Bibliothek von Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. mult.
Nikolaus Himmelmann (1929–2013) von
seiner Frau Annelis Himmelmann als
Schenkung entgegengenommen.

Abb. 11. In der Archäologischen Bibliothek in Halle hängendes Bildnis von Nikolaus Himmelmann zusammen mit einer Dankesplakette für die Stiftung von Teilen seiner Privatbibliothek (Foto H. Löhr).

In diesem humanistischen Bewusstsein wurzelt auch der Entschluss Himmelmanns, den er kurze Zeit nach der deutschen Wiedervereinigung fasste und demzufolge nach seinem Tod seine Privatbibliothek einer Universität in den neuen Bundesländern gestiftet werden sollte. In den letzten Jahren seines Lebens fiel die Wahl dann auf die Altertumswissenschaftliche Bibliothek des Robertinums, also

jenes traditionsreichen Gebäudes des Archäologischen Museum in Halle, das seit dem Ende der 1920-Jahre auch Ort aller klassischen Altertumswissenschaften an der Martin-Luther-Universität wurde. Hier an der halleschen Universität war bereits im frühen 19. Jahrhundert ein Lehrstuhl für Klassische Archäologie eingerichtet und zugleich ein Archäologisches Universitätsmuseum gegründet worden. Diese Gründungen werden - nur hierin eng vergleichbar mit Bonn - den preußischen Anstrengungen für die Belange von Kultur, Bildung und Wissenschaft verdankt, die damals noch vom Geist der Aufklärung und des Klassizismus durchdrungen waren. Die Zeitläufte der deutschen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts haben dann in Halle allerdings schmerzliche Verluste und wissenschaftliche Defizite verursacht, die Himmelmann durch seine Stiftung mildern wollte. In diesem Sinne verfügte seine Witwe Anna-Elisabeth Himmelmann, dass aus der Privatbibliothek Himmelmanns der Bibliothek in Halle alle dort nicht vorhandenen archäologischen Publikationen gestiftet werden sollten. Der Himmelmannschen Schenkung verdankt die Bibliothek im Robertinum insbesondere auf den Gebieten der antiken Kunstgeschichte, aber nicht nur dort, einen wichtigen Zuwachs ihrer Bestände.

Wie der Beitrag gezeigt hat, lässt sich an der Person des Archäologen Nikolaus Himmelmann, ausgehend von seinem Einfluss und seiner Geltung als Hochschullehrer und Wissenschaftler, in geradezu paradigmatischer Weise die Bedeutung der Lehrerpersönlichkeit erhellen. Himmelmann war immer beides und gerade deshalb ist es ihm gelungen, so viele erwachsene junge Menschen an der Universität gründlich zu bilden. Der Weg dorthin war für seine Schüler durchaus mit Mühen und nicht nur mit beglückenden Erlebnissen gepflastert. Doch das war auch richtig so, braucht doch das eigenständige Individuum, das sich in akademischer Freiheit entwickelt, immer auch gestrenge akademische Lehrer und geistige Lotsen. Deren Vorbildwirkung als Menschen und Wissenschaftler zeigen ihnen, wie man wissenschaftliche Kompetenz und Menschlichkeit miteinander verbinden kann.

Dieses humanistische Ideal, das für mich untrennbar mit dem Namen Nikolaus Himmelmann verbunden ist, gilt es weiterzuvermitteln, selbst wenn dem der unter wechselnden Parolen auftretende Zeitgeist gerade heute wieder entgegenstehen sollte.

Anmerkungen

1 H. Kyrieleis, Alltag der griechischen Götter. Von Musen lernen: Zum Tod des klassischen Archäologen Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* vom 29.01.2014, Nr. 24, S. N3; H. Mielsch, Prof. Dr. Nikolaus Himmelmann (30.01.1929-19.12.2013), *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 3, 2013, 5-6; ders., *Bonner Jahrbücher* 213, 2013, S. 3-7.

2 Für Gespräche, Photovorlagen und andere Hilfen habe ich Vielen zu danken, besonderer Dank geht jedoch an Dagmar Stutzinger, Henryk Löhr, Christian Mileta und Dieter Salzmann.

3 s. die Hinweise in: Archaeology and Hermeneutics: Nikolaus Himmelmann interviewed by Richard Cándida Smith (Los Angeles 1996) (https://archive.org/details/archaeologyherme00himm).

4 N. Himmelmann, *Studien zum Ilissos-Relief*, München 1956.

5 Ders., *Zur Eigenart des klassischen Götterbildes*, München 1959.

6 s. Archaeology and hermeneutics: Nikolaus Himmelmann interviewed by Richard Cándida Smith (Los Angeles 1996), S. 79.

7 Bonner Akademische Reden Nr. 93: *Das Bonner Wissenschaftliche Kränzchen. Reden zur Übergabe des Kränzchenbuches an das Archiv der Universität zu Händen des Rektors am 6. Januar 2010*, Bonn 2010.

8 s. die Literaturliste in: Archaeology and hermeneutics a.a.O. S. X-XX (bis 1996) sowie das Schriftenverzeichnis der Universität Bonn (bis zum Jahr 2013) (http://www.antikensammlung.uni-bonn.de/2014-05-09-schriftenverzeichnis-himmelmann.doc.).

9 N. Himmelmann, Der Hellenismus in der Archäologie, in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie*, Berlin 1988, 13-16.

10 mit H. Biesantz (Hrsg.), *Festschrift für Friedrich Matz*, Mainz 1962; mit H. Roth und G. Brands (Hrsg.), *In memoriam Hanns Gabelmann. Reden* (Alma Mater 87), Bonn 1998; Antiquitas, Reihe 3: Abhandlungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, zur klassischen und provinzial-römischen Archäologie und zur Geschichte des Altertums.

11 Zuletzt: Attische Grabreliefs. 411. Sitzung am 17. Juni 1998 in Düsseldorf, Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Geisteswissenschaften. Vorträge G 357 (Opladen 1999); ders., Aufruf zum Totengedächtnis. Zur religiösen Motivation attischer Grabreliefs, *Antike Welt* 30, 1999, 21-30; ders., Quotations of images of gods and heroes on Attic grave reliefs of the late classical period, in G.R. Tsetskhladze u.a. (Hrsg.), *Periplous. Papers on classical art and archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, London/New York 2000, 136-144.

12 s. den großen Beitrag mit Verweise: N. Himmelmann, Klassische Archäologie. Kritische Anmerkungen zur Methode, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 115, 2000, 253-323.

13 s. Anm. 3.

14 Hier sei wegen der zahlreichen Beiträge auf sein Schriftenverzeichnis verwiesen, s. Anm. 8.

15 Alexandria: N. Himmelmann, *Realistic Art in Alexandria* (Proceedings of the British Academy, 67), London 1981, 194-207, III-XII; ders., *Alexandria und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst*, Tübingen 1983; zur Idealen Nacktheit s.u.

16 *Antike Götter im Mittelalter* (Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme 7), Mainz 1985.

[17] *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (Jahrbuch des Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 26), Berlin/New York 1990.

[18] N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 73), Opladen 1985; ders., Ideale Nacktheit, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, 1985,. 1-28; ders, Nudità ideale, in S. Settis (Hrsg.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana. I generi e i temi ritrovati*, Torino 1985, 199-278.

[19] vgl. R.G. Asch u.a., *Das Heroische in der neueren kulturhistorischen Forschung: Ein kritischer Bericht* (Sonderforschungsbereich 948 'Helden - Heroisierungen - Heroismen', Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg). Den vollständigen Text des Artikels und ein paginiertes PDF-Dokument finden Sie unter <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/2015-07-001≥. Unter dem Punkt 4.1 weist R. von den Hoff nachdrücklich auf die Bedeutung der Untersuchungen Himmelmanns für das Verständnis des Phänomens der Heroisierung in der griechischen Kultur hin.

[20] *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (Jahrbuch des Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 28), Berlin/New York 1994.

[21] Neben Einzeluntersuchungen zu Strategenköpfen, den Bildnissen des Perikles, Alexander des Großen, Pindar, Anthistenes, Gorgias, Platon oder Aristoteles, dann übergreifend: N. Himmelmann, Das realistische Porträt als Gattungserscheinung in der griechischen Kunst, in P. Büchsel/M. Schmidt, *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, Mainz 2003, 19-27 und *Die private Bildnisweihung bei den Griechen. Zu den Ursprüngen des abendländischen Porträts* (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Geisteswissenschaften. Vorträge G 373), Wiesbaden 2001.

[22] *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christus*, Mainz 1973.

[23] H.-U. Cain/H. Gabelmann/D. Salzmann (Hrsg.), *Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (Bonner Jahrbücher Beiheft 47), Mainz 1989.

[24] s. Anm. 1; N. Himmelmann, Der Entwicklungsbegriff der modernen Archäologie, in *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm 1960*, Marburg 1961, 13.

[25] Zu L. Alscher: Keine Vertreter der Klassischen Archäologie in der SBZ/DDR werden in P. Kuhlmann/H. Schneider (Hrsg.), *Geschichte der Altertumswissenschaften. Biographisches Lexikon* (Der Neue Pauly, Supplemente 6), Stuttgart 2012 behandelt. Diese Desiderata verzerren somit das Bild der deutschen Nachkriegsarchäologie und sind zumindest für L. Alscher, dessen wissenschaftliche Lebensleistung für die Erforschung der Geschichte der griechischen Bildhauerkunst international unumstritten ist, auch unverständlich. Daher s. noch immer: W. Schindler, Ludger Alscher†, *Gnomon* 59, 1987, 571-572. Zu Ernst Buschor: N. Himmelmann, Schönheit vor aller Geschichte. Erinnerungen an den Archäologen Ernst Buschor, FAZ 36, 04.06.1986, S. 36; M.R. Hofter, Ernst Buschor (1886-1961), in G. Brands/M. Maischberger (Hrsg.), *Lebensbilder. Klassische Archäologen und Nationalsozialismus*, Rahden 2012, 129-140.

[26] s. Interview mit Richard Cándida Smith S. 78-79.

[27] s. *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (hier Anm. 23).

[28] W. Geominy, Nikolaus Himmelmann emeritiert, *Antike Welt* 25, 1994, 217.

[29] Beiträge N. Himmelmanns im Zusammenhang mit dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum: H. Gabelmann/N. Himmelmann (Hrsg.), *Antiken aus dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum*, Düsseldorf 1969; N. Himmelmann, *Das Akademische Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn*, Berlin 1972; ders., Sammler und archäologische Wissenschaft, *Bonner Universitätsblätter* 1974, 29-34; ders., *Der Terrakotta-Saal des Akademischen Kunstmuseums der Universität Bonn*, Faltblatt zur Eröffnung, 9.6.1975; ders., Thorvaldsens Aigineten. Ausstellung im Akademischen Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn 1. Dezember 1975 bis 29. Februar 1976, *Pantheon* 34, 140-141; ders., *Das Akademische Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn. Das Haus und seine Geschichte* (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes 27), Köln 1984; ders., *Herrscher und Athlet. Die Bronzen vom Quirinal. Katalog der Ausstellung Bonn*, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Mailand 1989; ders., Die Bronzen vom Quirinal. Erfahrungen mit einer Ausstellung im Akademischen Kunstmuseum, *Bonner Universitätsblätter*, Bonn 1990, 27-36; ders., *Archäologische Forschungen im Akademischen Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn. Die griechisch-ägyptischen Beziehungen*. Mit einem Katalog von W. Geominy (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Geisteswissenschaften. Vorträge G 316), Opladen 1992; ders., *Antike zwischen Kommerz und Wissenschaft. 25 Jahre Erwerbungen für das Akademische Kunstmuseum Bonn* (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Geisteswissenschaften. Vorträge G 326), Opladen 1994; ders., in *EAA Suppl.* 2 (1994) s.v. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 719-720.

[30] N. Himmelmann, Die Archäologie im Werk Friedrich Gottlieb Welckers, in: W.M. Calder III u.a. (Hrsg.), *Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, Werk und Wirkung*: Vorträge, gehalten auf der Welcker-Tagung in der Werner-Reimers-Stiftung in Bad Homburg vom 5.–7. November 1984 (I) und zur Eröffnung d. Ausstellung 'Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784–1868): Philologe, Archäologe u. Oberbibliothekar in Bonn' in d. Univ.-Bibliothek Bonn am 5. November 1984 (II) (Hermes Einzelschriften 49), Stuttgart 1986, 277-280.

[31] *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland* Band 40, 2: *Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum*. Bearb. von Bernd Kaiser, München 1976; D. Stutzinger, *Inventarisierung der Abguß-Sammlung und Vorarbeiten für den Bonner Gipskatalog*; W. Ehrhardt, *Das Akademische Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn unter der Direktion von Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker und Otto Jahn* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 68), Opladen 1982; U. Mandel-Elzinga, Eine Gemmensammlung aus Alexandria im Akademischen Kunstmuseum, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 185, 1985, 243–298; W. Geominy, *Das Akademische Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn unter der Direktion von Reinhard Kekulé*, Amsterdam 1989; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland* Band 59, 3: *Bonn. Akademisches Kunstmuseum*. Bearb. von Magdalene Söldner, München 1990; U. Hübinger: *Die antiken Lampen des Akademischen Kunstmuseums der Universität Bonn*, Berlin 1993; St. Schmidt, *Katalog der ptolemäischen und kaiserzeitlichen Objekte aus Ägypten im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn*, München 1997.

[32] *Verzeichnis der Abguss-Sammlung des Akademischen Kunstmuseums der Universität Bonn. Bestand von 1820-1980*. Erarbeitet von den Studierenden der Klassischen Archäologie und herausgegeben von N. Himmelmann in Verbindung mit dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Berlin 1981.

[33] s.o. Anm. 29.

[34] Archaeology and hermeneutics: Nikolaus Himmelmann interviewed by Richard Cándida Smith (Los Angeles 1996) (https://archive.org/details/archaeologyherme00himm).

[35] N. Himmelmann, *Utopische Vergangenheit. Archäologie und moderne Kultur* Berlin 1976. Eine ins Italienische übersetzte Ausgabe erschien 1981: *Utopia del passato: archeologia e cultura moderna*, Bari 1981, mit einer Einführung von Salvatore Settis, und 1984 in Bukarest eine ins Rumänische übersetzte: *Trecutul utopic: Arheologia şi cultura modernă*, Bukarest 1984, mit einer Einführung von Petre Alexandrescu. Auch aufgenommen in einer ins Englische übersetzten Sammlung archäologischer Beiträge: N. Himmelmann, The Utopian Past. Archaeology and Modern Culture, in *Reading Greek Art. Essays by Nikolaus Himmelmann*, ausgewählt von H. Meyer und herausgegeben von W. Childs, Princeton 1998, 237-298.

[36] N. Himmelmann, Archäologie gleich Erinnerung? in H.R. Meier/M. Wohlleben (Hrsg.), *Bauten und Orte als Träger von Erinnerung. Die Erinnerungsdebatte und die Denkmalpflege*, Zürich 2000, 47-57.

[37] Chr. Meier, *Der Historiker und der Zeitgenosse. Eine Zwischenbilanz*, München 2014. Interessant ist in unserem Zusammenhang das hier wiedergegebene, lange Interview, das der Student Georg Frühschütz mit Christian Meier führte (56-188). Es erinnert an Himmelmanns ausführliche Gespräche mit dem Historiker Richard Cándida Smith aus dem Jahr 1995 (s.o. Anm. 6). Die kritischen Fragen und die jeweils unprätentiösen Antworten gewähren neue Einblicke in das Leben und die Arbeit der beiden Altertumswissenschaftler. Leben und Werk werden hier jeweils miteinander verwoben. Beide sind Jahrgangs 1929, hatten das Glück, den Zweiten Weltkrieg unbeschadet zu überstehen und nach dem Studium jeweils eine erfolgreiche akademische Laufbahn in einer Aufbruchs- und Wachstumsphase in den Wissenschaften und an den Universitäten in der jungen Bundesrepublik beginnen zu können.

[38] s. die Sammlung von Beiträgen, die überwiegend in der Jahren zwischen 1985 und 1995 zunächst in der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* erschienen sind: N. Himmelmann, *Minima archaeologica. Utopie und Wirklichkeit der Antike* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 68), Mainz 1996. Die zahlreichen Artikel der folgenden Jahre, die bis kurz vor seinem Ableben in der *FAZ* erschienen sind, finden sich in dem Schriftenverzeichnis von O. Jeske und H. Mielsch (Stand: 12.3.2014), das über das Akademische Kunstmuseum Bonn aufgerufen werden kann (http://www.antikensammlung.uni-bonn.de/copy_of_geschichte).

[39] vgl. G. Steiner, *Der Meister und seine Schüler. Essays*, München 2004. Der 1929 in Paris geborene und hochgeachtete Komparatist George Steiner hat hier in sechs Vorlesungen am Ende eines erfüllten akademischen Lebens als Geisteswissenschaftler sich über das komplexe und komplizierte Verhältnis von Lehrer und Schüler oder auch Meister und Jüngern Gedanken gemacht und eine 'Typologie' entwickelt. Fundamental bleiben für ihn hierbei immer Bildung, Tradition und Wissen.

[40] s. beispielhaft den späten Artikel von N. Himmelmann, Klassische Archäologie. Kritische Anmerkungen zur Methode, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 115, 2000, 253-323.

[41] St. Lehmann, Hans Schleif (1902-1945), in G. Brands/M. Maischberger (Hrsg.), *Lebensbilder - Klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus*, Rhaden 2012, 207–222.

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Reviews

TAMÁS BEZECZKY, *The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus* (with contributions by Peter Scherrer and Roman Sauer). Forschungen in Ephesos XV/1. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013. XVIII+269 pp., 101 pls (b&w; colour); 29.6 x 21 cm. – ISBN 978-3-7001-7062-4.

In *The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus*, Tamás Bezeczky discusses 621 catalogued amphorae (fragments) from excavations and surface surveys in ancient Ephesus, in particular from excavations at the Tetragonos Agora and Terrace House (Hanghaus) 2. The book, impressive and richly illustrated, captures the fruits of a long and collaborative effort, covering a huge amount of typo-chronological, archaeometrical and bibliographical data, and is an important addition to the rich output of the Austrian excavations at Ephesus. Significant contributions come from Roman Sauer and Peter Scherrer, concerning the archaeometrical analyses and a description of the excavation and survey areas respectively. The latter's discussion (ch. 2) makes amply clear what major transformations cities went through during the Early Empire.

An altogether brief historical introduction (ch. 1) is followed by Scherrer's excavation/survey site description (ch. 2), and a variety of topics (typology, archaeometry, content, epigraphy) that pertain to the local manufacture of amphorae (ch. 3). The core of the book (ch. 4) discusses 71 major amphorae types with regard to form, chronology, epigraphy, origin, content, distribution and archaeometrical characterisation, and each type-entry is accompanied by a catalogue (which can be of varying length), with profile drawings and fabric photographs in the plate section of the book. The typo-chronological focus slightly tips in favour of some major Late Hellenistic and Early Roman types, understandable given some of the author's previous research. The remainder of the book captures the quantitative occurrence by (general) provenance (ch. 5), a general discussion - though its character is more that of a brief summary - in English and Turkish (ch. 6), the petrographical and mineralogical characterisation of some more common fabric groups (ch. 7), two appendices on specific epigraphic and personal backgrounds (chs 8-9), and the text part concludes with the bibliography (ch. 10). Prior to the abundance of illustrations (profile drawings, and macro- and microphotographs of the fabrics), the reader can find several index and concordance lists. It would have been more useful if the abbreviations (ch. 11) and perhaps also the contributors' information (ch. 12) would have been placed at the beginning of the book.

B. aims to 'contribute to present-day knowledge of amphorae studies', by 'publishing part of the Roman amphorae found at eight sites in Ephesus' (p. XV). Two aspects are particularly interesting in relation to Ephesus. First, an overview of those amphorae types that were (presumably) manufactured locally or close-regionally (supported by archaeological but mostly archaeometrical clues) - for example also the well-known Kapitän II (Type 44, p. 150) - which reflects Ephesus' strong agro-economic portfolio during the (Late) Hellenistic to Late Roman period. The second point is the notion that the manufacture of certain similar or the same types had a broader geographical dimension. Both aspects are not entirely new, yet that we hear of Rhodian-type amphorae being produced in the Knidian peninsula, or for example the manufacture of Agora F65-66 (Type 6) and Late Roman Amphora 3 (Type 55) at one or more places along Asia Minor's west coast (p. 31), signals the building blocks of a regional framework of production, a ceramic *koinè*, a phenomenon that is being identified more and more in recent years, not only for amphorae but, for instance, also for slipped tablewares.

Furthermore, B. also demonstrates the 'international' character of exchange, above all during the Roman-period Mediterranean, that connected the (major) harbour-towns. Here, a clearer presentation of raw, quantitative data would not only help future comparative purposes that aim at unravelling diachronic exchange patterns, as such data is available from elsewhere in one form or the other (e.g. Beirut, Corinth, Ostia). The book would in fact have gained from a diachronic, economic discussion being centered on Ephesus (see ch. 3.6), in particular for those who are not or hardly familiar with the world of amphorae studies, but who do work in related disciplines. One cannot help but wish that these, and other, matters would have been explored in more detail.

There are further methodological and other issues. The order in which the 71 types are presented does not follow a clear chronological or geographical logic throughout. Also, even if the frequency with which a (defined) type can occur indeed also reflects its state of research, stoppers (Type 43), for instance, hardly classify as a type; rather they may have been classified with Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6A amphorae (Types 29-30), as most belong with these, as B. also indicates. In the same vein one could also question the designation of a single stamp as a type (Type 18). The text contains a considerable number of typographical errors and omissions, and in places the readability is somewhat 'staccato'. Some sentences may leave the reader somewhat puzzled, for example that 'Koan wine was also produced in Italy' (p. 58). Some of B.'s observations are not as certain as postulated, or require some further explanation. For instance, certain scholars certainly doubt whether Sinope-style carrot amphorae (Type 62) were manufactured at Seleukeia Pieria. It is also noteworthy that there are 'few amphorae' of Late Roman Amphora 1 (Type 52), an amphora type that in varying proportions is nevertheless so ubiquitous throughout the Mediterranean (and occurs also beyond). The bibliography also presents some lacunae, such as Paul Reynolds' valuable paper from 2010 on Beirut and Butrint.

The wealth of macrophotographs in colour on plates

57 to 96, and the body of archaeometrical data more generally offer a significant addition to this field, and could possibly serve those working in the field with no or only limited possibilities to carry out archaeometrical research. What permeates throughout the book, however, is a sense of the continuously growing complexity of amphorae research in terms of production, typology, archaeometrical fingerprinting, distribution, etc. Also, the book as such, undoubtedly unintended, may also illustrate that we appear to know so much yet at the same time so little. That B. managed to bring order herein with regard to one particular, and important, site is commendable, and deserves credit for delivering this significant new addition to the field of Hellenistic and Roman amphorae studies.

Philip Bes

FELIX PIRSON, *Ansichten des Krieges. Kampfreliefs klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit im Kulturvergleich*. Wiesbaden: Reichter Verlag, 2014. 344 pp., 51 figs, 60 pls; 30 cm (Archäologische Forschungen 31). – ISBN 978-3-95490-035-0.

This book, based on Felix Pirson's *Habilitationsschrift* from 2004, takes as its subject the representation of war in art, and focuses in particular on battle-scenes in Greek reliefs dating from the 5th century BC down to the end of the Hellenistic period. The contents of the book are divided into two major parts. The first part, entitled *Text*, consists of a brief introduction followed by nine numbered chapters. The introduction briefly sets the stage. Chapter 1 deals with terminology and method, and I think this should have been folded simply into the introduction.

Indeed, it's not until chapter 4 (p. 95) that Pirson gets rid of all the preliminaries and dives into his subject with a discussion of Athenian material of the Classical period, followed by Lycia (chapter 5), the Black Sea region (chapter 6), Hellenistic reliefs (chapter 7), and Etruria (chapter 8). The general assumption by Pirson is that because all of these regions were 'Greek', they could be easily compared with each other, and differences between them could provide useful information regarding cultural contexts. I would have liked Pirson to have discussed this point in further detail, and shown a bit more nuance with regards to Greek identity and ethnicity.

Pirson's focus is on reliefs rather than, for example, vase-painting, because they were used for public display and continued in use throughout the period under examination. The author's study is furthermore limited to depictions of battle between figures from history rather than mythology. In total, 195 reliefs have been examined by Pirson, focusing on figure schemes, stylistic traits, and forms of representation. In his analysis, Pirson notes that reliefs from different regions show different ways in which some battle-scenes were composed and represented, noting that this must be significant in some way. For example, in the conclusion (chapter 8), Pirson claims that in Athenian reliefs the emphasis is put on collective action, whereas in Lycian reliefs individuals are allowed to be shown triumphant, contrasting Athenian democracy with Lycian absolute monarchy. I feel that Pirson is perhaps reading too much into these perceived 'cultural' differences, based solely on an analysis of the reliefs; his point would have been stronger if his study included other forms of Greek art, such as vase-painting and free-standing sculpture.

The second part of the book, *Dokumentation*, collects all of the available evidence that was used for the discussions and analyses in the first part. Curiously, the contents of the *Katalog* is divided largely into different geographical regions (Athens, Lycia, the northern Black Sea region, and Etruria), with one notable exception: the material grouped together under the heading *Hellenismus*. I am somewhat at a loss to understand why the Hellenistic material is lumped together and the Classical material is not. One assumes that Pirson considers the Hellenistic material more homogeneous, geographically speaking, than the Classical evidence.

The catalogue of items is useful, but the most striking parts of the *Dokumentation*, to my mind, are the brief summary of structural elements (*Gliederungsmotive*), on pp. 275-276, and the schematic representations of different motifs in battle-scenes, on pp. 278-333. Here, Pirson has sketched, as stick figures, different poses and compositions taken from battle-scenes, added helpful comments to each one, provides the earliest date for the motif, identifies the cultural region(s) in which the motif was used, and so on. A lot of time and effort must have gone into this, but I am not sure how useful these diagrams really are, and I feel that Pirson's focus has perhaps been a bit too limited. No R17, for example, shows, in the author's words, an 'In Formation hockender Soldat in Rückenansicht, im hinter dem Rücken angewinkelten r. Arm eine Waffe, in der Linken der Schild', notes that it is first attested on the Nereid Monument of the early 4th century BC, and considers it typical of Lycia.

However, as noted above, this conclusion is logical only within the confines of Pirson's self-imposed limits rather than from a careful examination of all the available evidence. The pose noted in his no R17 is also attested in, for example, Attic black-figure vase-painting of the 6th century BC. Such examples can be found for nearly of all the figure schemes that he has identified based on his sample of 195 reliefs. However, this material is beyond Pirson's scope. Perhaps he did not feel the need to include them on account of there being so many other books that deal with these subjects, but in that case I would expect him to engage with that material at some point, but sadly he does not. At the same time, there are so many of these figures - taken from 195 reliefs (including, it must be added, large friezes) - that they seem to me not very useful in establishing archetypes that could be used in the analysis of ancient representations of battles.

Nevertheless, this is still an interesting book, considering the amount of material Pirson managed to put together, and it is well presented and imminently readable. The bibliography, at the front of the book, consists of twenty pages and contains many, if perhaps not all, of the books and articles one would expect. There are also 60 plates with clear photos reproduced in grayscale and some line drawings; all legible and useful.

Within the fields of Greek warfare and Greek art history, Pirson's work may not be particular earth-shattering, but it is still a useful contribution that someone else may use as a foundation to construct something that is more inclusive.

J.J. Brouwers

KLAUS HALLOF/SASCHA KANSTEINER/LAURI LEHMANN/BERND SEIDENSTICKER/KLAUS STEMMER (eds), *Der Neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen.* Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014. Bände I-V, LXIX, 617 S.; 915 S., 801 S., 776 S., 858 S., s/w. Abb.; 24,5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-11-018233-0.

Fast eineinhalb Jahrhunderte mussten vergehen, bis eine in vielerlei Hinsicht erweiterte Neuauflage des grundlegenden Buches von Johannes Overbeck mit dem ähnlichen Titel *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868) vorgelegt wurde; allerdings gab es diese Quellensammlung schon vor der neuen Edition in Teilausgaben mit französicher Übersetzung, nämlich zu den Malern (A. Reinach, *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne*, Paris 1921, Neuauflage eingeleitet von A. Rouveret, Paris 1984; Ergänzungen bei H. Eristov, *RA* 1987, 109-123) und zu den Bildhauern (M. Muller-Dufeu, *La sculpture grecque. Sources littéraires et épigraphiques*, Paris 2002; mit einem Interpretationsband derselben Autorin: '*Créer du vivant.' Sculpteurs et artistes dans l'antiquité grecque*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2011). Das vorliegende Werk ist aber, worauf schon der auf fünf Bände enorm angestiegene Umfang hinweist, mehr als nur eine Neuauflage, es ist eine Neubearbeitung durch ein Autorenteam aus Philologen, Epigraphikern und Archäologen, die sowohl bei Fragen der Textüberlieferung als auch bei der Kommentierung der Lemmata gewinnbringend zusammengearbeitet haben. Zusätzlich zu den Literaturpassagen mit Nennung griechischer Künstler werden auch die von E. Loewy gesammelten epigraphischen Quellen zu den Bildhauern (*Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig 1885) herangezogen und um Neufunde ergänzt. Daher müsste der Titel des vorliegenden Werkes eigentlich lauten: 'Der Neue Overbeck/Loewy'.

An ein kurzes Vorwort der Herausgeber (V) und das Inhaltsverzeichnis für alle Volumina (VII-IX) schließt sich eine gut gegliederte und mit vielen bibliographischen Hinweisen versehene Einleitung an, in der das Vorgehen und die Methode des Teams sowie die Unterschiede zu Overbecks bzw. Loewys Quellensammlung erläutert werden (XI-XXVIII). Die Aufnahme von Kunstwerken unbekannter Meister orientiert sich offenbar streng an der Originalausgabe, diese Materialbasis ist jedoch wegen methodischer Probleme in der Neuauflage nicht erweitert worden (XXIV-XXV); konsequenterweise hätte man auf diesen umfangreichen Quellentyp besser ganz verzichtet. Denn auch andere der von Overbeck gesammelten Schriftquellen wurden nicht übernommen; ausgelassen sind z.B. kaiserliche Dilettanten, Mosaizisten, einige Koroplasten und Toreuten; völlig unbeachtet blieben in der neuen Ausgabe - wie schon in der alten - Architekten, Vasenmaler/Töpfer, Kleinkunstproduzenten, Münzstempelschneider (XXV), aber auch Gemmenschneider. Der Schwerpunkt liegt also auf Bildhauern - einschließlich Bronzegießern - und Malern mit griechischen Namen und/oder Herkunft aus dem griechischsprachigen Osten des Mittelmeerraumes.

Sind diese Auswahlkriterien noch nachvollziehbar, so ergeben sich - schon angesichts der schieren Masse - Schwierigkeiten, die Anzahl der epigraphischen Quellen einzugrenzen. So werden zunächst zahlreiche der von Loewy behandelten oder später publizierten Inschriften mit vermuteten Bildhauersignaturen ausgeschieden, da in ihnen 'sicher keine Künstler genannt (sind)' (XXV). Die Mehrzahl von ihnen wird von Loewy nur als 'unsicher' angesehen und diese zurückhaltende Bezeichnung trifft auf etliche der in Anm. 55 genannten Belege eher zu (z.B. Loewy Nr. 401. 405. 409. 411. 426. 427. 427 a; 428) als das nun ausgesprochene Verdikt.

Zudem bleiben vor allem kaiserzeitliche Inschriftenträger mit Berufsbezeichnungen wie *marmorarii*, λατύποι, λιθοκόποι, λιθουργοί, λιθοξόοι, λαοξόοι und τεχνῖται (XXVI), sogar wenn sie in Signaturen begegnen (s. aber Nr. 4231. 4245), außerhalb der Betrachtung; der Grund: 'Sie sind von Bildhauern anspruchsvoller Objekte aus Stein/Marmor zu trennen' (XXVI). Damit findet ein vollkommen subjektives Entscheidungskriterium Eingang in die Quellenauswahl, ein bedenkliches methodisches Vorgehen, hinter dem wohl die Absicht stand, die Materialfülle auf irgendeine Weise zu begrenzen. Zudem wurde es nicht durchgehend angewendet: Zwar wird der Philosoph Sokrates in seiner Funktion als Bildhauer in einem eigenen Lemma behandelt (Nr. 1198-1201), nicht aber sein im gleichen Metier tätiger Vater Sophroniskos, der nicht einmal im Künstlerindex erscheint; vgl. auch Nr. 1458. 4204, die dem genannten Auswahlkriterium offenkundig widersprechen. Dem gleichen Ziel dürfte auch der Verzicht gedient haben (XXVII), Künstler mit nur unvollständig erhaltenen Namen (s. aber Index S. 689 sowie Nr. 2612) aufzunehmen; allerdings wären Hinweise auf Ergänzungsvorschläge mindestens dann hilfreich gewesen, wenn sie sich mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit auf einen der anderweitig bekannten Künstler bezogen hätten.

Ausgeklammert sind darüber hinaus fremdländische Namen, darunter rein römische (s. aber Nr. 3743), es sei denn, ein Ethnikon zeigt ihre östliche Herkunft an. Warum dieser Gruppe jedoch auch ein Mann wie Ariston, der drei Reliefs in Makedonien signiert hat, zugerechnet wird (XXVII Anm. 80), erschließt sich dem Rez. nicht. Ebenfalls ausgeschlossen bleiben Nennungen von Bildhauern und Malern in Katalogen und als Verstorbene in Sepulkralinschriften (s. aber XXXV Anm. 183-187; Nr. 1195). Man merkt: Die Fülle des Materials sollte begrenzt werden, doch geschah dies nicht immer konsequent.

Äußerst instruktiv sind - besonders für Archäologen, die allzu selten umfassende Kenntnisse über die Probleme der griechischen Inschriften besitzen - die folgenden Ausführungen zur griechischen Epigraphik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Künstlerinschriften (XXIX-LIV); angehängt sind Listen der abgekürzt zitierten Literatur und Siglen, der Kürzel der Verfassernamen sowie der Abbildungsnachweise (LV-LXIX).

Nicht beachtet werden bei der vorliegenden Auswahl speziell der epigraphischen Quellen zwei Phänomene, die deutlich machen, auf welch unsicherer Basis die aus der Materialsammlung gezogenen Schlüsse beruhen. Es sieht so aus, dass nicht jedes Ethnikon - vor allem in der Späten Republik und in der Kaiserzeit - den Ort der Geburt und/oder des Bürgerrechts angibt, sondern sich auf den Sitz des Ateliers oder den Stil der Skulptur beziehen kann (Rez., *BABESCH* 86, 2011, 189-191). Andererseits muss - speziell in Italien und den westlichen Provinzen - nicht hinter jedem griechischen Bildhauer- oder Malernamen ein Grieche stehen; in der Antike gab es nämlich Berufsgruppen, deren Vertreter nachweislich künstliche griechische Namen angenommen haben, um sich in eine ältere, positiv konnotierte Tradition zu stellen: neben Ärzten und Darstellenden Künstlern eben auch die Bildenden Künstler (Rez. a.O. 191); hingewiesen sei nur auf das moderne Phänomen englischer Künstlernamen im Showbusiness. Darüber hinaus wird nirgendwo die Frage gestellt, ob unter den in den Signaturen genannten Personen wirklich die Künstler oder aber auch Atelierbesitzer zu verstehen sind, die nicht zwangsläufig mit den ausführenden Handwerkern identisch gewesen sein müssen (zum Problem s. Rez. a.O. 186-189).

In 4280 Nummern werden sodann die Schriftquellen, unterteilt nach Materialgattungen (Skulptur in Stein und Bronze, Malerei sowie seltene Fälle von Elfenbein und Holz), nach Epochen und nach Regionen, aufgeführt; dabei erscheinen Quellen mit zweifelhafter oder gar unrichtiger Aussage in kleinerer Schriftgröße. Falls möglich wird mit antiken Quellen zur Vita des Künstlers begonnen, dann werden jeweils die einzelnen Werke, die zugleich durchnummeriert sind, aufgelistet gefolgt von eventuell vorhandenen Nachrichten allgemeiner Art zum Kunstcharakter des Gesamtœuvres; umfasst dieses mehrere Opera unterschiedlicher Thematik, bildet ein Resümee den Abschluss des gesamten Eintrags. Aufgrund dieses Schemas sowie der Tatsache, dass zahlreiche Quellenbelege vor allem epigraphischer Natur zur Zeit Overbecks noch nicht bekannt waren, ergab es sich zwangsläufig, dass die nunmehrige Reihenfolge nicht mehr derjenigen der Originalausgabe entspricht, obwohl die chronologische Gliederung, die mit mythischen Künstlern beginnt und mit der späten Kaiserzeit endet, beibehalten worden ist. Das Problem der Differenzierung homonymer Künstler wird ganz pragmatisch gelöst: Lassen sich Unterschiede nicht durch Vatersnamen und/oder Ethnikon feststellen, wird ein namensgleicher Berufsgenosse postuliert, wenn chronologische Gesichtspunkte - meist aufgrund des Schriftcharakters - dies nahelegen; allerdings ist auch mit der sekundären Wiederholung eines älteren Textes zu rechnen, so dass das aus dem Schriftduktus abgeleitete Differenzierungsmerkmal nicht zwangsläufig zutreffen muss.

Vielen Benutzern der Neuzeit wird die jeweils beigegebene Übersetzung eine willkommene Hilfe sein, zumal sie rasch dazu beitragen kann zu überprüfen, ob der Inhalt der Nachricht für eine bestimmte Fragestellung überhaupt von Relevanz ist. Da eine Übertragung in eine moderne Sprache immer auch eine Interpretation ist, wäre in der jeweiligen Bibliographie jedoch ein kurzer Hinweis auf die Arbeiten von Reinach und Muller-Dufeu (2002) vorteilhaft gewesen.

Besonders für Archäologen, die hauptsächlichen Benutzer des Werkes, sind die jedem Lemma beigegeben Hinweise zur Art und Datierung sowie zum Kontext der vorgelegten Schriftquelle sehr instruktiv, müssen doch Hinweise aus historischen Ausführungen gelegentlich anders gewertet werden als solche aus dichterischen Werken oder philosophischen Traktaten. Kenntnisse darüber waren im mittleren 19. Jahrhundert wohl noch Allgemeingut, doch kann ein Einzelner heutzutage die verschiedenen Bereiche der Altertumskunde angesichts der gewaltigen Literaturflut nicht mehr voll überblicken. Daher wird der Leser auch die bibliographischen Angaben dankbar annehmen; in der Erstausgabe fanden sie sich nur in wenigen Fällen, die naturgemäß nicht dem heutigen Forschungsstand entsprechen. Die Texte, Übersetzungen und Kommentare, die hier nicht im Einzelnen geprüft werden können, machen einen zuverlässigen Eindruck, die Literaturangaben sind zwar in der Anzahl beschränkt, dafür aber hochaktuell; sie können leicht als Ausgangspunkt für weitere Recherchen dienen. Einige wenige Hinweise mögen dennoch erlaubt sein:

Nr. 67-143 (Dädalus): Vgl. zuletzt M. Barbanera, *The envy of Daedalus*, München 2013.

Nr. 578-610 (Kalamis): Nachzutragen ist eine kaiserzeitliche Inschrift aus Rom, Circus Flaminius: [Opus C]alamidis: E. La Rocca in *Archeologia Laziale* XII 1, Rom 1995, 118 Abb. 12.

Nr. 720-840 (Myron): Zwei kaiserzeitliche Inschriften hätten Erwähnung verdient: a) [---] | [Ἀ]θηναῖος | Μύρωνος | Θηβαίου (Rom, Largo Argentina): L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* IV, Rom 1990, 76-77 Nr. 1579 Abb. – b) Myron fecit (Jünglingsbüste aus Palestrina ?): *CIL* VI 29796. Bei diesem Denkmal ist mit einem jüngeren Zeitgenossen dieses Namens zu rechnen, vgl. einen Q. Dellius Myro(n) statuarius in einem Sepulkraltitulus aus Verona: Rez., *BABESCH* 86, 2011, 191 Abb. 9. - Eine weitere Künstlerinschrift aus Vienne (Μύρωνος) fehlt wohl, weil Loewy sie als Fälschung bezeichnet hat (Nr. 499), doch wurde sie neuerdings als authentisch angesehen: F. Slavazzi, *Italia verius quam provincia*, Neapel/Perugia 1996, 199-200 Nr. 38 (Lit.); dieses Buch wird immerhin bei Nr. 1998 zitiert!

Nr. 1232/33 (Polyklet): Im Kommentar zu einer Inschrift und der Pausanias-Stelle 6.7.10, in denen eine Statue des Olympiasiegers Pythokles aus dem Atelier des Polyklet genannt ist, wird behauptet, es gäbe keine Oberseitenabbildung der ohne eigene Nummer aufgeführten Basis mit Nennung desselben Künstlers und Themas, die im Templum Pacis zutage gekommen ist, so dass es den Anschein habe, als sei die Statue einst aus Olympia nach Rom verbracht worden (II S. 476). Eine Zeichnung der Standspuren (E. Loewy, *Wiener Studien* 24, 1902, 400-401 Abb. 2) zeigt deutlich, dass diejenigen in Rom sich klar von denjenigen in Olympia unterscheiden; beide Basen müssen demnach trotz übereinstimmender Aussage der Texte Statuen mit unterschiedlichem Standmotiv getragen haben!

Nr. 1996 (Praxiteles): Die Vermutung, die Statuenstütze mit der Signatur sei eine moderne Fälschung, ist auszuschließen, da das Objekt 1890 in einer ordentlichen Grabung zusammen mit weiteren Skulpturenresten gefunden worden ist: P. Orsi, *NSc* 1891, 11-13 Nr. 4 Abb. - Tatsächlich konnte die vom Rez. fälschlich ver-

tretene Lesung auf Pasiteles nun nach einer Reinigung als Praxiteles gesichert werden: A. Buonapane in *Analecta Brixiana* II, Brescia 2007, 79-82. Doch kann es sich wegen der Stützenform und des Signaturformulars keinesfalls um den berühmten Bildhauer des 4. Jhs. v.Chr. handeln, es muss ein namensgleicher Epigone sein wie z.B. auch Nr. 3706-3710.

Nr. 2378-2401 (Kephisodot d.J.): s. zuletzt A. Corso, *RdA* 37, 2013, 67-80.

Nr. 2613 (Agathon): Die Basisinschrift in Kyrene wird neuerdings abweichend ergänzt und datiert: E. Rosamilia in M. Luni (ed.), *Cirene greca e romana*, Rom 2014, 96-98 Nr. 8 Abb. 8.

Nr. 2644 (Hekataios): Zu der bzw. den plastischen Wiedergaben des Dichters Philitas vgl. jetzt K. Tsantsanoglou, The statue of Philitas, *ZPE* 180, 2012, 104-116.

Nr. 2654-56 (Thrason): Höchstwahrscheinlich hatte Thrason einen Sohn, der ebenfalls Bildhauer war: Chr. Börker/R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* II, IK 12, Bonn 1979, 206 Nr. 514.

Nr. 2870 (Apelles): Zu dem von Plinius geschilderten Wettstreit zwischen Apelles und Protogenes liegt mit Sicherheit eine fragmentarische Passage in einem lateinischen Papyrus vor: J. Nicole, *Un catalogue d'œuvres d'art conservées à Rome à l'époque impériale. Texte du papyrus latin VII de Genève*, Genf/Basel 1906, 27-31.

Nr. 3201-28 (Damophon): Im Resümee über die Tätigkeit des Künstlers wäre eine Erwähnung des für ihn errichteten Heroengrabes in Messene (vgl. XXXV ohne Anm.) angebracht gewesen: *SEG* 58, 388; P. Fröhlich in *Le Peloponnèse d'Epaminondas à Hadrien*, Colloque Tours 2005, Bordeaux 2008, 203-227.

Nr. 3432 (Tauriskos und Apollonios): Zum Toro Farnese vermisst man einen Hinweis zu der auf ihm angebrachten Abbreviatur 'Aϱ', die vielleicht auf den Vatersnamen Artemidoros weist; von ihr lässt sich jedoch nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, ob sie antik (F. Heger in *LIMC* III [1986] 637 Nr. 7; 641 f. [s.v. Dirke]) oder modern ist (G. Prisco in *Il Toro Farnese*, Neapel 1991, 61 Abb. 52; Chr. Kunze, *Der Farnesische Stier und die Dirkegruppe des Apollonios und Tauriskos*, Berlin/New York 1998, 24). Nach Heger a.O. müsste es sich im ersten Fall folgerichtig um ein hellenistisches Original handeln, während die Mehrheit der Forscher annimmt, die Kopie sei für die Caracallathermen hergestellt worden.

Nr. 3831 (Aristokles): Die Behauptung 'Grabstelen, die eine Signatur des Bildhauers tragen, sind sehr selten; vgl. DNO 656. 661. 4103' lässt sich so generell nicht aufrecht erhalten: Sie trifft zwar sowohl für Griechenland als auch die Verwendung des Verbums ποιεῖν zu (s. noch Nr. 4104), nicht aber für Kleinasien, da dort viele entsprechende Signaturen mit anderem Formular erscheinen, das jedoch in dieser Edition unberücksichtigt geblieben ist: Vgl. nur E. Pfuhl/H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* II, Mainz 1979, Index 603 s.v. Bildhauernamen; T. Lochman, *Studien zu kaiserzeitlichen Grab- und Votivreliefs aus Phrygien*, Basel 2003, 326 (Index).

3832 (Aristokrates): Der Bildhauer wird nun mit einer gleichnamigen Person identifiziert (*SEG* 59, 879), die auf der Liste von Vereinsmitgliedern auf Rhodos erscheint; trifft dies zu, hätte dies Auswirkungen auf die Datierung: 1. Hälfte 2. statt 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v.Chr.

Nr. 3998 (Aristis): Der nach dem Individualnamen erscheinende Begriff Ταβάλβιος wird neuerdings nicht als Ethnikon, sondern als Vatersname mit typisch libyscher Wurzel interpretiert: Rosamilia a.O. 100-101 Nr. 12.

Nr. 4087 (Ophelion): Die Inschrift befindet sich auf der Rückseite des als Stütze dienenden Panzers und ist als Signatur angeblich 'an versteckter Stelle ohne Analogie'. Diese Aussage ist nicht korrekt: Rez., *ÖJh* 73, 2004, 81-96 mit Belegen. Die in diesem Zusammenhang ebenfalls kurz besprochene Inschrift aus Kyrene mit dem Namen Zenion kann wegen der Platzierung (Basisnebenseite) nicht den Stifter meinen, sondern nur den Bildhauer: so zuletzt auch Rosamilia a.O. 102-103 Nr. 15 Abb. 13.

Nr. 4103 (Euandros): Statt 'Von dem Grabrelief ist anscheinend keine Abbildung publiziert.' lies B. Allamane/K. Tzanabare in *Ancient Macedonia* VI, Thessaloniki 1999, 56-57 Abb. 23

Nr. 4162 (Gamos): Γάμος Νασϱου ἱερ | ὁδουλος ἐποίησεν. *Gamos, der Sohn des Nasr, Hierodoulos, hat (die Statue) gefertigt.* Sollte das Wort ἱερόδουλος korrekt gelesen sein (s. Kommentar zum Text), so dürfte der Begriff hier vielleicht als Titel im Heiligtumsbezirk verstanden werden, da Sklaven keinen offiziellen Vater besaßen, der in einer öffentlichen Inschrift hätte genannt werden können. Überhaupt ergibt sich die Frage, ob nicht trotz der Kürze des Textes statt einer Künstlernennung eine Stifterangabe vorliegen könnte (vgl. Kommentar zu Nr. 4163). Aus der gleichen Region liegt eine Inschrift vor, die neben einer Relieffigur und einer wohl zugehörigen Stifterangabe am Tempel von Niha (Libanon) erscheint: Τιβέρι(ο)ς | ὁ γλύψας | ἱερεύς (R. Krumeich, *DaM* 10, 1998, 171-200 [Lit.] Taf. 49). Obwohl die Formulierung in einer Partizipialkonstruktion vollkommen aus dem Rahmen fällt, wurde sie bisher durchwegs als Signatur interpretiert. Bei einer kausativen Übersetzung wie 'Tiberi(o)s (war) der Priester, der zugelassen hat, das Relief herzustellen' würde der Konstruktion und der Funktion des Genannten viel stärker Rechnung getragen. Allerdings nennt eine lydische Inschrift der Kaiserzeit einen Priester des Zeus, der ein Votivrelief mit Darstellung der eigenen Person gemeißelt hat (ἀνέγλυψα ἐμαυ-|[τ]όν): J. Keil/A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens*, Wien 1914, 31-32 Nr. 37.

Nr. 4189 (Glykon): Der Herakles des Glykon erscheint möglicherweise in einem lateinischen Papyrus der Kaiserzeit: Nicole a.O. 32.

Nr. 4204 (Herodes): Die Aussage, dass die auf diesem Votivrelief verwendete Bezeichnung des Handwerkers als ἀγαλματογλύφος 'eigentlich erwarten lässt, dass er rundplastische Werke geschaffen hat', ist allein schon wegen des enthaltenen Verbalstammes (γλύφειν = aushöhlen, gravieren) nicht zu halten; da mit dem Wort ἄγαλμα nicht nur eine Kultstatue zu verstehen ist, sondern jedes Werk, das nicht aus dem profanen Bereich stammt (zum Begriff s. Lit. bei Rez., *AntK* 50, 2007, 26 Anm. 16), müssen mit ἀγαλματογλύφοι folglich die Hersteller von Sakral- oder Sepulkralreliefs gemeint sein. Und tatsächlich beziehen sich das vorliegende Monument und die beiden p. 626 unter Nr. 4227 angegebenen Vertreter mit dieser Berufsbezeichnung sowie ein weiteres (*SEG* 56, 2047) allesamt auf Votiv- bzw. Sarkophagreliefs.

Nr. 4229: ᾽Ανδριαντοποιὸς Αὖλος Παντουλήιος Γαίο <υ> | ᾽Εφέσιος ὁ καὶ Μειλήσιος ἐποίει. Sowohl die Zeitstellung (hadrianisch) als auch Prae- und Gentilnomen sowie die Filiationsangabe sprechen dafür, in ᾽Εφέσιος kein bloßes Ethnikon, sondern ein Cognomen zu sehen, das nicht unbedingt die reale Herkunft bezeichnen muss; diese findet sich wohl im Supernomen, das erst so einen Sinn ergibt, zumal die Stadt Milet auch die Stifterin der Kaiserstatue war (vgl. Rez., *ÖJh* 65, 1996, 102).

Nr. 4266: *Opus Atticianis Afrodisien(s)is*. Hinsichtlich der Überlieferung der spätantiken Musenstatue fällt auf, dass auf einer Zeichnung G.A. Dosios aus dem Jahr 1563-1564 nicht nur ein anderer Kopf wiedergegeben ist, sondern auch - was im Text des Lemma verschwiegen wird - die Plinthensignatur fehlt (M. Cristofani, *Prospettiva* 20-23, 1980, 69-72 Abb. 1 Mitte; H. Taeuber in A. Romualdi [ed.], *Studi e restauri. I marmi antichi della Galleria degli Uffizi*, Florenz 2007, 59 Abb.S. 62). Da in der Renaissance der antiken Epigraphik besonderes Interesse entgegengebracht wurde, erhebt sich die Frage, ob Dosio einfach auf die Angabe der Inschrift verzichtet hat oder ob wir nicht eher mit ihrer neuzeitlichen Entstehung rechnen müssen, zumal sich weder zu einer Signatur an dieser Stelle der gekehlten Plinthe noch zur Formulierung, die in mehrfacher Hinsicht vollkommen aus dem Rahmen des Üblichen fällt, Analogien finden lassen. Zumindest aber ist die Bildung des Künstlernamens im vorliegenden Eintrag zu korrigieren: Statt ‘Atticianis’ (= ’’Αττικιάνης’) lies - wie in allen früheren Publikationen (s. zuletzt Chr. Vorster, *JdI* 127-128, 2012-2013, 436-440 Abb. 35) ‘Atticiani<s>’, da das vorhandene Suffix lateinisch ist und zur o-Deklination gehört. Unzutreffend ist zudem die apodiktische Aussage: ‘Die Inschrift ist der einzige Beleg für eine in lateinischer Sprache erfolgte Signatur einer Statue.’ Vgl. hingegen z.B. Fuß einer Kolossalstatue, Bevagna: C. Pietrangeli, *Il Museo Archeologico di Bevagna*, Empoli 1985, 10 Nr. 11 Abb. - Frauenkopf, Grumentum: *CIL* X 261. - Plinthe einer Heraklesstatue (?), unbekannte ital. Provenienz: S. Panciera, *Arctos* 32, 1998, 150 Nr. 2 Abb. 2. - Statue der Venus Genetrix, Sarmizegetusa: L. Bianchi, *ArchCl* 57, 2006, 250-251 Abb. 2 a. b; s. auch XXVII Anm. 82. - Pfeilerfigur eines stützenden Barbaren, Leptis Magna: R.M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren*, Worms 1986, 208-209 Nr. SO 58 Taf. 32,2. - Mithrasstatue, Leptis Magna: J.M. Reynolds/S. Aurigemma, *The inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Rom 1952, 169 Nr. 667 b. - Kalksteinstatue, Hajeb el-Haioun (Tunesien): A.M. Charek, *AntAfr* 38-39, 2002-2003, 31-32 Nr. 13 Abb. 20-22.

Ein willkommenes zusätzliches Hilfsmittel bilden die zahlreichen den Texten beigegebenen meist kleinformatigen Photos der besprochenen Skulpturen, so dass leicht eine Entscheidung darüber gefällt werden kann, ob es sich lohnt, zu Publikationen mit deutlicheren Abbildungen zu greifen.

Eine z.T. zeitaufwendige Fahndung stellt die Suche nach einem bestimmten Statuentypus im umfangreichen Œuvre eines Meisters dar: Will man z.B. die Quellen zum Diskuswerfer des Myron finden, so helfen keine Indices, man muss den gesamten Artikel durchgehen! Zu Beginn des jeweiligen Artikels wäre ein Überblick über die Reihenfolge der Themen des Œuvres der in der Antike viel zitierten Künstler hilfreich gewesen, mindestens aber eine Stichwortangabe in der Kopfzeile, wie im Alten Overbeck.

Die Hauptfrage an ein derartiges Nachschlagwerk: Wie sieht es mit der Vollständigkeit der Quellensammlung aus? Bemerkenswerterweise fehlen hier, wie auch schon in Overbecks Originalausgabe, etliche Belege aus Autoren, deren Werke ansonsten meist gewinnbringend herangezogen worden sind. Zwar ist ihre Aussage in vielen Fällen begrenzt, doch gilt dies auch für viele aufgenommene Quellen (vgl. z.B. die Kuh des Myron Nr. 751-816). Im Folgenden einige Lesefrüchte: *Anth. Gr.* 6.355: Maler Mikythos; 9.510: Bildhauer Kritonianos (Ehefrau Meltine); 9.700: Maler Polygnotos (Untergang Trojas); 11.212-213: Maler Diodoros (Porträts); 11.214: Maler Menestratos (Deukalion und Phaëthon); 11.215: Maler Eutychos; 16.80: spätantiker Maler Thomas (Dirne Kallirhoë). - Cic. *Fin.* 4.34: Pheidias. - Cic. *Rep.* 3. 32: Pheidias. - Petron. 88.10: Pheidias; vgl. DNO IV Nr. 2953 s.v. Apelles. - Philostr. *ep.* 34 (65): Pheidias, Polykleitos, Lysippos (bekannt für Porträtstatuen). - Plin. *Nat.* 36.34: Praxiteles/Pasiteles; Text zwar unter Papylos Nr. 2668, nicht aber bei Praxiteles (Textüberlieferung) oder Pasiteles (Konjektur wegen Kontext) und im Index s.v. - *Priap.* 10: Pheidias, Skopas, Praxiteles. - Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.61: Polykleitos (Goldring). - Sen. E*pist.* 9.5: Pheidias; 65.5: Polykleitos (Doryphoros, Diadoumenos); vgl. DNO II Nr. 1224 zum Diadoumenos. - Stat. *silv.* 5.1.4-6: Pheidias, Apelles (Verstorbene hätte es verdient, von Apelles oder Pheidias wiedergegeben zu werden). - Themistios, *or.* 5.64 A. B: Silanion (Begründer der heroischen Porträtkunst). - Der Maler Satyreios (Bildnis der Arsinoë) erscheint weder als Lemma noch im Index (s. aber Nr. 1763). - Der Name des Bildhauers Skelmis ist wohl zu Smilis zu emendieren (Nr. 243), doch hätte er trotzdem im Index erscheinen sollen.

Während sich die Anzahl der literarischen Quellen durch jüngste Entdeckungen von Papyri sowie vor allem durch die Mimiamben des Herondas und die Epigramme des Poseidipp seit Overbecks Zeiten nur unwesentlich erhöht hat, ist die Menge der Inschriften nach Loewy geradezu explodiert. Grundlage für die Sammlung der epigraphischen Neufunde bildeten die jährlichen Bände des *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Allerdings werden nun nicht mehr alle Inschriften mit Künstlernennung behandelt, sondern nur Künstler- auf- bzw. -inschriften in Verbindung mit ihrem rundplastischen Werk, sporadisch auf Reliefs; ausgeschlossen bleiben demnach Bildhauern und Malern gehörende Ehren- (Ausnahmen Nr. 3201-07. 3209), Weih- (Ausnahmen Nr. 3208. 3210. 3211. 4204) und Grabdenkmäler (Ausnahme Nr. 3366). Betreffs der letztgenannten ist festzuhalten, dass die entsprechenden Monumente möglicherweise vom Künstler selbst stammen, falls sie denn noch zu Lebzeiten hergestellt worden sind, was allerdings in der Regel dem Text nicht zu entnehmen ist.

Warum sogar Votive von Bildhauern und Malern nur ausnahmsweise einbezogen sind, ist nicht nachvollziehbar, darf man doch davon ausgehen, dass der Dedikant eine Weihegabe in seinem Metier selbst gefertigt und nicht einem Konkurrenten den Auftrag dazu erteilt haben dürfte; denn nur selten ist dies unzweideutig ausgedrückt (z.B. Nr. 4252. 4255. 4259-60; vgl. auch F.H.

Marshall, *The collection of ancient Greek inscriptions in the British Museum* IV.2, London 1916, 206 Nr. 1074), meist genügte einfach die Berufsbezeichnung hinter dem Namen: z.B. Nr. 4204; vgl. auch A. Hall/M. Waelkens, *AnSt* 32, 1982, 151-155 Taf. 27 a: ἀγαλματογλύφος. - Loewy Nr. 547: ἀγαλματοποιός. - L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, Paris 1960, 483 Taf. 27,3: ἀνδριαντοποιός. - Loewy Nr. 449: καοξόος. - Th. Drew-Bear, *GrRomByzSt* 17, 1976, 252-253 Nr. 9 Taf. 7,4: λατύπος. - *SEG* 49, 772: λιθογλύφος. - G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* II, Sofia 1958, 110-111 Nr. 674 Taf. 63: λιθοξόος. - C. Naour, *Tyriaion en Cabalide*, Zutphen 1980, 112-113 Nr. 77 Taf. 24: λιθουργός. - E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* III, Kairo 1981, 81-82 Nr. 161 Taf. 21: τεχνίτης.

Auch unter den epigraphischen Quellen sind – kein Wunder angesichts der wachsenden Zahl von Publikationen und Belegen – etliche Lücken zu konstatieren (s. z. B. oben die Nachträge zum Katalog). Hier einige Beispiele für fehlende Bildhauer mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben 'A' (unter ihnen ein Neufund), die alle den Auswahlkriterien des Neuen Overbeck gehorchen (Signatur auf Basis, Plinthe oder der Skulptur selbst unter Verwendung des Verbums ποιεῖν), allerdings ohne Beachtung des subjektiven Kriteriums mangelnder Qualität:

Adymos, 1. Jh.n.Chr. (Skopje, Arch. Mus.): *SEG* 18, 272. - Aischrion, Kaiserzeit (Çavdarhisar, Türkei): C.W.M. Cox u.a., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* IX, London 1988, 28 Nr. 72. - Akousilos, 6. Jh.v.Chr. (Theben, Arch. Mus. bzw. verschollen): *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* I, München/Leipzig 2001, 19 s.v. Akusilos (R. Vollkommer). - Alkamenes, ausgehendes 5. Jh.v.Chr. (Ephesos): H. Engelmann u.a., Künstler im Artemision von Ephesos (Alkamenes, Eugnotos, Sopolis), *ZPE* 191, 2014, 99-116, bes. 100-101 Abb. - Ampliatos, Kaiserzeit (ehem. Baalbek, Hotel de Palmyre): J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* VI, Paris 1967, 173 Nr. 2891 Taf. 41. - Archon, Kaiserzeit (ehem. Kunsthandel): *Sotheby's Antiquities*, Auktionskat. London 12.12.1988, 60 Nr. 108 Abb. - Athenaios, Spätklassik (Oropos): *SEG* 34, 363. - Athenaios, frühe Kaiserzeit (Heraklion, Arch. Mus.): M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* I, Rom 1935, 74 Nr. 25 Abb.

Viel ausführlicher als in den beiden Erstausgaben Overbecks und Loewys fallen sowohl der Umfang, als auch die Anzahl der Indices aus: I. Namen der bildenden Künstler (S. 677-689). Hier erscheinen alle Künstlernamen in lateinischer Transliteration. Maler werden durch Kursivschrift von den Bildhauern abgesetzt, doch ist der Unterschied sehr gering, eine stärkere Differenzierung im Schrifttypus hätte sich empfohlen. Mythische und suspekte Namen sind eingeklammert; allerdings vermisst man einige Namen, die fehlerhaft überliefert sind: «Skelmis» (Nr. 243, s.o.), 'Agathon' (Nr. 1442), 'Myron' (Nr. 4042), 'Argaios' (Nr. 4101). 'Olympiosthenes' (Nr. 1445) müsste eingeklammert sein. II. Griechische Namen und Patronyme der bildenden Künstler (S.690-700). III. Herkunft der bildenden Künstler (S.701-706). IV. Kunsttopographie (S. 707-732). V a. Quellenverzeichnis: Autoren und Papyri (S. 733-763). V b. Statistik I: Autoren, chronologisch geordnet (S. 764-771). V b Statistik II: Autoren, nach Gattungen/Sachgruppen (S. 772-776). Der Sinn dieser beiden Statistiken erschließt sich dem Rez. nicht, zumal beide Listen unvollständig sind, wie oben gezeigt wurde. V c. Quellenverzeichnis: Inschriften (S. 777-811). VI. Konkordanzen (S. 812-858). Hier hätte man zusätzlich eine Konkordanz zum Buch von Reinach erwartet. Besonders bedauerlich ist der Verzicht auf einen Index der dargestellten Personen und Motive, man muss sich die einschlägigen Namen und Begriffe aus dem Register «Kunsttopographie» zusammensuchen. Leichter ist dagegen die Suche nach allen möglichen Stichwörtern durch den Gebrauch der entsprechenden Tools, falls man denn Zugang zur Online-Ausgabe des Werkes hat.

Das Fazit: Als nachteilig hat sich erwiesen, dass nicht nur der Alte Overbeck aktualisiert wurde, sondern auch der Alte Loewy, das einschlägige epigraphische Material ist einfach unüberschaubar und dadurch als Supplement ungeeignet. Zudem liefern die meisten Basissignaturen kaum zusätzliche Informationen über die genannten, ansonsten meist unbekannten Künstler. Daher wäre es sicher besser und auch ausreichend gewesen, wenn man sich ergänzend auf die Inschriften derjenigen Bildhauer beschränkt hätte, zu denen gleichzeitig literarische Nachrichten vorliegen bzw. jüngere Namensträger nachweisbar sind. Dennoch: Trotz mancher Mängel, die bei der Größe des Unterfangens kaum ausbleiben können, ist den Herausgebern und Autoren zu danken, dass sie dieses Mammutunternehmen in Angriff genommen und in einem überschaubaren Zeitraum zum Abschluss gebracht haben. Der Rez. teilt die Hoffnung der Herausgeber (V), dass DNO der Altertumskunde für lange Zeit als unentbehrliches Arbeitsinstrument dienen wird.

Michael Donderer

EMANUELE GRECO (ed.), *Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d. C. I: Acropoli - Areopago - Tra Acropoli e Pnice.* Athens/Paestum: Pandemos, 2010. 304 pp., 155 figs, 2 maps; 29 cm (SATAA 1). – ISBN 88-87744-34-3.

EMANUELE GRECO (ed.), *Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d. C. II: Colline sud-occidentali - Valle dell'Ilisso.* Athens/Paestum: Pandemos, 2011. 256 pp., 155 figs, 3 maps; 29 cm (SATAA 2). – ISBN 978-88-87744-38-5.

The two volumes under review are the first of the series 'Studi di Archeologia e di Topografia di Atene e dell'Attica (SATAA)' edited by the Scuola Archeologica Italiana of Athens, under the scholarly direction of Emanuele Greco. The objective of the project is to update and reorganize the study of Athenian topography. Since the seminal *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens* written by John Travlos in 1971, this is the first systematic approach to discuss the entire archaeological data of Athens published to the present day. The selected time span is wide and reaches from the Mycenean period until the

Herulian sack in AD 267.

The series is conceived to have eight volumes (see the table of contents given at the beginning of the first volume). In the first five volumes scholars process the archaeological data, which is subdivided into fourteen thematic sections identified either by the principal functions of the ancient city's districts or its geomorphological configuration within the margins of the historical *polis* and its two harbours, Phalerum and Piraeus. The analytical index of the first two volumes, edited by Santo Privitera, was published separately in 2013 and can be downloaded at http://www.pandemos.it/documenti/indici-tomi1e2.pdf.

Each area of the *asty* investigated is introduced by a 'historical-topographical background' including the history of the research. This part is followed by the individual entries, which provide the description of the remains and the related scholarly discussion. The bibliography at the end of each text is in itself often a genuine history of the research. Within each chapter there are 'in-depth tabs' (marked with the letter F), dedicated to special themes such as myths or cults attested in that sector which are, however, archaeologically unknown (including cult-places recorded in ancient texts only - i.e., in the second volume, the *Thesmophorion*, F. 27, pp. 345-346; or the '*Archaia* entro il Peribolo dell'*Olympieion*', F. 33, p. 463).

The first volume focuses on the Acropolis, the Areopagus and the area between the Acropolis and the Pnyx. In addition to Fausto Longo, Maria Chiara Monaco, Riccardo Di Cesare and Giovanni Marginesu, who are the main contributors, the volume collects the contribution of some other twenty scholars. The introduction to the whole work by Emanuele Greco (pp. 19-43) is devoted to 'Problems of Athenian Topography'. The high expectations have not been reached: his argument is too uncompromisingly and does not provide a balanced discussion about controversial topics, on which it's not possible to have a final say, such as the hypothesis of the existence of another public space earlier than the area around the *Ceramicus*. I refer here in particular to the so-called 'archaia agora' suggested to have been near the east slope of the Acropolis, (pp. 22-27; see below), or the presence of Iron Age graves on the Acropolis, which should prove that it was continuously inhabited until the 9th/8th c. BC (p. 21). The latter assumption is not based on the discovery of actual graves, but on the evidence of late Geometric pottery sherds with funerary motifs, which were, however, most likely found in secondary depositions. This interpretation is underpinned by Maria Chiara Monaco's historical and topographical research on the Acropolis (p. 57). Another crucial issue is the dating of the pre-Themistoclean walls, built in the twenties of the 6th c. BC are on the basis of a series of intriguing hypotheses which are, however, far from being definitive (pp. 27-28).

The two plans attached to the first volume show only some of the rich structural evidence in planimetric reconstructions (the necropoleis, for example, are lacking), numbered in accordance with the corresponding paragraphs in the text. The reconstruction of the ancient road network is based on Laura Ficuciello (*Le strade di Atene*, Athens/Paestum 2008, SATAA 4), as is the numbering of the streets. Unfortunately, the cartographic reference of the contour lines used as topographical blueprints for the two plans is not given. Additionally, a coherent explanation of all the different types of lines including their widths and colours is missing. For example, what does the partially dotted line of the stone foundations of the *archaios naos* on the Acropolis mean, or of the occupied area of the so called *Odeion* of Pericles, located on the southern slope of the Acropolis? The monuments, which have no certain location or may not have existed at all, are marked by numbers (e.g. the *Athena Promachos*; or the so called Lesser Attalid Dedication, see R. Amedick, 'Gallier und Orientalien, Kleinasien und Rom. Siegesmonumente in der Epoche der römischen Expansion' in R. Amedick, H. Froning, W. Held [eds], *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 2014, Marburg 2014, pp. 91-118).

The (often Greek) plans and the photographs of both volumes are reproduced in black and white and are numbered in the text from the beginning of page 53 only (why?). The copious annotations placed within or next to the plans and photographs are either limited to the translation of the original Greek captions, or suggest the identification of excavated structures with a tentative date, especially for the archaeological areas known alone by preliminary archaeological reports (e.g. the plot south of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, p. 201, fig. 107; or the plan with the discoveries from the *Amyneion* excavation, p. 266, fig. 153; or the plans of the corner plot between Dionysiou Areopaghitou and Propyleon St. including a date). Archaeological plans showing different phases are, however, lacking.

The second volume is dedicated to a very large area of the ancient city, extending from the Pnyx to the eastern slope of the Acropolis and the Ilissos valley. The page numbers continue from the first volume as do the figures and the plans (as a rule three for each investigated sector). This volume was edited by Fausto Longo, Maria Chiara Monaco e Daniela Marchiandi; an additional fifteen scholars contributed to it.

The first chapter focuses on the hills bordering on the western parts of the city: namely the Hill of the Nymph, the Pnyx and the Hill of the Muses in many of the entries. Marchiandi discusses the wall segments discovered in this sector, thus providing a thorough reconstruction of their building phases. Very useful are also the revised plans which complement her entries, e.g. the one plan of the so called *Diateichisma* with the location of the structures identified between the Pnyx and the Mouseion (p. 328, fig. 161), or the plan of Gate XIV at the Hagios Dimitrios Lombardiaris Church showing the three different building phases of the defensive wall (p. 356, fig. 185).

The second chapter is dedicated to the Ilissos valley. Here the historical and topographical frame is very broad, because we have many ancient texts mentioning this sector. Regrettably, these texts do not shed further light on the reading(s) of the archaeological evidence found in this area. The emergency excavations, carried out before the building of the new metro and the Acropolis Museum, are presented meticulously (e.g. 5.1, 'Il quartiere abitativo presso l'edificio Weiler', pp. 397-403); and the corresponding maps provide very helpful captions.

The last chapter discusses the eastern slope of the Acropolis, one of the less-known archaeological areas of the city. Nevertheless, and particularly in recent years, this sector has attracted much attention from those scholars who wanted to localise in this area a new ancient city centre, an 'archaia agora', preceding the well-known Agora north west of the Acropolis (see volume 3). This suggestion needs further scrutiny. The 'archaia agora' has been located by scholars alongside the ancient *Hodos Tripodon* (6.4, pp. 528-531), a street that runs around the Acropolis and that in Roman times used to link the *Prytaneion* (Paus. 1.20.1) to the Theatre of Dionysos situated on the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis. However, the starting point of this street, the *Prytaneion* (F. 42, pp. 535-537), has never been found, despite numerous attempts to identify it with some of the architectural remains in this area. Exemplary in this regard is the discussion about the identification of the Roman structures at Pl. Hag. Aikaterinis (pp. 525-526). Longo (pp. 511-523) identified this area as the pre-classic city centre, 'il centro storico della città antica', although none of the architectural remains found here provide evidence to be dated before the classical period. The famous passage from Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (2.15) about the *synoikismos* initiated by Theseus constitutes no proof for the antiquity of this area as Thucydides seems to address the southern slope of the Acropolis rather than the eastern one as the area of the old city.

Decisive for the identification of an earlier agora is the recently suggested localisation of the *Aglaurion*. It has been based on an inscription found in a cave of the eastern slope of the Acropolis (see volume 1, p. 159). According to Pausanias the shrine of Aglauros was near the *Prytaneion*. Despite the importance of this find, no excavation was carried out on site to clarify the context of the inscription. The sole literary evidence, which mentions an 'archaia agora', is Apollodorus recorded by Harpocration (Apollod. apud *FGrH* 244, F 113). He reports that a shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos was located near the 'archaia agora', but does not specify its location, let alone the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos, the *Aglaurion*, or the *Prytaneion*. Is it possible that Apollodorus merely referred to a shrine of Aphrodite *Pandemos* in the neighbourhood of the Agora on the *Kerameikos*? However, in the surroundings of the non-located *Prytaneion* and 'archaia agora' an even larger archaic space is suggested for further old state buildings (see volume 2), the so-called *Archeia*. But, none of these buildings can archaeologically be identified: the *Boukouleion*, *Basileion* (F. 43, 537-539), *Thesmotheteion* (F. 44, pp. 539), *Epylikeion* (F. 45, pp. 540-541) *Theseion* (F. 47; pp. 551-553), *Anakeion* (F. 46; pp. 550-551) and *Horkomosion* (F. 48; p. 553). For these reasons these monuments are not discussed in the regular entries, but in the 'in-depth tabs'. As I argued in 2011 and 2012 (L'Archaia Agorà di Apollodoro e Melanzio. Considerazioni su un problema topografico dell'Atene di età arcaica, *Numismatica e Antichità Classica* 40, 15-85; Per una ricostruzione della topografia di Atene in età arcaica: riflessioni in margine a Tucidide II 15 e Pausania I 3-20, *Numismatica e Antichità Classica* 41, 11-43), the information on the 'archaia agora' in ancient texts is more inconsistent than generally assumed - even more inconsistent are the references, which could help us to establish a (more) precise localisation of the 'Archeia'.

Despite the reservations regarding the historical-topographical reconstruction of the eastern sector of the city, the work under review is a useful guide for students, scholars and specialists. The quality of the individual entries is for the most part good as they not just summarise the present state of research, but also offer a critical debate of the relevant scholarship. For a proper in-depth study of the archaeological and topographical evidence, however, it is unavoidable to go back to the primary publications and excavation reports. Finally, the choice to publish the volumes in Italian and not in English is somehow courageous as it makes them less accessible to the international community of students and scholars interested in the history of topography of ancient Athens.

Annarita Doronzio

NINA ZIMMERMANN-ELSEIFY, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Deutschland,* Band 89, *Berlin, Antikensammlung, ehemals Antiquarium*, Band 12. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2011. 76 pp., 10 figs, 48 pls, 11 app., 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-61493-4.

ANGELIKA SCHÖNE-DENKINGER, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Deutschland*, Band 95, B*erlin, Antikensammlung, ehemals Antiquarium*, Band 15. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2014. 82 pp., 25 figs, 80 pls, 16 app., 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-66145-7.

The Berlin *CVA* fascicules are since many years among the best published. In Band 8 Irma Wehgartner was in 1991 the first to include profile drawings not only of the lips and feet, as usual until then in publications on vase-shapes, but of the whole vases (scaled down to 2:3 or 1:2), important since the shape of the body and proportion of the whole vase can be essential in the study of shapes and potters. This happily has become standard in most Berlin *CVA*'s ever since, except where the author prefers 1:1 profile-drawings of lips and feet of larger vases like those in fascicule 14 by Heide Mommsen on black-figured *amphorai* and like in the case of some large vases in fascicule 15 discussed here.

In volumes concerning (groups of) vases of more or less the same shapes but of different seize, some pages with small photos of all the vases in chronological sequence in the same scale was introduced by Elke Böhr in fascicule 9 in 2002. Such an overview illustrates in one glance the relative shapes and proportions, supplementary to the detailed profile drawings, often necessarily on various scales.

The *CVA*'s Berlin 12 and 15 again earn their place among the best *CVA*'s published. The usual foreword about the context and history of the volumes is followed by the abbreviation- and publication-list. Very useful in both fascicules is the introduction paragraph preceding the vase-shapes, where a summary is presented of the present knowledge of the shapes in ques-

tion. Discussed are the period of production of the vases and their diffusion, their shape and its development, the iconography and the use of the vases. Such an introduction on the vases in question, with basic information on the shape that now can be left out in each of the individual descriptions in the catalogue, was introduced by Angelika Schöne-Denkinger in *CVA* Berlin 11.

The descriptions of the individual vases in both volumes are highly informative and detailed on the different aspects as condition, material, shape, ornaments, representation, drawing-technique, painter, interpretation, with full bibliographies on all aspects. In the references to *CVA* volumes only the fascicule-number of the city (Berlin 9) is given, while the country-number is more convenient to find the volume on the bookshelf in the library among the 100 German *CVA* volumes.

The tables (Verzeichnisse), 9 in both volumes, are very complete, including also a table of measures, weights and, in fascicule 15, of contents.

In the *CVA* fascicule Deutschland Band 89, Berlin Band 12, Nina Zimmermannn-Elsefy, treats the 37 white-ground *lekythoi* in the Antikensammlung, which, before the German reunion, were kept in the Pergamon Museum in East-Berlin. The 34 examples then kept in Charlottenburg in West-Berlin had already been treated in the *CVA* Deutschland Band 62, Berlin Band 8 by Irma Wehgartner in 1991.

The vases in this fascicule are perfectly illustrated in colour, each by two photographs of the whole vase and some photographs of details. The good profile-drawings are all on half seize, except for three 1:3 drawings of the huge *lekythoi*.

Though this volume lacks vases of the quality of the Achilles- or the Sabouroff Painters of the Charlottenburg vases, it comprises interesting vases like the only white *lekythos* known by the charming Syriskos painter. The very stout shape of this lekythos is without parallel, but the shape corresponds with the also very stout neck *amphorai* by this painter. These *amphorai* and probably also this *lekythos* were shaped by a potter who also made *amphorai* painted by the Harrow- and the Geras Painter and who may be the potter Syriskos, after whom the painter was named. Of later date are the nice vases of the Bosanquet- and the Thanatos Painter and of the Painters of Berlin 2451 and Berlin 2464.

The above mentioned very good introduction paragraph on the *lekythoi* 'Zur Form und ihrer Entwicklung' asks however for comment in one respect. Beazley divided the red figured *lekythoi* in (1) vases of the standard shape with one variation: the type BL (Bowdion Painters Lekythoi) and (2) five secondary shapes: the types PL (Petit Palais Painters Lekythoi), ATL (Aischines- and Tymbos Painters Lekythoi), DL (Diosphos Painters Lekythoi), CL (Carlruhe Painters Lekythoi) and BEL (Beldam Painters Lekythoi). In this *CVA* however the type BL is ordered not under the standard-, but under secondary types: more logical if the division concerns differences in shape. However, starting with Beazley, in the treatment of the shape and decoration of *lekythoi* the two are often not very sharply discerned. Here the author writes, following Beazley, Kurtz and others: 'Der Typus BL ist von der Standardform kaum zu unterscheiden. Er zeichnet sich lediglich durch ein charaktristisches Muster aus fünf schwarzfigurigen Palmetten auf der Schulter aus', in other words: on ground of merely shape one cannot tell apart type BL from the standard shape (see inter alia F. Hölscher, *CVA* Germany 46, Würzburg 2, T. 27, p. 36). So here fails an explanation why in this *CVA* the type BL is arranged under the secondary shapes.

The very detailed entries give a most complete range of information on all the aspects with exhaustive references to other vases and relevant bibliography. Rightly the model of the very good *CVA* by Irma Wehgartner on the Charlottenburg lekythoi is closely followed, with an improved surveyability by the now italicized keywords like *Zustand*, *Material*, *Form*, *Ornamentik* etc. Yet two things have to be observed on the description of the shapes of the vases. In this fascicule the shape of the standard lekythos is described in the thorough introduction paragraph. So there is no need to mention in the description of the shape of the individual vases the disc-foot, the ring between the body and foot and the funnel shaped mouth. In addition the descriptions miss consistency in this respect: sometimes the foot is called disc shaped, sometimes not, sometimes the ring between body and foot is mentioned, sometimes not, the mouth is sometimes called funnel-shaped, sometimes calyx-shaped and in most cases nothing is said about its shape. Sometimes the ring between body and foot or the groove on the side of the foot are called 'umlaufend', all around, sometimes not. All rather random differences in description, not corresponding with real differences in shape of the vases.

The *CVA* fascicule Deutschland Band 95, Berlin Band 15 by Angelika Schöne-Denkinger comprises 30 red-figured and 5 black *pelikai*, 9 red-figured *loutrophoroi* and 8 red-figured *lebetes gamikoi*. Mentioned are 5 vases given in long lasting loan to other musea and 11 vases lost since WO II, 9 of which are illustrated.

Also in this fascicule all vases are perfectly illustrated in colour, each with two or four photographs of the whole vase and some photographs of details. The good profile-drawings show the half vases, very efficient in a publication on stout vases like *pelikai* and adequate for who is accustomed to interpret vase-profiles. The profiles of the *pelikai* are on the scale 1:2. As a very welcome addition to the profile-drawings, plates 46-47 give smaller photographs of all the *pelikai* (scale 1:6) in chronological sequence illustrating in one glance the differences in proportion between the individual vases and the development of the shape. Of the 4 complete *loutrophoroi* profile-drawings of only the upper and lower parts are given on different scales. Of the 2 large *lebetes gamikoi* profile-drawings of the upper and lower part are given in the scale 1:2, of 3 smaller ones on scale 1:1.

The first vase in this fascicule is the *pelike* by the Kleophrades Painter, a vase with a history. On both sides of the vase one reads the inscription EPIKTETOS EGRAPSEN, which suggested the painters real name was EPIKTETOS, until J. Boardman in 1980 showed it up as a modern addition. Boardman (1975, 92) calls the

vase a late and undistinguished work. The vase certainly misses the vigour of the more ambitious vases by the painter, but in its quiet modesty Hera and Aphrodite are painted with much care and precision. The quality of the vases is varying: next to disappointing vases by the Pan-, the Achilles-, and the Phiale Painters vases of much higher quality can be enjoyed in those by the Painter of the Munich *amphora* (pls 3, 4), the Syriskos Painter (pls 9-11), fragments by the Argos Painter (pl. 15) and of course the two *lebetes gamikoi* from the former Sabouroff collection (pls 71-77), the first being the painters namevase.

Each of the three sections of this volume starts with a thorough introduction paragraph on the different aspects of the shape in question. In this fascicule the author takes advantage of the introductions by mentioning in de entries on the individual vases under the heading shape only the peculiarities of the vase in question. So the description of the shape takes never more than 3 lines, against 6-12 lines in fascicule 12.

Lastly I must emphasize that the few critical remarks above detract nothing from the very high quality of these *CVA* fascicules: both are very thorough pieces of work and very welcome additions for the students of Greek vases.

Hans Euwe

EVA HOFSTETTER-DOLEGA, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Deutschland,* Band 97, *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung*, Band 2. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 111 pp., 27 figs, 76 pls, 19 app.; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-67747-2.

This second fascicule of Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden presents the closed shapes of the Attic red-figure collection. It comprises: 2 neck *amphorai*, 15 Nolan *amphorai*, 16 *pelikai*, 8 *kalpides*, 2 *loutrophoro*i, 9 *oinochoai*, 30 *lekythoi*, 3 *askoi* and 1 *aryballos*, painted by some 50 painters.

The volume follows the format of the German *CVA*'s: measures, bibliography, condition, technique, shape, decoration, representation, dating and attribution, followed by comment and comparanda on these points, each clearly structured in a separate alinea with a cursive title-word. The descriptions of the vases are very detailed and complete, 88 pages for 86 vases. Together with the photographs and profiles one can learn very much about all aspects of the vases.

For this publication some of the incorrect nineteenth century restorations and additions have been removed, like the curious mouth and foot of a former Nolan *amphora* by the Berlin Painter (app. 17, 2-3, pl. 1, 3-4). The removed completion of the neck and mouth of a Nolan Amphora by the Achilles Painter however seems correct on the basis of the preserved parts (app. 18, 2-3, pl. 21, 1-2).

With regard to shape (and its details) of the vases it could have been useful to give a short introduction on the vase-shape preceding each group of vase as, for instance, in Germany 89 and 95 and Netherlands 10, with a standard description of the shape in question, also indicating the parts vases normally painted black and those reserved. In the descriptions in the catalogue only the exceptions to this should suffice.

Now, sometimes the band between the body and foot of *amphorai* and *lekythoi* is mentioned and described, sometimes not. Sometimes is mentioned that, as usual, the upper side and most of the side of the foot of Nolan *amphorai* is varnished and the underside reserved, sometimes this is not mentioned. Once is said that the inside and mouth of a Nolan *amphora* is varnished, which, however, always is so. The in most cases convex underside of the feet of Nolan *amphorai* is 13 times described as concave. The underside of the feet of most *pelikai* is correctly called concave.

This observation that the descriptions could have been a bit more streamlined, however detracts nothing from the fine qualities of this fascicule for the professional user. The comments on the painter, shape and representation are very complete and sound. I am also happy to see that the author shows further an interest in potters that I also thought to note in the *CVA*'s Germany 89 and 95. Has it something to do with the fact that the three authors are all members of the Norddeutscher Vasenkreis?

The comprehensive descriptions and comments are attended with 7 indexes (Inventory numbers, Provenance, Mass Weight and Volume, Technical details, Subjects, Inscriptions, Painters and Potters), plates with 433 photo's on 76 pages, or an average of 5 photo's per vase, and with very good profile drawings.

That the photographs are in black and white is no problem, but in my opinion they have the disadvantage to be 'cut out' of their background. This often produces incorrect profiles of (mostly) mouth or foot. On the old photo of the Nolan *amphora* by the Achilles painter (app. 18, 2-3) the profile of the foot corresponds better with the (I am sure correct) profile drawing (app. 4,4) than that of the photo on pl. 21, 1-2. Other examples of cut off details are the feet of the *kalpides* of pl. 48, 5-6 and app. 10 and of pl. 50, 1-4 and app. 10,2 and the *loutrophoros* of pl. 52, 1-4 and app. 10,3. Very curious is the photo of the *chous* on Tafel 55,4 with an evidently, app. 11, 2, not existent two degree foot.

With regard to the profile drawings, as far as I see without permutations which sometimes occur even in otherwise very thorough *CVA*'s like the present one, I must make my compliments to Susanne Kuprella for her very good eye and feeling for the shapes of the vases. This deprives me alas from a planned visit to Dresden to study the Nolan *amphorai*: by the excellent profile drawings I was able to ascribe all the Nolan *amphorai* to their potters and I hope to incorporate them in a revised and largely extended version of my dissertation 'Potters of Nolan Amphorae' from 1993.

Hans Euwe

V. SARIPANIDI, Corpus *Vasorum Antiquorum. Greece*, Fascicle 13. *Thessaloniki, Aristotle University, Cast Museum*. 89 pp., 27 figs, 51 pls; 33 cm. Athens: Research Centre for Antiquity of the Academy of Athens, 2012. – ISBN 978-960-404-244-1/ISSN 1108-3670.

The fascicule which is the object of this review comprises a wide range of ceramics: Minoan (1), Mycenaean (4), Attic Proto Geometric (2), Attic Geometric (11), Geometric of uncertain fabric (2), Protocorinthian (3), Corinthian (28), Boeotian Kylix Style (1), Boeotian Black Figure (4), Boeotian Black Glaze (4), Attic Black Figure (16), Attic Red Figure (15), Attic White Ground (6), Attic Black Glace (9) and Black Glaze of Uncertain Fabric (1), a total of 107 pieces.

The vases are part of the broader collection of ancient Greek objects in the Cast Museum of the the Department of History and Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, begun in 1928, shortly after the foundation of the University of Thessaloniki, for educational purposes. At the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Aristotle University in 1937 was written: 'Alongside the acquisition of casts, a collection of original archaeological artefacts of the area of Macedonia began to be built up, which included mostly vases; some of these artefacts were purchased, others were unearthed during the archaeological excavations held by the University'.

Only 10 of the 107 vases in the present *CVA* are of known provenance and have been published. The numbers that occur on several vases apparently correspond to an inventory lost in the decennia after the second world war.

In the discussions and attributions of so many unpublished vases the author fortunately was helped by the notes of the Honorary Ephor of Antiquities Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, who studied the vases in the ninenteeneighties, and by the knowledge of the specialist on Corinthian ceramics C.W. Neeft of the University of Amsterdam.

The structure is as usual: Contents, Preface, Acknowledgements, Abbreviations, Catalogue, Indices, Figures and Plates. One wonders why in the Greek *CVA*'s after *CVA* no 4 on the page 'Contents' only the page numbers of the text are given and, very unpractical, not the plate numbers of the vases.

The text with the descriptions and discussions of the 107 objects takes some 70 pages printed in two columns. This may seem relatively little text, but a substantial number of the vases has a simple abstract decoration or is black-glazed.The text on a black-glazed bowl takes 1/3 column, while a red-figure krater or skyphos takes a whole page. The lavish number of 270 photographs on 51 pages illustrate the vases by an average of 2.5 photo's by vase.

The text on the different aspects of the vases is very complete where possible, but could have been more clearly structured by cursive or bold headings like: *condition, shape, decoration, painter* etc.

The photographs are all in black and white, but for the white ground *lekythoi* colour photographs would have been more appropriate. The photo's have the disadvantage to be 'cut out' of their background. This easily produces incorrect profiles of mostly mouth or foot. One cannot be sure of a correct idea of the shape of details because of the uncertainty of the correctness of the presented image, which could have been better judged from the original photograph against its background. See here e.g. the foot of plate 45, 6&7 with frayed bottom, plate 46, 2 with to pointed underside. On a good photograph against a even background the shape of the vases and its details can much better been interpreted.

Especially in this volume this is of importance because of the regrettable fact that of only 9 of the 107 vases a profile drawing is given, which is exceptional since in most recent *CVA*'s profile drawings of (most of the) vases are standard. So of only one of the 37 Attic black-figured, red-figured and white ground vases a profile drawing is inserted. If we compare this drawing (figure 7) of this late 4th-century *skyphos* with the photo's of the vase (plates 41, 42) we see that the transition from body into the foot is a smooth S-curve on the plates, while the drawing shows a sharp corner line. A photograph with a not manipulated contour could have shown the truth.

In the description of the white-ground *lekythos* nr 136, plate 47, 1-4. The text mentions the foot with a 'groove around the top of its side'. Photo's 47, 1 and 3 clearly show the groove, but on photo 47, 2 the foot is somewhat underexposed and the one who cut out the photo's omitted the groove.

Apart for the, in the eye of the reviewer, shortcomings mentioned above, this *CVA* is a very good and welcome publication of the ca 100 unpublished and therefore unknown vases in Thessaloniki. The good descriptions, comparanda and the photo's offer a wealth of new information for the researcher interested in these 'new' vases.

Hans Euwe

KLAUS FITTSCHEN/PAUL ZANKER/PETRA CAIN, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom.* Band II: *Die männlichen Privatporträts.* Aufnahmen von Gisela Fittschen-Badura. Berlin/New York: W. De Gruyter, 2011. 2 vols. Text: XVI, 210 pp.; Plates: 270 pp., 232 plates with 904 ill. and 32 appendices with 144 ill.; 35 cm. (Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur, 4). – ISBN 978-3-11-022886-1.

In 2011, the German experts Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker published the third volume of their already famous catalogue of Roman portraits in the Capitoline museums and the city collections of Rome. This volume, labeled as Vol. II of the catalogue, is focused on the portraits of male private persons and appears 25 years after the first two volumes in the series were published: Vol. I, covering the imperial male portraits, was published in 1985, and Vol. III, covering the female imperial and private person portraits, came out in 1983. The long period between the volumes' publication is described by the authors as being caused by *'other professional obligations and new research fields'* (p. VIII). The current volume was originally completed by both scholars in the 1980s; for the final publication all catalogue items were revised, renewed and brought up to date by Klaus Fittschen and Petra Cain, who took over the work of Paul Zanker.

The sequence of the portraits in the catalogue follows a predominantly chronological order. Due to new insights over the years after 1985, the sequence now is at times illogical. Examples are Cat. 120 (considered now to be a head from late Severan times instead of the Antonine period) and Cat. 112 (a portrait of Manius Poblicius Hilarus, dating from the time of Caracalla instead of the earlier considered Antonine era). Also *clipeus* portrait Cat. 129, hitherto unpublished, was seen initially as a Severan portrait, but in view of recent finds from Aphrodisias, Fittschen has given it now a late antique (5th century) dating. The same type of inconsistency is seen in Cat. 187, which Zanker originally considered to be a late antique, reworked portrait, but that now turns out to be dating to the Severan time. An addition to the catalogue is Cat. 162a, which was discovered in a depot in 1985, when the sequence of the catalogue was already established.

Visually Volume II looks the same as its predecessors; De Gruyter, the current publisher, delivers the same excellent quality as originally provided by Von Zabern. This counts for the volume with text as well as for the volume with plates. The authors have incorporated all possible references in literature to the individual catalogue objects that appeared between 1985 and 2008. Although the work is to date in terms of literature references, the authors admit it is not 100% complete, which is understandable given the massive amount of publications over the past quarter century.

In this respect it is, however, a pity to notice that when material from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden is discussed, there is (still) no reference to the catalogue of the ancient sculpture in the RMO, written by F.L. Bastet & H. Brunsting (*Corpus Signorum Classicorum*, Zutphen 1982). This omission is a point mentioned in my earlier review of Catalogue Vol. I (*BABesch* 62, 1987, 175-176). The references to be added in the Catalogue of Fittschen/Zanker are:

Leiden, RMO Inv. 1931/2.46 (F/Z p. 20, portrait of C. Iulius Caesar, replica of Cat. 12) = Bastet/Brunsting 1982, p.208, cat. 384, pl. 114.
Leiden, RMO Inv. I95/2.11 19 (F/Z p. 20 note 5 ['not a portrait of C. Iulius Caesar']) = Bastet/Brunsting 1982, p.207, cat. 382, pl. 113.
Leiden, RMO Inv. H*2 (F/Z p. 125 note 2 ['portrait of Pertinax'] – erroneously mentioned on p. 197 with inv. 1822) = Bastet/Brunsting 1982, p.213, cat. 394, pl. 116.

As mentioned in my review in *BABesch* 1987, 176, the standards for photographing ancient portraits have been established by Gisela Fittschen-Badura. In Vol. II, she is again responsible for the beautiful photos in the lavishly illustrated plate volume, which also contains photos of 34 portraits from outside the Capitoline and Roman city collections in the appendices. The latter are used to provide proper evidence for comparisons in the numerous lists of replicas throughout the lemmas and the footnotes.

As only a selection of the material can be discussed in this review, special attention should be given to the fact that the catalogue contains much hitherto unpublished material, mostly from the depots. In several cases these are merely fragments of portraits or heavily damaged portraits, such as catalogue numbers: 23, 25, 31, 33, 70, 86, 99, 116, 134, 139, 167, 172, 180, 185, and 186. Preserved to a larger extent and hence now available as comparison material for scholars working on Roman portraits, are the following items:

Cat. 27 (insertion bust of a man - ca 40 BC)
Cat. 40 (less than life size portrait of man - Augustan)
Cat. 88 (less than life size portrait of a man with a short beard - late Hadrianic)
Cat. 114 (bust of a bearded man, reworked from a female portrait - mid Antonine)
Cat. 119 (portrait of a man with long beard - late Antonine)
Cat. 129 (clipeus portrait of a priest - 5th century AD?)
Cat. 156 (portrait of a man - early Gallienic, 253-258)
Cat. 157 (portrait of a bald man - early Gallienic)
Cat. 182 (reworked portrait of a man - Theodosian, ca 370-380)
Cat. 184 (portrait of a bearded man, less than life size - ca 400).

Interesting portraits are two busts of private persons (Cat. 80 and 98) dating from the first quarter of the 2nd century AD, both signed by a sculptor named Zenas. The name refers to two Greek artists, probably father and son and working in the early Hadrianic period. The elder, who created bust Cat. 80, was, according to the signature, the son of Alexandros (cf. *IG* XIV 1241). The two busts are preserved in an extraordinarily way, almost entirely (Cat. 80) or completely (Cat. 98) intact, and were probably located in a grave monument. The depicted persons themselves are anonymous.

As a contrast, another almost perfectly conserved bust in the collections, Cat. 121, bears the name of who is depicted: M. Aurelius Anatellon. This person is without any doubt the same man whose epitaph is recorded in *CIL*, VI 2, 13004. He was a freedman, set free by M. Aurelius, and his profession was boxing; this can be deduced from the physiology, such as the cauliflower ears and missing teeth in the under jaw (the latter is based upon the position of the lips).

Not often do we have such a clear reference to a private person. Due to the anonymity of most Roman portraits, we rely heavily on the style to date a portrait and on the comparison with coins to judge whether a portrait is that of an emperor. One of the most intriguing discussions throughout the book is about the fact that there are also replicas of private portraits. This means that not only imperial persons could have a series of portraits, but also private persons. In general it leads to the question: when is a series of replicas belonging to a private civilian and when is the person to be considered to be an emperor or member of the imperial house? Size could be a determining factor: over life size portraits are considered by most scholars to be exclusive for emperors, their family and high officials in the government. But when is a portrait 'over life size' or 'colossal'? Fittschen shares the opinion of B. Ruck, *Die Grossen dieser Welt. Kolossalporträts im antiken Rom* (Heidelberg 2007 - see his review in GFA 13, 2010, 1097-1104; cf. E.M. Moormann, *BABESCH 84*, 2009, 239-240) that a statue of one and a half times life size

and more is to be considered as 'colossal'; using 164 cm as life size in antiquity, this means above 250 cm. The smallest 'colossal heads' are then around 35 cm high (from chin to crown). Based upon this calculation, we can draw the conclusion that Roman portraits with a height of 35 cm and more are probably images of members of the imperial family or their relatives, because normal civilians seldom were honored with 'colossal' statues.

The existence of replicas, including over life sized or even 'colossal' portraits, and possible resemblance to coin portraits, can be decisive to consider a series of portraits to be depicting an emperor. One of these cases is the series of portraits addressed in my article in *BABesch* 79, 2004 (175-196), which is mentioned in the catalogue under lemma 127. This particular series of portraits concern an over life sized portrait in the Museo Capitolino (Sala delle Colombe 458) which has three replicas in different museums. Fittschen has used this catalogue number to deliberate on the iconography proposed by me: I see this series as a list of posthumous portraits of emperor Pertinax, whereas he is of the opinion that it is a private person, maybe C. Fulvius Plautianus, Caracalla's father in law. The reasons for not agreeing to my proposal of linking the series to an imperial person of the year AD 193 are according to Fittschen, the style of the portraits, which he sees as typically Severan, and the lack of resemblance to coin portraits. Based upon the brief explanation in the catalogue I am not convinced by Fittschen's opinion that these portraits are of a private person. The style fits my assumption that these are posthumous portraits of Pertinax, dating, indeed as Fittschen underlines, from the Severan era, there are close resemblances to coin portraits of Pertinax (cf. the examples given in my cited article), but above all the 'colossal' size of the head in Sala delle Colombe, with a height of 34.5 cm from chin to crown, needs further explanation, if one does not want to consider this as an imperial person. Fittschen has worked out his theories about replica portraits of private persons extensively in an upcoming new book: *Privatporträts mit Repliken. Zur Sozialgeschichte römischer Bildnisse der mittleren Kaiserzeit.* I am very curious to read this book, especially to learn more about his view on the portrait series mentioned above.

For now we have to deal with Vol. II of the catalogue, where we can already find parts of this study within the notes of many of the catalogue items written by Fittschen. These notes provide a wealth of comparison material to the catalogue items and constitute a deeper layer throughout the book. As such, Fittschen, Zanker and Cain have ensured that their work, just like the other volumes of the catalogue, forms an indispensable source of information for scholars working on Roman portraits. In the meantime, the final fourth volume of the series, edited by Fittschen alone, has come out as well (see E.M. Moormann in this volume of *BABESCH*, pp. 283-284). Like the other volumes, the book should be present in every archaeological library.

Richard de Kind

ANNETTE HAUG/DIRK STEUERNAGEL, *Das Haus XV B (Maison 49,19) von Megara Hyblaia. Zur architektonischen und funktionalen Gliederung von Zweihofhäusern im hellenistischen Sizilien*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2014. 93 pp., 89 figs, maps; 32.5 cm (Studien der antiken Stadt 140). - ISBN 978-3-95490-044-2.

The topic of this publication is the Hellenistic House XV B in Megara Hyblaea (Sicily). The newly exposed wall remains, as well as the reconstruction of the layout and various phases of the house, fill the largest part of this book. The authors' objective for this investigation was to contribute to the history of Hellenistic architecture and urbanism, not only of Megara Hyblaea, but of Sicily as a whole during the Hellenistic and early Roman period. Therefore, next to the detailed publication of the field evidence, a substantial amount of pages is dedicated to the wider cultural context of house XV B. Moreover, it should be noted that this publication was achieved only four years after the first field campaign in 2010.

In 1964 the house was excavated far below floor level. At that time the French excavators were mainly focused on the Archaic levels. As a consequence, some Hellenistic walls have been removed and the archaeological finds from this period, stored at Megara Hyblaea, were badly documented. Then, in 2010 and 2011, renewed field research was carried out under the direction of the authors of this publication. The field evidence, mainly wall remains, was neatly recorded (ch. 2), published in Plan 1. The wall remains were re-labelled, taking mention of whether they date to Archaic or Hellenistic period (Plan 6). Almost all remains were documented by means of photographs, also using photographs of the French team that carried out excavations during the 1960s. One of the motives was to reconstruct the plan of the house and its various construction phases. The researchers especially focused on the courtyards. They tested whether the northern courtyard had to be considered a later addition, as the French team proposed, or that the house was planned with two courtyards from the beginning. The German field expedition (current publication) concluded that the house was planned with two yards from the very beginning; the authors speak of a so-called '*Zweihofhaus*'.

House XV B is situated in the center of the town, nearby the Hellenistic (and Archaic) agora, in the Hellenistic insula XV. This insula has been re-excavated except for the southern part. Six houses have been identified, houses A to F. The plan of house B (about 850m^2) is trapezoidal in form and is characterized by the presence of two courts. The southern courtyard has a peristyle along three sides in the first phase (3rd c. BC). Through the peristyle one can reach the northern courtyard. A connecting door in the partition wall between the courtyards characterizes the second phase (end 3rd-1st c. BC) . Apart from the distinction of these two phases, the authors have observed constant modification activities on the house. This suits to the appropriate methodology of writing biographies of architectural features, although the authors do not refer to this method.

As already mentioned above, the Hellenistic floor levels and finding materials are poorly preserved. This caused difficulties in determining the chronology and functions of the house and its rooms. However, with

the use of literary evidence and comparable archaeological contexts the authors came up with an interpretation. Residential rooms have been postulated at the western side of the peristyle courtyard. A latrine has been identified in a room near the street, that is nearby the drainage. The authors note the presence of three rooms in a row, the so-called '*Flügeldreiraumgruppe*'. They refer to Macedonian palaces which show this pattern in their house plans. It may however also be worthwhile to turn to the nearby Roman territory, and to pay attention to atrium houses. After all, the pattern of three rooms lying next to each other belongs to the grammar of these houses.

House XV B has been compared with houses elsewhere on Sicily: Morgantina, Monte Iato and Agrigento (ch. 5). These sites show various large houses, whereas in Megara Hyblaea large houses of the size of house XV B are not very common. The authors conclude that a prototype of such courtyard houses does not even exist. According to them the plan of the house is defined by the shape of the lot, the infrastructure and the previous occupation. Further articulation depends on the wealth of its inhabitants, as has been observed on the other sites. From these observations it has been inferred that the plan and organization of these houses gives a social indication rather than chronological information.

To resume, this book discusses remains of a Hellenistic house in a profound and thorough way. The reconstructions of the proposed house plans are verifiably based on the archaeological evidence. The house is considered to be a dynamic entity, which was constantly modified according to the wishes and needs of its users. This way of dealing with architecture connects the researchers with the post-modern tradition, in which the architecture is considered from the point of view from its users rather its initial builders. This publication has justified the follow-up excavation campaigns of 2010 and 2011, which raised new questions dealing with Hellenistic and early Roman architecture and urbanism, in Sicily and beyond. Moreover, the reader may be stimulated to carry out further research in this field as there are still many pages unwritten.

Elisabeth van 't Lindenhout

MARIA CRISTINA BIELLA, *Impasti orientalizzanti con decorazioni incise in Agro Falisco*. Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, 2014. 429 pp., 42 figs, 85 b/w pls, 30 cm (Aristonothos. Scritti per il Mediterraneo, Quaderni 2). – ISBN 978-88-6458-085-2.

Many museums worldwide hold collections of 7th-century Faliscan Orientalizing vases: the academic and political climate of 19th-century Italy rendered this region accessible to excavators and collectors. This volume is a valuable resource for scholars researching specific vases or the Orientalizing phenomenon in general. Biella's first volume (2007) dealt with the overlapping category of contemporary Faliscan *ad incavo* (intaglio-decorated) wares. This new volume is the first corpus of Faliscan incision-decorated ceramics; from over 2000 known examples, 661 vases are presented; the related Capenate impasto is reserved for a later volume.

Biella's analyses of shapes and figural iconography are meticulously reasoned and present eminently reliable data. A fine review of the history of Faliscan excavations and impasto research prefaces a catalogue organized by sites and shapes; brief but intensive discussion continues according to shape, technique, figural repertoire, and archaeological contexts. Finally, probable centers of production are theoretically identified at *Falerii Veteres*, Narce, Nepi and Corchiano.

There is a wealth of reliable information here, although navigating the filing system is a chore. The classification scheme - serially by site and shape - leads to much shuffling of pages. Vases are indexed only by typology numbers, not by their museum inventory numbers. For example, I.D.I.65 is an *olla* with incised fish from Montarano (*Falerii*) in the Civita Castellana museum, while I.E.I.65 is a spirally-grooved amphora with incised bird from Narce Tomb 1 in the University Museum Philadelphia, and so on. The table of inscriptions (285) gives page numbers but nowhere is the inscription provided. (Typos are few; I.E.i.7, however, is not in Philadelphia as indexed.)

Incision decoration appeared mainly on banquet wares, reaching a high point between Middle and Late Orientalizing, the decades around mid-7th century. Chapter 5 (217-256) presents, without speculation, all available tomb contexts, in tables of data representing a herculean feat of combing the literature; on chronology, see 281-283. Biella scrupulously notes the condition or lack of information for each tomb, warning that many tombs lacked comparanda from better-dated, painted genres. By tabulating vases of undisputed provenance, Biella has been able to establish Faliscan origins for several vases found outside the *Ager Faliscus* (258) and for several pieces in museums or the art market. Helpful tables correlate images with shapes: birds are nearly ubiquitous, horses are only popular on *oinochoai, amphorai, ollae* and *kantharoi*; bull, dog and lion are known in single examples only. Deeper ideological reasons for iconographic choices may have pertained, for instance, myth or omen literature may have informed the images (see J. Tabolli/J.M. Turfa, Un'olla e i suoi "Leoni Ruggenti" da *Falerii* a Philadelphia in M.C. Biella/E. Giovanelli (eds), *Il bestiario fantastico di età orientalizzante nella penisola italiana* II, 2015 (2016), 143-154.

Many images found in painted wares or bucchero also were incised: palmettes, water birds, hawks with curved beaks, fish of various species, horses. Notable are winged horses, human figures including a boat with helmsman and transport amphorae (pl. 38); a two-headed snake (fig. 20), centaurs (fig. 30, pl. 41), grazing ungulates beside monsters devouring a man (fig. 41.19). Less common plastic extensions on footed bowls include horses eating from a manger (pl. 53; cf. an incised version, fig. 33); curiously, the plastic master of horses scene popular on bowls at Narce appears only once in incision (fig. 19). Biella also notices traces of ancient repairs, often using metal, indicating the high value placed on these vases prior to their deposition.

Incised impasto appeared in an era when writing, banqueting, civic and funerary display were socially significant novelties. Twenty-nine inscriptions are identified on incised vases, all associated with Faliscan necropoleis. Most 'inscriptions' are *sigla* or symbols (two letter A's, thirteen star shapes, fig. 42), five are Etruscan,

including a partial *abecedarium* on a chalice (97 no 94; *Etruskische Texte*, [2]Hamburg, 2014 = *ET* Fa 9.1), and a name, *mi saza*, on a neatly repaired plate (108 no 153; *ET* Fa 2.2). (One inscription, listed as I.D.I.44 (p. 45), is not recorded but cf. I.D.I.46, star.) Two are long and tantalizing: *ET* Fa 3.1 (102 no 122), a cup, speaks, among other things, of writing and decorating ('… *mlaχuta ziχuχe mlaχta ana zinace*'). The oinochoe *ET* Fa 6.2 (81 no. 6) has the inscription that begins '*mi qutun lemausnas ranazu zinace* …' What can these vases tell us about attitudes on craftsmanship? *Zinace/zinaku* is sometimes translated as 'he painted' but perhaps it should mean 'he drew/decorated(?)' in any case, a literate, socially significant craftsman.

For the Faliscan inscriptions readers must consult G. Giacomelli, *La lingua falisca* (Florence 1963, 41-48) or G.C.L.M. Bakkum, *The Latin Dialect of the Ager Faliscus* (Amsterdam 2009). Vases like the *olla* I.D.I.68 (49) harbor some of the oldest inscriptions in the Faliscan language. Its phrase '*ei ur m[ini]*,' if correctly classified as Etruscan (*ET* Fa 0.3), is perhaps a negative command, 'don't [?] me'. Another text, on a fragmentary *olla* with winged horses (50 no 73, fig. 27), seems long and chatty for the 7th century BC; its spiral inscription has been considered an elaborate naughty joke. Giacomelli translated it into Latin beginning '*Ceres far, Liber vinum ferat(?) Evius*….' After a possibly erotic joke it ends '*Ego urnula lutea ficta… argenteum *futilum peperi. Det!*' 'I, a pot made from clay, gave birth to a silver one - let [Pravius] give that!' Two beaked *oinochoai* (38 nos 5-6) are curious, one recording the gift of a group of men and women, stating '*vos salvete*…', the other translated '*Ego kothon Evoteni, Titiae bonas bonae, salve per me, Voltene*.' They lack context, but what can they tell us about social customs of depositing such texts in tombs or naming major gods in cheeky jokes?

Questions of dating and workshop identification will one day be resolved by scientific analyses of clay fabrics and pigments, according to Biella. Meanwhile her identifications show that the situation of the artisans of the *Ager Faliscus* and the society they served was much more complex than old-fashioned studies of masters' hands could demonstrate. The 'microregion' of the *Ager Faliscus* retained impasto wares longer than others and maintained a unique approach to vase making and ornamentation, including very early examples of narrative art. Craftsmen were open to foreign influences in shapes and styles but produced unmistakably Italic products, instantly recognizable as Faliscan to modern viewers. Ancient consumers probably could have identified their towns of origin. With this affordable volume Biella's expert attention has made them accessible again.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

Maria Anna De Lucia Brolli/Jacopo Tabolli, con contributi di Nicola Pagani/Fiamma Di Giamberardino/Silvia Mossuto/Martina Patriarca/Giacomo Perna/Giulia Toppan. *I Tempi del Rito. Il Santuario di Monte Li Santi-Le Rote a Narce.* Rome: Officina Edizioni, 2015. 191 pp., 109 color figs, 46 pls with multiple images, most color; 22 cm. – ISBN 978-8860491312.

In 1985 a Faliscan sanctuary, oriented NW-SE on a series of terraces above the River Treja, was discovered at the site of Monte Li Santi-Le Rote, 9 km south of Civita Castellana (ancient *Falerii*); excavations exposed a complex of simple structures including *sacella* which retain evidence of frequent remodeling and traces of ritual activities involving sacrifice and libation, votive offerings and what may be an unusual abandonment ceremony. The last was uncovered during excavations in 2014 to prepare for protective structures over the ruins: after October excavations, a team of conservators restored hundreds of objects in metal and clay (pp. 83-91) and in March 2015 exhibitions were mounted in two museums and this book was published. How often does excavated material find its way into print so quickly? (and at an affordable price!).

The book (with English summary, pp. 13-14) is a preliminary report on a sampling of all the finds and votive or sacrificial contexts, but features mainly the material exhibited in the MAVNA - the Museo Archeologico-Virtuale di Narce at the site of the Faliscan town, today Mazzano Romano. A display of finds from earlier excavation campaigns was mounted in the Museo archeologico dell'Agro Falisco in Civita Castellana, and is briefly discussed (pp. 37-41) in a consideration of rituals in the sanctuary. The three-volume final report on those excavations is in press: M.A. De Lucia Brolli (ed.), *Il santuario di Monte Li Santi - Le Rote a Narce. Scavi 1985-1996*, Mediterranea supplemento 11, Civiltà Arcaica dei Sabini nella Valle del Tevere 5, Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra, 2016.

Activity in the sanctuary began during the 6th century BC (traces of walls); a modest temple with terracotta roof was erected in the 5th century. Cult buildings underwent many phases of remodeling or rebuilding, culminating in the 3rd-century conversion of one *sacellum* (AA) into an open-air enclosure where offering ceremonies continued even after the sanctuary was abandoned (ca 100 BC). (Such continued visitation of sacred sites is known elsewhere, for instance at the Tarquinian port Gravisca and post-conquest Veii.) The one-room, rectangular *sacellum* AA was a focal point for the site, where priests performed sacrifices at altars, used an oven to bake cultic *focacce*, and neatly deposited the equipment (knives, spits for meat) and crockery after use.

The cult probably dealt with women's issues, marriage, fertility and the birth and care of children, to judge from offerings of terracotta figurines and anatomical votives (heads of men, women and children, swaddled infants, model organs including uteri and breasts). Sacrifices have been associated with Demeter (newborn piglets) and Persephone (roosters; a dog in another deposit). No names have been found attributing this early cult, but during the later years of the shrine, additional cults are attested, according to inscriptions on two tufa-block libation altars naming Minerva Maia and Fortuna.

The remainder of the book, pp. 37-95 with the illustrations (pp. 98-191) furnishes a preliminary look at the 2014 finds, which have already made an impression on the field of Etruscan and Italic votives (see The Votives Project: https://thevotivesproject.wordpress.com/2015/

07/12/narce/ - July 2015). The MAVNA exhibition emphasizes reconstruction of rituals, furnishing tantalizing glimpses into the stacking of votive and sacrificial pits with variegated contents.

Separate sacrificial/offering contexts are treated, with examples of finds: periodic 'cleanups' and burial of votives (especially 3rd century BC, pp. 47-50); ceremonial deposit of masks (pp. 50-56); rites of passage seen in ritual deposition of votive heads, including fine busts of toddlers (pp. 66-70). In the dramatic final abandonment ceremony, the 'ritual of the keys' (pp. 70-80), a pit containing sacrificial meat (iron spits) was topped off by a ritually smashed figurine with over 100 large (10-12 cm long) iron keys carefully placed across the top. (Keys occur, in smaller numbers, in other deposits as well.)

The terracotta votives match a profile found throughout central Italy, with male *capite velato* heads, veiled female heads, and large numbers of model body parts, presumably representing healing, ranging from hands and feet to internal organs. Only samples are presented; the 3rd-century deposit from the collective 'ceremony of the masks' produced so many (over 300, 50 illustrated here) that we must interpret it as a special function of this particular cult. Many masks, in oval or rectangular formats, retain red and white paint (often the eye area is white in a red face), for which there is as yet no easy explanation. Many other anatomical models have yet to be fully studied. A great benefit of this book is that both sides of many objects are illustrated, greatly facilitating comparison of mechanically related pieces and identification of the many workshops where they originated – many visitors must have brought votives from elsewhere.

This is not the final publication with complete inventories and full comparative studies, although objects are fully conserved, described, including fabric type, and measured. Illustrations include views of deposits during excavation and special features of the site, also numerous color-coded plans of the major structures, *Sacellum* AA and Room A/sacrificial space, but a map is lacking.

The picture of sanctuary and contents could change as excavations and conservation continue, but the meticulously documented sacrificial and votive deposits here are made to illustrate with remarkable clarity the life of a vibrant extramural sanctuary that flourished for nearly half a millennium. The ongoing reconstruction of ancient Narce, by excavation and exhibition, is acknowledged as having thus far made inroads on preventing clandestine excavation in this region: local residents have much here of which to be proud, and much to protect. Let us hope that publication of the remainder of the excavation and finds proceeds as speedily and expertly.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

ORAZIO PAOLETTI (ed.) con la collaborazione di MARIA CHIARA BETTINI, *La Corsica e Populonia* (Atti del XXVIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici. Bastia.Aléria.Piombino.Populonia, 25-29 ottobre 2011). Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2015. 602 pp., b/w ill.; 29.5 cm (Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici. Atti di Convegni, 28). – ISBN 978-88-7689-286-8.

Thirty papers of the 28th Congress of the National Institute of Studi Etruschi ed Italici, written in Italian and French, are not only dedicated to the material relations between Corsica and Populonia, but also to Corsica and Populonia separately. The following is a short summary with a few critical notes. G. Camporeale offers a history of both places, based on ancient literary sources, D. Briquel reconstructs the slowly growing scientific interest in the presence of Etruscans on Corsica, and G. Colonna casts light upon the process of the ethnogenesis of the *Corsi,* using all sources except for material culture (see also pp. 249-454). One myth tells that the Ligurians founded the *ethnos*, and another that Heracles did this. A golden ring (ca 500 BC) showing the hero catching a rabbit-man, also visible on a Fikellura vase, suggests that East-Greek artists depict him as freeing Corsica (?) from a harmful rodent, the *Lagomys Corsicanus* (!). D. Maras comments on Servius (ad *Aen*. 10.172) who writes that Populonia was founded by *Corsi* and extorted from them by *Volterrani*. He suggests that the *Corsi* may have been a group of Phocaeans who fled to Populonia after the Battle of Alalia (ca 540 BC). Herodotus (1.167), however, only mentions their departure to Rhegion and from there to Velia; and of course, Populonia was never founded but gradually clustered from villages into a city after the ninth century BC (see p. 337). L. Donati deals with symposium sets from Etruscan tombs (5th century BC) in the necropolis of Casabianda at Alalia (nowadays Aléria). They are homogeneous, always containing two bronze *simpula* which were used to ladle wine and water from two different vases, and have much in common with the practice in Etruria, the Po valley and Genoa. M. Gras comments on the so far neglected book of M.C. Ascari, *La Corsica nell'antichità* (Rome, 1942), which gives important information on river mouths, and could be the basis of future archaeological research in other *emporia* than Alalia where no Phocaean traces (565-550 BC) have been found. M. Lechenault analyzes old excavations (by E. Chantre and A. Romagnoli) of tombs at Cagnano in Northern Corsica; from these, due to modern selection, there remain many bronze artefacts and very few ceramics, dated to the Iron Age (7th to 5th century BC). A. Coen deals with jewelry (mostly golden rings, collars and earrings) from the Casabianda necropolis. It appears that the artefacts were imported from Southern Etruria between 480 and 350, and between 325/300 and 280 BC by colonists, who judging from the inscriptions, were not aristocratic but imitated elite behaviour. The gap between 350 and 300 BC may have been caused by the coastal raids of the Syracusan king Dionysios I in 384 BC. P. Meli deals with the relations between Etruria, especially Populonia, and the Etruscan *emporion* in Genoa in the 7th century BC, by analyzing the contents of the *tumulus* of Acquasola. The appendix by E. Franceschi presents the archaeometric analysis of the metal objects. Black gloss ceramics on Corsica dated to 340-259 BC, the year of the Roman conquest, are the topic of J.-P. Morel's paper. The vases were not produced locally but imported, mainly from Populonia and Volterra. Other imports are 'Gnathia' vases, quasi-*pocola* (*deorum*) and an 'elephant' vase like the famous one from Capena. L. Ambrosini holds that the bell krater of the Funnel

Group from Casablanca tomb 33 in Alalia, one of the 300 Etruscan and Faliscan red-figure vases from 44 tombs, dated between 350 and 250 BC, shows Marsyas bound to a tree on one side and on the other side a winged woman holding a hare (?) in one hand and a *phialè* with a *kantharos* between two torches in the other hand. Both scenes are probably situated in a Dionysiac underworld, also in view of another *adligatus*, probably Marsyas bound to an *arbor infelix*, on a little published splendid bronze *thymiaterion* in the Metropolitan Museum which also shows Dionysiac masks. Ambrosini interprets bound figures in or next to the gate of a tomb or the underworld on Hellenistic terracotta urns from Chiusi (pp. 187-188) as cursed persons like those in Etruscan *defixiones*. One should, however, not exclude that they represent captives destined for human sacrifices in honour of deceased as is suggested by L. Bonfante in *Interpretando l'antico. Scritti di archeologia offerti a Maria Bonghi Jovino* I (Quaderni di Acme) 134, Milan, 2012, 67-82. G. Harari interprets two facing Erotes holding *taeniae* and riding dolphins on one side of a Volterran redfigure *stamnos* (ca 320 BC) from Casablanca tomb 53 as Dionysiac, among others because the other side shows a maenad and a satyr. The scenes have strong affinities with those on *kelebai*. J. Gran-Aymerich focuses on Caeretan tableware, vases for storing, and certain transport amphorae (7th to 4th century BC) from La Castellina, the recently excavated, most northern harbour settlement of Caere, noticing that similar vases were exported from the latter city to Alalia and Marseille, about which cities Gran-Aymerich gives new information. Then follow three papers that can be read together. K. Pêche-Quilicini compares the affinities of artefacts from Corsica and Tuscany in the Early, Middle, Final Bronze- and the First and Second Iron Ages (ca 2000-200 BC), including possible transfers. He concludes that the Corsican analogies with Sardinian Bronze Age objects are stronger than those with Northern Etruria (see also p. 345). Using both literary and archaeological sources R. Zucca offers insight in the narrow contacts between Sardinia, Corsica and Populonia. Particularly interesting is the presence of Cypriot copper oxhide ingots (see also p. 274) on both islands showing the narrow relation between local and Mediterranean networks in the Final Bronze Age. M. Cygielmann et al. analyze the small number of contacts between Corsica and Sardinia, contrasting with the many between Sardinia and Vetulonia as well as Populonia in the 10th to 8th century BC. Organic analysis carried out by N. Garnier shows that most askoid jugs from Vetulonia contain traces of aromatics. G. Bartoloni reflects on Populonia (Poggio del Telegrafo and Poggio delle Granate), Corsica and Sardinia based on fascinating current excavations and research. A. Maggiani presents the latest on the archaeological sites on Elba in the Hellenistic period. Elba's earlier and later periods are dealt with by F. Cambi et al. S. Steingräber suggests that tombs with a false dome-shaped vault in Populonia and Northern Etruria (ca 800-575 BC) were influenced by *nuraghi* though other options are possible. M. Bonamici deals with the industry quarter in Populonia, which refined iron from Elba between ca 550 and 250 BC (for the refinement of copper (by Sardinian *Gastarbeiter*?) in the 8th century BC, see pp. 345-347). L. Alderich reconstructs the commercial contacts of Populonia, first with Southern Etruria and the islands, and later also with the Po valley, by studying the contents of tombs (made of stone slabs) in the form of sarcophagi in the necropoleis San Cerbone and *loc.* Casone (ca 600-400 BC). F. Biagi and S. Neri present the new finds from the Populonian necropolis *loc.* Ficaccio (9th to 4th century BC). The contents of inhumation tombs in *loc*. Cassone in the same area are dated by M. Milletti and F. Pitzalis to ca 320-280 BC. The anthropological and palaeopathological analyses of the Cassone skeletons made by V. Amoretti shows that the average age of men who probably worked in the iron industry was 38 ± 5 years (for a similar duration of life see L.B. van der Meer, *Myths and more*, Leuven 2004, 25). P. Giroldini presents the results of surveys in the hinterland of Populonia in the period of the 8th to 4th century BC. The plain was depopulated between ca 520 and 400 BC, probably because people went to the city in order to work in the iron industry. L. Drago focuses on Populonia's relations with Southern Etruria. She advocates the creation of region focused databanks in view of the absence of financial funds (p. 562). Using old itineraries, maps and air photographs L. Capuccini sketches with many old and new maps the *longue durée* material history of the coastal area along the Gulf of Follonica, between Piombino and the promontory of Portiglioni. A. Cherici reflects on the contents (swords, parade (not war) chariots, metal arrow heads) of warrior tombs that seem to point to an Etruscan *koinè*, at least in the 5th century BC. As for the Etruscan language, V. Belfiore deals with Pupluna, the name of Populonia (on silver coins), and E. Benelli analyzes a fragmentary inscription, possibly a *lex arae*, on a local marble slab (2nd century BC) from the acropolis of the city (see also p. 350). In my view, the lexeme *]xurnzl,* a genitive of dedication *(*tur(u/a)nz-l),* may refer to the goddess Turan. All papers are worthwhile though many lack abstracts or clear conclusions.

The *Atti* are impeccably edited (*chapeau pour Orazio Paoletti!*) with excellent bibliographies and countless good illustrations. Maps can be found on pp. 81 (the Alalia region), 279 (Corsica), 347 (Sardinia), 338 (Populonia), 537-543 (Populonia's hinterland), and 376 (Elba). Probably because of the size of the book, it does not contain debates, cross references, a general synthesis, English summaries and indices but undoubtedly, it will stimulate future multidisciplinary research. It is well worth buying at a reasonable price.

L. Bouke van der Meer

SIMONETTA BONOMI, MARTIN A. GUGGISBERG (eds), *Griechische Keramik nördlich von Etrurien: Mediterrane Importe und archäologischer Kontext.* Internationale Tagung. Basel 14.-15. Oktober 2011. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2015. 228 pp., b/w and colour ills; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-3-95490-072-5.

This book focuses on the presence of Greek vases, mainly sherds of Attic black- and red-figure vases, in the following main areas: north Italy; the Rhone valley and east France; northwest Alpine foreland, south Germany and Bohemia (see now also Database online: akne.unibas.ch.). In the Foreword the editors present

the research questions: along which routes were Greek vases imported, with what purpose, for which customers and with what kind of exchange? Which function did the imported vases fulfill and what meaning was read in their painted images? Were Greek customs adopted? The authors of the following papers do not pay attention to all these problems. S. Casini casts light upon Attic vases, mostly *kylikes*, *skyphoi* and *kantharoi*, from proto-urban Golasecca culture centers near and to the south of Como. They arrived there from Adria, later than happened elsewhere in the Po-valley around 540 BC. They are almost absent from graves. There is no evidence that the Greek symposium was imitated. M.A. Guggisberg argues that the Attic red-figure, female head vases from an elite grave and sanctuaries in the eastern Po valley and an unknown context in Istria had the same funerary and religious meanings as in Etruria. F. Wiel-Marin discusses Attic vases used by inhabitants of settlements in the provinces of Mantova and west Veneto. The import patterns differ from one river basin to another. *Kylikes* were preferred in black-figure, *skyphoi* in red-figure style. Etruscan Adria and Forcello used vases which are absent elsewhere in the east Po valley. Perhaps Forcello exported vases over the Alps. M. Bats analyses the commercial and cultural transfer of Greek vases in South Gaul between ca 660 and 400 BC. The foundation of Massalia (Marseille) around 600 BC accelerated the import of Attic vases which had been shipped together with Greek and Etruscan *amphorai*. The transfer to the hinterland, with Massalian wine amphorae, conducted in part by foreign traders, took place after ca 525 BC. Attic vases were copied into hybrid, local ware. C. Bellon studies fragments of 60 Attic and Pseudo-Attic vases at Lyons and their archaeological contexts (houses and workshops), suggesting the users drank in the Greek way. A. Tichit discusses the Attic sherds from domestic contexts in the proto-urban center and suburb of Bourges during the Halstatt D3 and the early La Tène A periods. J.-J. Maffre lists the numerous sherds of Attic vases, mostly black-figure *amphorai*, *krateres*, and *kylikes*, excavated by R. Joffrey at the foot of the *oppidum* of Vix and on nearby Mont Lassois. Their contexts, probably not graves, are unknown. Maffre suggests that wine drinking was influenced by the Greek banquet. L. Chazalon reconstructs a high quality Attic red-figure amphora from 122 fragments from near the second apsidal house on Mont Lassois. It was painted by Euthymides or his pupil, the Kleophrades Painter, around 510 BC. F. Sacchetti casts light upon on Greek, Massalian *amphorai* in Celtic princely residences on Mont Lassois in the Hallstatt period. M. Ruffieux and M. Mauvilly reflect on the Attic ceramics from a metal workshop, active around 450 BC, at Sévaz/Tudinges near Lac de Neuchatel. They suggest that smiths lived like princes. E. Böhr lists fragments of Attic drinking vases, including a black-figure amphora and krater, from the early Celtic fortifications on the Ipf and its environs. Maybe the vases arrived there via Massalia. R. Krause comments upon the spatial division of the residences on the Ipf and gives an historical interpretation based on the Mediterranean finds, particularly Greek transport *amphorai*, and forty fragments of Greek and Attic ceramics, dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BC. J. Bouzek and Marie Dufková list and discuss briefly Greek, Greek imitation, Etruscan and Phoenician imports (mostly drinking cups) and their impacts in La Tène Bohemia and Moravia in the 5th century BC. The Attic vases have the best parallels in Spina. B. Schweitzer presents an all-encompassing essay on Greek pottery in proto-urban centers of the Late Hallstatt- and Early La Tène culture to the northwest of the Alps, including Heuneburg, Hohenasperg and Mont Lassois, concluding that the Celtic world was not Hellenized. All in all, the book presents a fascinating, kaleidoscopic overview of Greek vase fragments found very far to the north of Etruria. Some general conclusions can be drawn. Greek vases, usually of mediocre quality, showing general but no specific mythological themes, were probably seen as exotic status objects as they form only a very small part of find contexts. In all regions drinking vases were very popular. Every context (mostly a settlement or house, rarely a grave or sanctuary) has its own particularities. Some imported vases may have contained Greek wine. In most cases it is unclear which kind of exchange took place. Not only the Celtic elite ('princes') but also metal workers used Greek vases. In my view, it is hard to prove that non-Greek men imitated Greek drinking practices as they probably never attended a Greek symposium. The bronze belt-buckle from tomb Carceri 48 in Este (p. 29, fig. 9) shows the contrary: a reclining man (alone!) served by a woman (!) holding a beaked jug and a cup! The book has a reasonable index. It is perfectly and abundantly illustrated. The edition is almost flawless. The caption of fig. 9 on p. 198, however, has been repeated in the main text of p. 199. The reconstruction drawing, fig. 1 on p. 114, shows two vertical lines under the horses which are not visible on the sherds. Neither they are, according to G. Jurriaans-Helle (whom I thank), visible on eighty comparable Attic *amphorai* showing the departure of a warrior and a driver standing in a chariot drawn by four horses. The book is dedicated to the memory of Brian Shefton who read a (not published) paper during the *Tagung* in 2011 but unfortunately passed away soon afterwards, in 2012. He certainly would have appreciated the quality of the papers if he could have read them.

L. Bouke van der Meer

FRIEDERIKE BUBENHEIMER-ERHART, *Die Etrusker*. Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2014. 192 pp., 120 colour ill.; 31 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-4805-8.

This beautifully illustrated book is destined for a broad public. It has no notes and indices but the excellent bibliography mentioning books, congress acts, catalogues, corpora and internet-sites (no articles) makes a good compensation. It is up to date. Even some monographs from 2014 are mentioned. Its author, Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart (FB), is well known because of her two recent monographs on the so-called Isis tomb in Vulci and the history of its discovery. The preface of the *Etrusker* has a very short introduction to the history of the Etruscans. Nine chapters deal with the discovery of the Etruscans, the relations between Etruscans and *Italici* (e.g. Sardinians), Phoenicians and Greeks (Ch. 3

and 5), the emergence of the Etruscan maritime power, the area to the north of the Arno and to the south of Tiber, the loss of power in the Mediterranean, the Etruscans and Rome, the memory of Etruria in Republican and Imperial Rome, and the legacy of the Etruscans. The appendix lists museums with Etruscan artefacts in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Each chapter has *Sonderseiten*, pages dedicated to special topics: tombs and necropoleis; houses, settlements and cities; language, writing and literature; shipping and commerce; agriculture and the exploitation of mines; temples, cultic places and sanctuaries; family, society and daily life; state, offices, law and military; religion, belief and representations of the Underworld; *Kunsthandwerk* (about the material and production of all kinds of artefacts). The chapters are interrupted by *Steckbriefe*, pages describing important persons: the wife of Larth (buried in the Regolini Galassi tomb at Caere), Macstarna (king Servius Tullius), the coroplast Vulca, Thefarie Velianas (king/praetor of Caere), Velthur Spurinna (mentioned in an *elogium* from Tarquinia dated to the period to Claudius), Larth Tetnies and Tanchvil Tarnei (the couple of the well-known Vulcian sarcophagus in Boston), Vel Saties (Tomba François at Vulci), Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa (known from her famous terracotta sarcophagus and skeleton in the British Museum), Avle (> Aule) Meteli (the so-called *Arringatore*), and Gaius Cilnius Maecenas. The splendid photographs, not only showing well-known monuments and objects but also less known artefacts in German, Austrian and Swiss museums, have captions, which mention the material, provenance and often the date of an object. The colour maps are of excellent quality.

The contents give a good all-over picture of Etruscan material and artistic culture.

I have some critical though not exhaustive comments. FB situates the beginnings of urbanism, in other words the genesis of proto-cities on the plateaux of Veii, Caere, Tarquinia and Vulci around 750 BC. (p. 40). In fact, most small settlements in Southern Etruria were abandoned around 900 BC, the beginning of the Iron Age (Villanova I) in favour of a migration to the growing urban conglomerations mentioned. FB states that orthogonal layout of founded cities like Marzabotto was influenced by Greek colonies (pp. 43, 98-100) without mentioning the typically Etruscan, non-Greek orientation of the main streets to the four cardinal points. She holds that the *Liber linteus* (with the longest Etruscan, written text) was destined for an Etruscan community living in Egypt (pp. 58, 148). This cannot be deduced from the text, which does not show any Egyptian influence. Writing and contents refer to its creation and initial use in Northern Etruria, in Perugia or Chiusi, between ca 225 and 150 BC. According to FB Capua is a complete Etruscan city in the sixth century BC (p. 106). A mixed urban population is more likely as e.g. the Tile of Capua (TC) mentions several names of Italic origin (see my article in *Studi Etruschi* 2015, 149-175). On p. 133 FB writes that the cult statue of Menerva or Juno Regina was transferred from Veii to Rome in 396 BC. Livy (5.22.3-6), however, only mentions the latter deity: *visne Romam ire, Iuno*? On p. 136 the Arringatore is dated around 100 instead of around 200 BC (see G. Colonna, *StEtr* 56, 1989-1990 [1991], 99-122.) On p. 141 FB states that we do not know whether the function of *zilath*, a kind of praetor, did exist in the period of the kings. It did, as is attested by an inscription from Rubiera dated to ca 575-550 BC. (G. Meiser, *Etruskische Texte* II (2014), 803, Pa 1.2). FB's statement that meetings in the federal Voltumna sanctuary were still held at the beginning of the 4th century AD (p. 115) cannot be proven as the famous *Rescriptum* of Hispellum (*CIL* II, 5265) does not mention Voltumna. No doubt the book will interest a large German reading audience. The back cover, written by Von Zabern, calls the Etruscans a very mysterious people. Fortunately FB does not make this false suggestion.

L. Bouke van der Meer

MARCO GIUMAN, *Archeologia dello sgardo. Fascinazione e* baskania *nel mondo classico*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2013. 185 pp., 24 pls, 24 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7689-276-9.

This well edited, erudite book focuses on the archaeology of the gaze, on fascination and enchantment in the Greek and Roman world. It casts light upon the positive and negative effects of the eye, the power of the looks of humans and mythological figures and the remedies against the *malocchio*, which was often a symbol of envy. It starts without research questions. In the Foreword Mauro Menichetti, summarizing all chapters, calls it a book on classical archaeology. However, it consists of rather associative essays in academic language that are mainly based on ancient literary sources with few references to visual representations. In a user friendly way most ancient texts are presented in the original language followed by the author's translation in Italian (with a tiny omission on p. 45). Marco Giuman quotes former publications with respect, among others W. Deonna's seminal book *Le symbolisme de l'œil* (Paris 1965). Chapter I deals with the philosophical question whether the eye is the mirror of the soul and the main source of lust. Discussed are the eye's 'effluent' and 'touching' capacities, sad Atreus' 'unavoidable, fixed eye' and Peitho's 'sweet eye.' The analysis of the role of the eye of one who falls in love and gets or makes lovesick is mainly based on Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* 5.7 and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* 3.5-19. Chapter II is also dedicated to the eye-generated birth of love, further to the threatening open eyes of a deceased. The Chapter called 'Interiectum' focuses on Medusa's petrifying eyes, in relation with petrification (Niobe) and 'de-petrification' (Deucalion and Pyrrha's stones). Chapter III analyzes stories about the intolerable gaze of deities. Chapter IV handles the phenomenon of the veiled woman, for example Medea bewitching the eyes of Talos with her hostile glance, and it throws light on other magical women. Chapter V comments on hunchbacks, horns, *phalli*, amulets and 'medical' persons protecting against the evil eye. Not all references to works of visual art are relevant. Just an example. The famous Attic volute krater of the Talos Painter (ca 400 BC; see p. 83) in Ruvo does not show Medea 'holding the fold of her purple *peplos* over her cheeks on each side' (Apollonius Rhodius 4.1659); she is wearing an Oriental dress and

cap. In addition, the dying Talos is depicted with his back turned to Medea. Functional in relation to ancient texts are several, although well-known, representations of the evil eye which is attacked by animals, fork, penis, etc. The very short iconographic appendix (on eye-cups, eyes on prows (probably apotropaic), evil eyes, charms, and *bullae*) written by Chiara Pilo does not present new insights. The bibliography has only Italianizing errors in non-Italian titles (e.g. *simbolisme* instead of French *symbolisme*). The book contains good indices of ancient proper names in Italian and of literary sources but not of themes. The black-and-white photographs are of good quality. The mainly non-archaeological book may interest classicists and students of Greek and Roman magic.

L. Bouke van der Meer

BARBARA BELELLI MARCHESINI/MARIA CRISTINA BIELLA/LAURA MARIA MICHETTI, *Il santuario di Montetosto sulla via Caere-Pyrgi.* Rome: Officina Edizioni, 2015. 227 pp., 45 pls; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-88-6049-130-5.

This book deals with an important almost square building (56 x 59.5 m) with a bipartite central courtyard, built with tufa blocks around 530-520 BC. It is situated at a distance of 150 m from a 7th century BC *tumulus*, the largest one in the Ager Caeretanus (diam. 60 m), in a locality called Montetosto. It lies 4 km to the west of Caere, along the 13 km long and ca 10 m broad road (built between ca 650 and 550 BC) from the city to the monumental harbour sanctuary in Pyrgi. It was partially and not in depth excavated by Francesca Melis under the direction of Giovanni Colonna during campaigns in 1965, 1967 and 1969. Melis' notebooks (*Taccuini*) with drawings, maps of Vincenzo Di Grazio, the master's thesis of Antonella Lalli (Sapienza University 1986), several archives and countless finds which are preserved in Rome and Cerveteri were studied to prepare the present publication. Unfortunately, the excavation diaries and the inventory lists made by Lalli got lost. The site had been disturbed since antiquity, by illegal robberies and by in-depth ploughing since the 1950s. Thousands of sherds were found scattered at surface level. After an Introduction by Colonna three of his former students give a description of the campaigns, a profound analysis of the surface architecture and a meticulous description (including the Munsell colours), classification (with useful comparanda) and dating of an impressive amount of fragmentary architectural terracottas, a selection of diagnostic sherds belonging to more than twenty types of ceramic (Greek, Etruscan and Roman), fire and light instruments, lamps, weights, votive terracottas, glass, coins, and slags. The latter point to metallurgical activities (p. 28, 138) as in Murlo and in the sanctuary of Gravisca (see L. Fiorini/M. Torelli, Quarant'anni di ricerche a Gravisca, *BABESCH* Suppl. 16, 2010, 30-31, figs 3-5). Only a few sherds date from before 530 BC. Then follows a reconstruction of the history of the complex, and its place along the road with an update on its remains. From the architectural terracottas it appears that the roof decorations underwent renovations around 480, 450, in the fourth century, and between 300 and 280 BC. By ca 100 BC or earlier (pp. 140, 142) the building lost its original function. It was converted into a Roman *villa rustica*, which functioned at least until ca 200 AD. The three appendices contain analyses of burnt wood (of an *ulmus*), a human skeleton and faunal remains (mainly *boves*). After an English summary follows the excellent bibliography. Philip Perkins' *Etruscan Bucchero in the British Museum* (London 2007), however, is missing. The black and white photographs and drawings are of good quality. The authors define the building as a sanctuary as the anterior, main part of the courtyard would have had a central altar, a feature that is absent in the comparable residential, palace-like buildings in Murlo and Acquarossa. The skeleton of a handicapped adult, probably a man, lying in the southwest corner of room H, had probably suffered from chondrodysplasy, which damages the growth of bones (pp. 150, 161-162, analysis by W. Pantano). He may have served as human sacrifice during the foundation rite of the building as happened twice in Pian di Civita at Tarquinia though future ^{14}C research (p. 144) has to confirm the date. The terracotta votive gifts, partly related to healing, date to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Colonna and others (p. 9, 147-149) suggest that the building was used for funeral offerings (*enagismos*), athletic games and horse racing in memory of the Phocaeans, who had been stoned to death by the Caeretans after the Sea Battle of Alalia in 540-535 BC (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.166-167). Colonna (p. 9, 36-37, 139) suggests that an anxious little terracotta bearded head of a black man may have belonged to an antepagmentum representing Heracles killing king Busiris and his black, Egyptian attendants as is also visible on the famous contemporary Caeretan *hydria* from Cerveteri, now in Vienna. It was Busiris' custom to sacrifice strangers on an altar. So, possibly the theme was related to the function of the building as a reminder of (and warning against?) the cruel behaviour of the Caeretans. Herodotus, however, does not mention the exact location of the stoning. So, the building may have been a residence (of the owners of the tumulus and its environment) with some religious spaces rather than a public, thoroughbred sanctuary as the theme of the lost pediment slab and the date of the skeleton are uncertain; in addition, the ex voto (pp. 126-134) are from a far later date than 530 BC. Finally, only the flat base (without photograph) of the supposed altar has been preserved. In principle it could have supported something else, a statue for example. There are some minor flaws. Part of the Italian translation of Herodotus 1.167 (p. 147) sounds: ..li condussero fuori città e li lapidarono (…the Caeretans leading the Phocaeans outside the city stoned them (Caere)). The participle *exagagontes* means leading out or away, not necessarily from a city. Strabo 5.2.3 does not say that the Caeretan *thesauros* was built after the Sea Battle as is suggested on p. 148.

A new, now in-depth excavation in and around the building, a survey of the environment, and a re-study of the *tumulus*, of probably two adjacent small ones and their contents are desirable, and possible if the land owner gives his permission. Maybe the mass grave of the hundreds of the stoned Phocaeans will turn up one day…

The three authors and contributors should be compli-

mented with their thorough analysis. Let us hope that more old, unpublished excavations will be published in the same way! The authors present hard facts about architecture and artefacts; the original function of the building, however, remains unclear. The few fragmentary Etruscan inscriptions do not cast light on it.

L. Bouke van der Meer

YASMIN OLIVIER-TROTTENBERG, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland,* Band 96, *München, Antikensammlungen, ehemals Museum Antiker Kleinkunst,* Band 17, *Etruskisch schwarzfigurige Keramik.* Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck 2014. 164 pp., 16 Appendices, 87 colour pls, 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-66656-8.

This *CVA* fascicle is dedicated to the Etruscan black-figured vases and fragments (ca 550/540-470 BC) in the Antikensammlungen in Munich, the largest collection of this type of ceramic in the world. Most of them were excavated by the two Candelori brothers in the necropoleis of Vulci (probably a few years) before 1831 (cf. F. Buranelli, *Gli scavi a Vulci della Società Vincenzo Campanari – Governo Pontificio (1835-1837)*, Rome 1991). In 1831 part of the Candelori collection in Vulci was bought by King Ludwig I of Bavaria. Few vases from other private collections entered the museum later. Most vases were published by J. Sieveking and R. Hackl (*Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München* I. *Die älteren nichtattischen Vasen,* Munich 1912, 89-156). Unfortunately, they were scattered to pieces by fire bombs at the end of World War II, and cleaned and restored from countless fragments between 2007 and 2011. Many vases, however, remain incomplete. The author of the fascicle, Y. Olivier-Trottenberg, is expert in Etruscan pottery in view of her book *Zwischen Fremdeinflüssen und Lokaltraditionen. Die Entwicklung der etruskischen Vasenmalerei zwischen dem 8. und 6. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 2005). After a rather short foreword on the history of the collection and an up-to-date bibliography she catalogues the vases of the Ivy Leaf Group, the 'Pontic' group (which includes the Paris, Amphiaraos, Silen, Heidelberger Sirens, and Tityos Painters), the Group Louvre CA 1870 and the Painter Tarquinia RC 7946, the Micali Painter and his Followers, and unclassified painters. Then follows a Caeretan hydria attributed to the Eagle Painter made by a Ionian, probably Phocaean artist in Caere. After a short up-to-date introduction of each group every vase or fragment is described, followed by a dating (mostly following earlier proposals of T. Dohrn, L. Hannestad, F. Gaultier, J.D. Beazley, and N.J. Spivey), and comments on the painter, shape, ornament and representation (with cross references). As for shape or image, the author not only mentions possible influences of imported Corinthian, Attic, East Greek, and Chalcidian vases but also points to local elements (e.g. the imitation of *bucchero* shapes), thus showing the creativity of Etruscan artists. Many vases show an eclectic approach of potters and painters. If opinions differ, for example on the attribution to a painter or the meaning of a figural scene, the author does not take sides but summarizes recent theories. The appendix lists 42 vases which were lost or destroyed in 1945. The indices include concordances, a list of provenances, i.e. collections, metrological data, technical details (finger imprints and incisions), representations (including mythological names), painters and workshops, and one unpublished inscription (a graffito) reading *mi larθia ciθeries* ('I (am) of Larth Citherie'; p. 52, pl. 21, 3; not mentioned in G. Meiser (ed.), *Etruskische Texte* 1-2, Hamburg 2014). The drawings of incisions (preliminary sketches) in the text, the section drawings of 63 vases in the *Beilagen*, and the colour plates are of excellent quality. The index of themes is not complete as concepts like *Knabenliebe*, *Liebeswerbung*, and *Symmetrie* are missing. The fascicle is a very welcome supplement to J.N. Spivey's *The Micali Painter and his Followers* (Oxford 1987). Now many of his catalogue items without inventory number have a new one and many vases unknown to him have been added. It seems that the Etruscan vases in general were cheap substitutes for imported Greek ones. The vase paintings, though of less quality than the Greek ones, are important as some may show religious (e.g. a *potnios theron* scene, pl. 13, 2) and cultic, often Dionysian activities (ivy leaf bearers, processions, dances, sacrifice) though it cannot be established that they are meant as realistic or fictive. Some scenes are humorous or parodying (p. 26, pl. 5, 2; 6, 3) or contain a possible moralistic message like 'drinking unmixed wine generates uncontrolled bowel movement' (p. 43, pl. 17, 5-6). Not all scenes can be explained (see e.g. p. 106, pl. 55, 2-4). The fascicle has few typographical errors (e.g. Cianfeoni instead of Cianferoni, p. 52). Whoever is interested in contexts, statistics, frequency of shapes, etc., should consult D. Paleothodoros, Etruscan Black-figure in Context, *Bollettino di Archeologia on line* I, special volume C/C4/2 (2010), 1-11. Olivier-Trottenberg, the technical assistants and Verlag Beck deserve full admiration for their immense and perfect job. Let us hope that in the near future, after the scientific libraries have bought the fascicle, not only the text but also the illustrations will be accessible online (cf. W. van de Put, *CVA*: a future for ideals of the past?, *Forum Archaeology* 74/III/2015 (http://farch.net)), among others because most incomplete vases and fragments are not exhibited but remain hidden in the storerooms.

L. Bouke van der Meer

ALDO PROSDOCIMI, *Le Tavole Iguvine. Preliminari all'interpretazione. La testualità: fatti e metodi. II*, II**, II***.* Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2015. 1457 pp., 24 cm. – ISBN 978-88-222-6340-7.

This impressive book consisting of three volumes is the preliminary result of Prosdocimi's almost life-long study of the seven famous, bronze Iguvine Tables. In 1984 his book *Le Tavole Iguvine* I appeared dealing with the history of the discovery near or in a closed room in the Augustan Theater of Gubbio in 1440, the editions of the tables, their material aspects, the research history, the transcription of the texts, microscopic research, including A. Maggiani's Appendix with tentative dates of those Tables that are written in the Umbrian-Etruscan alphabet (now criticized, p. 125), and, separately, excellent 1:1 black and white photographs. After 1984

Prosdocimi published a plethora of articles on the same subject. Now his second book shows countless references to, quotations from and revisions of his former publications but it is still called 'work in progress.' His approach is purely linguistic, with morphosyntactic and morpholexical analyses, very subtle internal comparisons between the Table texts and external ones with Italic, Etruscan (e.g. the *Tabula Cortonensis*) and Latin inscriptions (e.g. the *Acta Arvalia*) and texts about Roman rituals. However, the book may interest archaeologists and historians (of religion) since the Tables together not only present the longest Italic text but also form the corpus of the most complete religious (on rituals) and legal texts (on decrees and contracts between groups) of ancient Italy. As the title says, the essence of the book is about textuality: when, how and why came the texts and inscriptions into being? The ten chapters focus on the stratigraphy of the texts, the editing process, restructuring, comparisons between the Tables (IT) and Cato's *De agri cultura* 132, 134, 139-140, textual forms, prayers, style, syntax, Italic rhythm, ethnic names including the interpretation of *numne/nomne* (name), rite and sacrifice (antiquarian aspects, terminology, actions, alimentary practices), interpretation, grammar and etymology. As for the latter topic, he rejects many interpretations of words (also *realia*) that are proposed by J. Untermann in his *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*, Heidelberg 2000 (quoted as *WOU*; see pp. 1317-1419) and presents several, though not always concincing, new ones; e.g. the word *arvia* would not mean grain but entrails (pp. 774-778, 877). There is no separate text on the chronology of the Tables. L. Agostiniani, A. Calderini and R. Massarelli (*Screhto est. Lingua e scrittura degli antichi Umbri. Catalogo della mostra*. Perugia 2011, p. 22, partly based on Maggiani's proposals) date Tables III-IV (probably a diptych) to the end of the 3rd century, I and II to the its beginning, and V a 1-b 7 around 150 BC (Maggiani: end of 2nd century BC), written in the Umbrian-Etruscan, so-called national alphabet, from right to left, and Tables V b 8-18, VI and VII to the beginning of the 1st century BC, written in the Latin-Umbrian alphabet, from left to right. As for the short 'Umbrian' Table I- and the long 'Latin' Table VI-texts with comparable contents, so far presumed to be successive in time, Prosdocimi holds that both alphabets were coexistent in the first half of the 2nd century BC and that there must have been an archetype (called ω) from which a lost, restructured Latin alphabet version *L derived or to which it was identical which, in its turn, was inscribed (version L) at the end of the 2nd century BC, certainly, on the grounds of changes in Latin spelling, before ca 100 BC (pp. 113, 177). The Table I text (called version U) is, in his opinion, the abbreviated version of *L, albeit with innovations. Interestingly, it ends with the name of a *kvestur*, whilst Table VI does not mention him. This may be due to politics (a wish to preserve the Iguvine identity under Roman rule?). As for the latter text, Prosdocimi argues, using phonetic and graphic arguments, especially the correction of letters in version L, e.g. the change from letter *-a* to *-u*, that text *L was restructured. The *piaculum* (expiation) was structured according to that of the *lustratio* (purification). Cato who wrote around 160 BC also mentions the sequence of *piaculum - lustratio*, be it in a private ritual. This similarity does not point to mutual influences but to a common Italic custom. Who browses Prosdocimi's book, will discover that he dates the genesis of version *L and version U around 167 BC (pp. 148, 1038, 1042, 1052), when Iguvium adopted the Latin alphabet and got its urban character. He argues as follows: Table Ib 15-18 and VIb 52-55 mention the banishment of those who belong to the community (*tuta*) and *tribus* (*trefi*) of Tadinum, the Etruscan, the Naharkan, and Ia(z)puzkan 'names' (peoples) before the *lustratio* takes place. He holds that they were not enemies as is usually supposed but guests who were not allowed to participate in the religious rite (p. 1038). He presumes that the Ia(z)pyzkans (*Iapodes) were Illyrian pirates who had migrated to Umbria. Their king Gentius stayed at Gubbio in 167 BC (see *PW* VII, cc 1198-1201). As for the identity of the Ia(z)pyzkans and of the Naharkans (Sabines or Umbrians?), however, there is no *communis opinio*. In addition, Rome first interned Gentius in Spoletum, whose inhabitants did not want him, and thereafter in Iguvium. This means that Gentius was not a guest but a prisoner of war; by implication the Illyrians may have been enemies of Iguvium. Therefore, the genesis of U and *L around 167 BC is not certain. In addition, recent archaeological research seems to indicate that Gubbio had already city walls and gates around 200 BC. See S. Sisani's not mentioned article: Gubbio: nuove riflessioni sulle forme urbane, *AC* 61 (2010) 75-134; for a 4th century BC date, see D. Manconi (ed.), *Gubbio. Scavi e nuove ricerche* 1. *Gli ultimi rinvenimenti*. Città di Castello, 2008. Another Umbrian city, Assisi, seems to have had an inscribed gate (*vera*) already around 250 BC (see L. Agosinini et al. (see above), pp. 46-48). These archaeological and epigraphical data are important as Tables I and VI mention the three gates of Gubbio, in front and behind of which *piaculum* sacrifices had to take place. Prosdicimi translates the words *tra sate/tra sa(ha)ta* in Table I and VI as Latin *trans sancta* as some Latin authors write that city walls were sacred (pp. 378-382). Although some Tables mention only the Atiedian Brethrern as ritual organizers and other Tables the same college and urban authorities, or only urban authorities (p. 10), it remains difficult to distinguish between a pre-urban and an urban phase of Iguvium, among others because bronze coins, influenced by Etruscan coins from the Arezzo-Cortona-Chiusi area, minted at Gubbio (with an inscription in Umbrian alphabet: *ikuvins* or *ikuvini* (probably adjectives of *nummus*)) can be dated to the 3rd century BC. These coins, not influenced by Rome though Gubbio was in Roman hands after the Battle of Sentinum (295 BC), may testify to the existence of an urban phase already before ca 200 BC. The 'underground' influence of Rome in Gubbio after 295 BC is evident in the text of Tables III-IV in which Prosdocimi recognizes some words of Latin origin (pp. 127-130). Incidentally the letter b, not used in Etruria, is present instead of the p. Prosdocimi convincingly shows that the ritual texts do not always pre- or describe a linear sequence of actions. There are anticipations like that in Table III, 3 (*huntak vuke prumu pehatu* ('the *huntak* (an earthen vase?) in the grove first purify!'), before the procession had to depart via the field (*arva*) to the grove (*vuku* (Latin *lucus*)). Apart from Prosdocimi's hypothetical archetype, which he also mentions cor-

pus, that is the total of experiences (orality, participation, 'aurality') of the commissioner, scribe or engraver, the question arises how old the religious rituals were before they were codified. The author translates the word *puplu/poplo* as army as it lost its meaning as people in Rome after ca 500 BC (p. 510). This does not, however, suffice to prove that the religious ritual/military rituals were already performed in the 6th century BC. Most interesting, in my opinion, is a boundary *cippus* at Gualdo Tadino from the 4th century BC reading: *…/…tarina[t-?-] / ei tuce st[ahu-?-]* (' … the Tadinum-(community) / here I publicly (*tuce* < **tutce*) stand'), not mentioned by Prosdocimi (see L. Agostiniani et al., pp. 54-55). Boundaries play an important role in the Tables. So, it is possible that the Umbrian rituals were already enacted two or three centuries before they were incised on the Tables. In addition, the phenomenon of alliteration in the Table texts is already present in a Picene inscription from the 5th century BC (p. 950). Prosdocimi's statement (p. 354) that ritual texts are not a codification of existing rites but were created to be performed, is questionable. His book is a well edited, in depth study of high standards but written in a not very accessible, specialist, academic language, with the irritating didactic intention to render important concepts in capital letters. Unfortunately, the book has no general conclusions and indexes.

It is a pity that there are no separate comments on the Indo-European, Italic (*Italicità*) and Roman features (*Romanità*) of the Table texts. The bibliography hardly mentions publications after 2009 like for example M. Weiss' important and readable *Language and Ritual in Sabellic Italy. The Ritual Complex of the Third and Fourth Tabulae Iguvinae* (Leiden 2010). Let us hope that similar comments on and translations of the other Tables will follow.

L. Bouke van der Meer

SIGRID DE JONG, *Rediscovering Architecture. Paestum in the Eighteenth-Century Architectural Experience and Theory*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014. VII, 353 pp., 181 figs; 27.3 cm. – ISBN 978-0-300-19575-0.

This book forms the reworked version of De Jong's Leiden PhD dissertation of 2010. It does not expand on Joselita Raspi Serra's path-breaking studies of the 1980s on the discoveries of Paestum in the middle of the 18th century, although De Jong starts with that moment. She uses Paestum as a starting point for a study on architectural theory inspired by the three Doric temples, built between 560 and 460. The temples were not absolutely beautiful, for their roughness (building material, 'primitive', supposedly unharmonious forms, ruinous state, loneliness in landscape) made them ugly.

Part I is on 'Aesthetic Experiences.' Chapter 1 discusses the notion of the sublime, evoked by greatness as well as ugliness and/or horror. The theories on this emotional notion start with *Peri hypsous* by pseudo-Longinus (1st century BC) and expanded in Europe thanks to the French translation followed by an essay by Boileau (1671). In 1757 Edmund Burke added a philosophical dimension in a widely read treatise and gradually personal feelings shared the intellectual approach. Feelings of both 'terror' and 'grandeur' were aroused by the unfinished and imperfect buildings - see Blondel's 'architecture terrible.' Architecture became a vehicle to evoke emotions, maybe still more than painting. De Jong starts with an analysis of travel accounts, mainly those of architects. Some did not understand the function of the temples, but were impressed by their 'masculinity' (Vitruvian male order, perhaps) as an expression of the sublime. The travelling to the remote place formed an important element in conveying the peculiar emotions. Chapter 2 turns to the 'picturesque' and its connection with Paestan architecture and the rendering of (ancient ruined) architecture in the arts. This topic is not only relevant for the sake of the depiction of (grand) architecture, it also tackles the mental approach of these buildings. A certain degree of decay, which provoked asymmetry, would enhance the picturesque, while a complete building was deemed to be too beautiful and harmonious. Although many grand-tourists associated Greekness with perfection, harmony, and smoothness, the opposite was required to make a building picturesque. A certain distance from a monument or a possibility to approach it from afar was a further quality of the picturesque, involving movement as a 'device' to contemplate the building. As a result, the picturesque implied as it were a two-dimensional view of architecture, that of depicting a building in an image. The importance of movement is worked out in Part II, 'Experiences of Movement'. Chapter 3 described the physical experience of 'Entering Ruins.' De Jong starts with Diderot's analysis of ruin vistas by Hubert Robert shown in the Salons at Paris, which brought him into a state of emotion not experienced previously, that of dreaming within the painting. Others like Volney and Gibbon were inspired by real ruins seen *in situ* to write their works. The architect John Soane fancied about ruins of his own constructions, e.g. that of the Bank of England. As to the temples in Paestum, in 1760, the same Robert was the first foreigner to depict them (p. 114) and he stressed their rustic character by including local shepherds and peasants rather than visitors in his sketches. Moving inside the temples and between the columns rendered them more familiar and understandable to the visitors and provoked other affections than the sublime or picturesque, mainly that of empathy with the 'life' of the temples.

Part III is on 'Contextualising Experiences', starting with a chapter on architecture's presumed roots. The temples' rusticity stimulated architects to formulate theories about the origins of architecture. Following theories on 'primitivism' and the origins of culture by Shaftesbury and Rousseau, architects 'reinvented' the original hut or tent, with vertical poles supporting a roof, which would be the predecessors of the columns. According to Laugier's 1753 idea, the wooden hut was man's oldest construction, when he endured his most intelligent phase. Chambers saw the hut as the first step in building development. Paestum's role in this discourse was its presumed old age and, again, the rough outlook the temples had. The absence of bases in the Doric order enhanced this suggestion of primitive and rustic character. Again De Jong breaks new

grounds, since she is among the first scholars to connect the primitivism concept with architecture. Some observations are made on the theatrical character of the temples (chapter 4) and the use of motifs taken from them within stage sets in opera.

In chapter 6 the temples are discussed as (im)possible examples for modern building. Some saw them only as sources of inspiration for 'heavy' and sober buildings like prisons, others as examples for modern pendants of the temples. The baseless column could enlarge a serious and classicistic atmosphere. Piranesi, however, found the unadorned monuments too hard and advocated the insertion of decorative motifs in new buildings. Others only admired the temples as historical buildings. For the English architect Wilkins the 'Neptune' temple was the only purely 'Grecian' monument, which thanks to that could demonstrate the quality of genuine Greek architecture for modern architects. Like others he tried to place the monument within the history of Greek architecture and saw connections, e.g. concerning proportions, with the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem (figs 164-165), like Paestum seen as one of the oldest temples known in history. A brief section is dedicated to cork models which had the advantage of giving a spatial reflection of the buildings and therefore could even be sufficient as study material for them who could not travel.

The book provides many possibilities for scholars in reception studies as well as archaeology and architecture to elaborate new ideas on other monuments as well. Paestum apparently offers a wide array of approaches, which other important antique monuments might stimulate likewise: historicisation, adaption in modern times, emotional reactions, and fodder for philosophical treatises. The literary dimension of poems and prose sketches might be added to these ways of looking at the still impressive monumental temples that have made Paestum so famous. The work is wonderfully edited and richly illustrated, and contains many never published documents, especially those of French architects. All quotations from languages other than English are given in good translations and the original texts are included in the notes. The bibliography is vast.

Eric M. Moormann

KLAUS FITTSCHEN/PAUL ZANKER, *Katalog der Römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen Kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* IV. *Kinderbildnisse. Nachträge zu Band I-III. Neuzeitliche oder neuzeitlich verfälschte Bildnisse. Bildnisse an Reliefdenkmälern.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2014. 2 vols, pp. xiv, 200; 176 pls and 22 appendices; 35 cm. (Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 6). – ISBN 978-3-11-035362-4.

There are few museum catalogues that have acquired the status of reference works or handbooks, since they offer descriptions of various classes of objects, mostly out of context, and as such interesting, but not valuable as everlasting descriptions. A clear exception to this rule is the series of Fittschen's and Zanker's portrait catalogues of the great communal collections in Rome, which started with volume III in 1983 (empresses and princesses), followed by I in 1985 (emperors and princes) and II in 2010 (male portraits other than emperors, edited with P. Cain; see in this volume R. de Kind, pp. 270-272) and is now completed with IV (children and addenda). The high standard of descriptions and analyses (including lists of copies and variations of the various portrait types) and the rich apparatus of illustrations have made them indispensable for the study of Roman portraits between ca 100 BC and AD 400. This fourth volume was written by Fittschen only, who, however, maintains the well-known combined reference to him and Zanker because of the reference name of the series. Therefore, the preface and the entries are written in first person.

The main bulk consists of 55 children's portraits (cat. 1-45, with some subsidiary numbers), which poses various problems. First of all, we have to distinguish the individuals according to their age, which is not always very easy. Fittschen does not exactly define which age a 'child' would have. Arbitrarily, a couple of portraits might belong to the category of adult persons (e.g. cat. 1, 9, 22, 27, 36, 45) looking older than children. Cat. 26 and 43 show boys of approx. 15-20 years, which in Rome is the beginning of adult age, including military service (see p. 28 notes 8-9; p. 47). Secondly, small children look more or less the same and the analysis of these portraits is far from easy. Sometimes it is difficult to establish the gender of the person portrayed (cat. 1a: boy rather than a girl?), while various heads might be 'ideal' or mythical figures (see p. 7 ad cat. 6) or belonging to genre figures (cat. 23-24). Therefore, the chronology of these portraits mainly relies on style rather than shape of face and other facial peculiarities, as well as the shape of busts. The reworking of some pieces also makes the interpretation and chronology still more difficult (e.g. cat. 18-19). Fittschen rejects the traditional interpretation of the snake strangling Herakliskos as Caracalla (cat. 29) and sees the statue as an unknown boy of the Severan era. Some children show a sad face, connected with the fact that they were struck by *mors immatura* (e.g. cat. 12, p. 11; cat. 12a, p. 13). In some cases this might be a modern interpretation and a sort of (quasi-) psychological reading, e.g as to cat. 25a, whose face would show a pessimistic mien, which I fail to recognize.

Among the addenda (cat. 46-72) the large head of Constantine found in the sewer of the Forum of Trajan in 2005 forms the most spectacular piece (cat. 50a). It was on view in various exhibitions and is on display in the Mercati Traianei. Like other portraits of this emperor it is a product of reworking on which the debate has concentrated: who was the previous emperor (we may suppose that it was an emperor thanks to the huge format). Fittschen does not accept Zanker's suggestion of two phases (Julio-Claudian emperor and Licinius) and recognizes Licinius only. We miss in this section the fragmentarily preserved colossal standing Augustus from the Forum Augustum, but since no part of the head has been preserved, this might be the reason to leave it out. Further additions include busts of Trajan and Hadrian usually seen as post-antique works, but

now convincingly attributed to the Roman era (cat. 47-48) as well as works previously held for not ancient sculptures (e.g. relief head cat. 54). As Fittschen makes clear, he and Zanker had excluded some of them for this reason. From one of the 'anderen kommunalen Sammlungen Roms' is a seated *togatus* in the Dutch Institute with a late third-century head (cat. 62). No objects *in situ* are added.

A new section is that on post-antique and heavily reworked antique portraits (cat. 73-96). I am not sure whether this section is exhaustive and unfortunately Fittschen does not say anything to that matter. But, as always, the items themselves are very instructive for those who have to describe similar objects in other collections.

An original addition to the quite canonical portrait catalogue is the modestly labelled 'Anhang', a long section on portraits on reliefs, mainly funerary monuments like altars, urns, loculus slabs, and sarcophagi, but also architectural sculpture and votive reliefs (cat. 97-200). Cat. 97, a late third-century portrait, has a protrusion on the back, for which reason Fittschen attributes it to a *clipeus* relief (with question mark). Indeed, despite the three-dimensional front and sides, the piece must have formed part of a relief, but rather than a usually flatter *clipeus* relief one might think of the keystone of an arch as part of an arcade adorned with busts. Note the heavy block-like protrusion in the nape. Fittschen could not take into account the first monograph on portraits on sarcophagi by Stine Birk (*Depicting the Dead. Self-representation and Commemoration on Roman sarcophagi with Portraits*, Aarhus 2013; cf. review by Katharina Meinecke, *JRA* 28, 2015, 605-609). Personally, I find one of the most appealing monuments the funerary altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (cat. 152), aptly defined as a 'Wunderkind', who composed a Greek poem on Phaeton, reproduced on the monument.

In sum, these few remarks only want to stress the importance of the catalogue and we can be sure that the set of four volumes will remain the basis for further studies on portraits. The edition is handsome and keeps the high standards of the previous volumes.

Eric M. Moormann

VIBEKE GOLDBECK, *Fora augusta: das Augustusforum und seine Rezeption im Westen des Imperium Romanum*. Regensburg: Verlag Schnell et Steiner, 2015. 268 pp., figs 250; 28.5 cm (Eikoniká 5). – ISBN 978-3795428785.

This splendidly edited book is a reworked version of Goldbeck's 2007 PhD dissertation, defended in Freiburg. It investigates Augustus' Forum Augustum as a possible example or source of inspiration for fora or forum-like complexes throughout the Roman Empire. The study consists of five parts (A-E) some of which contain various chapters. Part A defines the questions researched in the book. Part B gives a succinct but very clear description and analysis of the Augustan forum in Rome itself, which serves as a starting point for the descriptions and analyses of imitating complexes in the subsequent chapters. Goldbeck refers to the most recent discoveries, e.g. the two exedras in the southern part of the forum, probably demolished when the Forum Transitorium was constructed, although their existence is doubted in still more recent studies (p. 23). The chapter provides an up-to-date account of the things to be known about the forum and can therefore serve as an excellent basis for further research on the forum itself. The author has read all relevant scholarly publications and assesses the most important conclusion made out of this bulk of readings.

In the first chapter of Part C (p. 51: 'Hauptteil der Arbeit'), she discusses possible traces of the Forum Augustum in Rome itself, whereby various cases suggested previously show little reminiscences. As a matter of fact, the reviewer is only convinced by a direct relationship on the Forum of Trajan, where various similar features (e.g. *exedrae*, attica with barbarians in function and position as the caryatids, etc.) can be recognized. The same relative weakness of comparison is true for the Roman towns in central Italy (i.c. Arezzo, Cuma, Ostia, Pompeii, Pozzuoli), subject of C.2.

Chapter C III on the provinces in the Spanish peninsula presents the most rewarding set of cases, since it contains the stupendous case of Emerita Augusta, modern Mérida (erroneously Merida throughout the book) where sculptural elements of the décor of the Foro de Marmol' were recognized by Maria Floriani Squarciapino in the 1970s as copies of figures from the Forum Augustum. Goldbeck makes clear that there are some conspicuous differences between Rome and Mérida, partly due to the placement of the forum within the grid-shaped town (esp. absence of absidal exedrae), partly on the basis of other factors, so that this complex is - like most others - an example of 'Umbildung' rather than copying. A problem is the chronology of these interventions, for which the Julio-Claudian and Flavian era have been proposed. Goldbeck prefers a Claudian or Neronian date and points at the workmanship of artists who also worked in Baiae. Although I agree with her, I am not convinced by her argument that a complete take-over of an Augustan programme as well as precisely copying of elements of the Forum Augustum were not envisaged (p. 79): this cannot be used as a sound argument to reject a Flavian dating.

The question of chronology is also problematic in other cases. The reference to the Forum Augustum in Córdoba should be of the same, late Julio-Claudian era rather than Tiberian, while both the Tiberian and Flavian dates proposed for Italica should make place for a Claudian-Neronian dating. In her conclusion regarding Spain Goldbeck notes the great interest in the evocation of the *clipei*, which was also the case in other areas. The statuary groups of Aeneas and Romulus occur three times.

Chapter C IV is dedicated to France and Switzerland, with five cases, in which the *protomi* of Ammon and Medusa are the best recognizable elements. The same is true for the 'Nordadriatikum' of Chapter C V, with Aquileia and neighboring towns. In northern Africa we only have Severan remembrances on the Severan Forum of Leptis Magna, where, however, the insertion of the heads in a different architectural setting should warn us against a too enthusiastic parallelism (Chapter C VI). Again, in the Adriatic area the motif of Ammon

and Medusa heads used in various positions, e.g. as basis or on top of the columns of the second storey of porticoes, dominates the imitation. There are many quibbles about chronology and Vibeck most often succeeds in proposing new or confirming existing dates. As she also states, it is sad that we have to rely on this not rarely subjective dating tool (which sometimes leads to lengthy discussions of stylistic features of single reliefs), but when inscriptions and excavation data are absent, the scholar has no other choice. She is right to tame the stress on interventions by the emperors themselves on these local buildings by local scholars (p. 139, repeated in part D, e.g. on p. 150).

The 'Auswertung' (part D) brings together the results of the many local explorations - for which we should praise Vibeck because of her profound knowledge of many mostly local and difficultly reachable publications, listed in useful bibliographies (pp. 173-189). The questions put in the introduction now return with possible answers: where (western part of the Roman empire), who (local elites, connected with Rome), what (never entire Forum Augustum, but motifs, mainly the Ammon and Medusa *protomi*), when (mainly third quarter of 1st century AD), and why (relationship with local elites and the central power, not an order of the emperor). Part E contains a table of all cases, summaries in German, English and Italian, bibliographies and a good Index. The lavish set of figures contains almost all elements discussed, so that the reader can closely follow Vibeck's argumentations on style and iconography.

In conclusion, the 'Rezeption' of the title is less clear and pronounced than some readers would expect, especially when they think of Mérida, the most spectacular case of variation we know. We may thank Goldbeck for this rich and thought-provoking study, relevant for historical and archaeological studies on the relationship with Rome (and its emperors) and the provincial urban centers.

Eric M. Moormann

JANET HUSKINSON, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi. Art & Social History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. XVI, 349 pp., num. ills, 25 cm. – ISBN 976-0-19-920324-6.

One of the largest groups of Roman marble sarcophagi is that adorned with curved flutings, usually called *strigiles* like the iron implements used by ancient athletes to scrub their bodies. Strigils may cover the whole surface, the front and/or sides, and be enriched with figural panels. The sarcophagi have various shapes, usually that of rectangular cases, but also of bathtubs (*lenoi*) or chests. Although they may not appeal as much as sarcophagi with figural friezes on the front, Huskinson makes clear that the strigillated sarcophagi are worth to be studied, or, as she argues, 'to celebrate their virtues' (p. V). Huskinson, a great expert on Roman funerary art, makes clear in the introductory chapters that she does not present a corpus, but addresses questions like production, commission, use and reuse, symbolism of the motif and figural themes, and the (surprisingly rich) afterlife. The 'symbolism' (p. 8) of the curvilinear flutings is not fully clear: either as an architectural devise, or a reflection of nature, especially water, and in sense of eschatology, it may have been polysemic. Huskinson observes a long duration of the motif, from the early second century up to the fifth century, while the chronology is difficult to establish unless with the usual suspects like style, inscriptions (rare), and iconography.

Part I is on production, use, and viewing. Huskinson does not recognise specific workshops, but there could have been specific strigil carvers, since these display marked differences throughout the corpus. We should take into account the presence of colour specialist: some sarcophagi have marks of gilding, others of different colours. If gold was really meant, the mentioned water symbolism is not very likely. Blue is a colour encountered on depictions of water and metal objects in figural scenes. It remains a matter of debate how far commissioners influenced the shaping of the chests: did they buy prefab objects or order specific forms and iconographic themes like portraits? Even unfinished sarcophagi with unworked portrait heads were used. Neither portraits nor iconography are secure indications of the commissioners' status. Some inscriptions include information on the deceased's status, and from these indications she concludes that strigillated chests were used in all societal classes except for slaves. Chapter 4 is on context, i.e. the graves, in which they were placed. Since most chest are out of context, Huskinson discusses a few clear cases from Rome and Ostia. The tombs discussed have strigillated sarcophagi in various positions, both as primary and secondary objects. It is difficult to establish a common rule, but Huskinson convincingly argues that these sarcophagi were no poor and/or secondary stuff. In chapters 5 and 6 the decorations are subject of analysis. Myths appear from around 160, while portraits (most of them in *clipei*) become a constant item from the late second century onward. Private life and symbolic figures like Muses, philosophers, *orantes*, and the like enrich the repertoire during the third and fourth centuries, while Christian themes are present from the late third century onwards. Narratives are depicted in a synoptic form by two or three figures. Chapter 6 concentrates on the difficult issue of viewing. Huskinson compares the fields with figural themes amidst strigils with myth panels in wall painting (p. 106), which sounds logical, but in the period the strigillated sarcophagi came into being this sort of mural decorations did no longer exist.

The second part on representations starts with chapter 7 on portraits and private life scenes. People could be portrayed as learned, culturally developed, and socially well-placed, according to notions popular in the 3rd and early 4th century. Women were represented in the same way as men, with similar dresses and other iconographic accoutrements, and might be more 'important' in society than previously (pp. 142-143). *Consecratio in formam deorum* is rare in comparison with frieze sarcophagi; Huskinson does not discuss this absence, but one may assume that the abbreviated format is less apt for suchlike narratives. As to myth (chapter 8), Huskinson stresses its minor position and its limited repertoire on strigillated sarcophagi. Even Dionysus was rare. The themes reflect love, heroism, life, and respire an optimistic attitude (p. 160). Aspects like gender and expres-

sion of private life via myths are briefly discussed. Whether these sarcophagi reflect personal religious feelings, remains an unanswerable question. Chapter 9 is on the already mentioned 'symbolic' figures. A good discussion is dedicated to the polysemic nature of the Good Shepherd theme, that *per se* is not absolutely Christian and can express idyllic life. Some samples of Christian sarcophagi are analysed in order to establish the change from pagan to Christian funerary representation. The three tables 9.1-3 do nothing more than list these sarcophagi and are not very illustrative. Chapter 10 focuses on Christian sarcophagi, which were clearly used by the higher classes of Roman society and start in the late third century. Rescue and healing scenes from Old and New Testament as well the life of St Peter now are the main set of themes. There follows a brief chapter 11 on Jewish sarcophagi which bear no images but are recognizable thanks to inscriptions or their position within Jewish sections of catacombs in Rome.

Part III is on reception. Ancient strigillated sarcophagi could be reused (from the late 4th century onwards) or the motif of the strigils was imitated in later art. Huskinson takes up ideas proffered by S. Settis and comes to highly interesting findings. She supposes that their simple decoration met with a greater approval than fully carved chests, but this argument can only be proved by statistic research. A very nice example of relatively recent date is a sarcophagus with Orpheus as the final resting place for the Roman poet Trilussa (fig. 13.6). Regarding the adaptation of the strigil motif Huskinson provides striking examples up to a wooden chair by the English architect Thomas Hope (fig. 14.6).

There is a certain degree of repetition of observations due to the fact that the same topics are addressed from different optics (e.g. Good Shepherd in chapters 9 and 10). It is no great nuisance - in fact only for those who read the book from cover to cover - and may even be seen as a good service to those who want to consult specific sections only. Yet some more cross referencing might have helped to shorten the longish text. A reader looking for a specific sarcophagus cannot find that object easily, since the index lacks references to museums and other locations. The illustrations are well-chosen and give a good idea of the wide variety of what seems a dull class of sarcophagi. Huskinson has done a very good job with revealing their richness and importance for our knowledge of Roman funerary art.

Eric M. Moormann

STEPHAN LEHMANN (ed.), *Authentizität und Originalität antiker Bronzebildnisse: ein gefälschtes Augustusbildnis, seine Voraussetzungen und sein Umfeld / Authenticity and originality of ancient bronze portraits: a forged portrait of Augustus, its prerequisites, and its surroundings*. Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2015. 260 pp., num. ills, 28.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3954981830.

This book is the result of a round table accompanying an exhibition organized in 2014 by the Archaeological Institute of the University of Halle-Wittenberg in Halle. The pieces on show are illustrated in a brief catalogue, superbly presented with good descriptions and photographs. Many heads at first sight might be genuine and sometimes unique examples of Roman bronze art. In the two introductory texts and the eleven papers various of these works are discussed more extensively. All texts are both in English and German, which makes the book more accessible to a wide public, including art dealers, which is relevant, since German unfortunately no longer is read by every classical archaeologist. The organizer of exhibition and round table is Stephan Lehmann, who has developed a great expertise in Roman art and the problems of forgeries. Starting points were a bronze Alexander exposed in 2000 in the Winckelmann Museum in Stendal as master piece of an Alexander exhibition and vanished afterwards, and the 'Augustus Arete'. The genuineness (or not) of the Alexander aroused fierce debates in public press and scientific circles kindled by Lehmann's denunciation.

The book opens with the story of the 'Augustus Arete' by its owner, Hans Humbel of Arete Art Gallery in Zurich, who tells about acquisition, discovery of the forgery, and his wish that this sort of works become better known to avoid further activities of forgers like that of his head. Lehmann sketches the difficulty of detecting forgeries made by increasingly skilled people. The increased knowledge of ancient techniques and alloy compositions has not only positive outcomes for archaeological research on metal objects, but 'helps' forgers to produce almost perfect falsifications. We need traditional archaeological knowledge about style, iconography, and typology, next to scientific analyses of material and making process, but these methods should not be mixed up. Especially bronze portraits include an increasing number of false pieces; Lehmann gives the number of more than thirty bronzes on the art market from the 1990s onwards, while since long some 200 genuine pieces have been known. Lehmann sketches reasons of the greed for bronze, e.g. the spectacular finds like the portrait gallery of Bubon. He reminds us of the demand of statues in the Roman empire (e.g. Apollo sauroktonos in Cleveland: original of Praxiteles, Roman copy, or modern forgery?), medieval reproductions (Lupa capitolina) as well as (post) Renaissance search for art works, which still in recent years has led to sky-high prices for what were probably forgeries.

The first section is on aesthetic and art history approaches. Jens Kulenkampff discusses the terms original, copy, and forgery/fake and their implications, that is the relevance of distinctions: he gives either side, pro and contra, good arguments, but finally he stresses the importance of recognizing the original as the main object of research and aesthetics. Fakes clearly originate from commercial grounds only. Some of these remarks match those in S. Settis (ed.), *Serial/Portable Classics*, Milan 2015. Like Kulenkampff Pascal Weitmann departs from Walter Benjamin's essay on the relationship between reproduction and original to explain the production of modern copies of old masterpieces. He concentrates on ways of looking at the importance of originality with examples throughout the history of western art. The valorization of original, copy, and fake depends on normative thinking.

The second part is on the forgeries of Roman portraits from an archaeological view. Lehmann zooms in on the

'Augustus Arete' which on the basis of eclectic use of hair motifs and some 'Ungereimtheiten' should be a fake, as seen from the archaeological method. The same is true for the 'Alexander Stendal', which looks superbly fine, but results to be the product of forgery like some more pieces (here cat. 8-10) stemming from the 'berüchtigten' art dealer Robin Symes. The lack of good provenance, their sudden appearance on the market, and the absence of metallurgic tests are among the points to assume one common modern workshop, called the 'Spanischer Meister', which used old pieces, with 'good' alloys. Lehmann's investigations of these pieces met with opposition of various museum directors and researchers. The dealer did not dare to enter this debate…

The archaeometrical aspect is addressed in section three and starts with a brief history of this matter and its introduction into the world of classical archaeology by Dagmar Stutzinger. Uwe Peltz investigates the tradition of duplication, replication, and remake of objects from the Bronze Age onwards. Sometimes old techniques or damages were 'reproduced' in reproductions. The latter could be new productions at the same time, being made in the same cire-perdue method, with the use of a mould: even a modern copy of an old bronze made in this way is a 'Neuschöpfung'. Like Lehmann Peltz observes that the increasing knowledge of ancient techniques facilitates the production of fakes and makes more difficult the demasqué of these pieces. Harald Müller's scientific analysis of the 'Augustus Arete' is a good example of the indispensable analysis to test genuineness of a 'new' piece. While the alloy might be antique, there are other indications to define the figure as a forgery. The same features were found in a head from Basle.

The fourth section focuses on the juridical implications of denouncing forgery. Simon Alexander Lück asks how scholars may proceed with the discovery of forgery without being sued by the afflicted party and starts from Lehmann's experiences described in Lehmann's introduction. Finally, Sönje Storm summarises the conspicuous number of press releases on the 'Alexander Stendal' question. These two sections are very much connected with the editor's work and view and therefore less generally applicable in the all-over discussion of the theme of forgery. The book clearly shows how important this matter is for many people involved: commercial parties, museum directors, and scholarly archaeologists.

Eric M. Moormann

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati, Roma 1767. Text*. Herausgegeben von Adolf H. Borbein und Max Kunze. Bearbeitet von Max Kunze und Axel Rügler. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern-Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011. XXXII, 622 pp., ills; 27 cm (Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Schriften und Nachlass 6, 1) – ISBN 978-3-8053-4193-6.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati, Roma 1767. Kommentar*. Herausgegeben von Adolf H. Borbein und Max Kunze. Bearbeitet von Balbina Bäbler, Lilian Balensiefen, Eva Hofstetter, Brice Maucolin, Max Kunze und Axel Rügler. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern-Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2015. 835 pp., 523 figs, 27 cm (Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Schriften und Nachlass 6, 2) – ISBN 978-3-8053-4889-8.

Winckelmann's last published work is probably also the less known study the father of archaeology wrote. He published it privately in 1767 and hoped to gain profit by selling the 630 copies to wealthy amateurs and inserted many plates ('Kupfer') to make the work more attractive for book collectors. Until his death some 200 copies were sold only. The two large-folio volumes contained 128 plates with 208 incisions, plus a number of vignettes described separately by Winckelmann, so that the *Monumenti* really formed a precious and monumental work of printing art. In the early 19th century there were reprints and translations into French and German; the latter texts are used to facilitate reading for those who have no command of the original Italian language.

The text volume, already published in 2011, starts with a brief introduction by Max Kunze, who sketches the difficult five years of genesis of the work, including quarrels with the artist Giovanni Battista Casanova, who after several preliminary works quitted the project and left Winckelmann also with some forgeries included in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* from 1764. Therefore, all drawings made had to be thoroughly checked and a new draughtsman was to be found. Various candidates came to the fore, but none was Casanova's real successor. The stylistic differences between the plates - printed next to the texts and accompanied by modern photographs of the described objects - can be explained by the diversity of these artists.

The *Monumenti* focus on newly found or badly interpreted works of ancient art. In the preface Winckelmann makes clear that iconography of Greek myth, especially the Trojan cycle and Odysseus, and ancient history are his main topics, often misunderstood by other scholars and therefore to be re-read; he excludes imperial monuments as well as coins. Winckelmann criticizes the historical interpretation of many scenes which, indeed, are purely mythical subjects, sometimes to be considered as allegories. It is no wonder to find relatively many works in the collection of the dedicatee of the work, Winckelmann's employer Cardinal Alessandro Albani. The 'Trattato preliminare' contains an abbreviated version of his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* and expands on it in some aspects, mainly focusing on the art of 'design' or 'Entwurf'. As to the Egyptian art, Winckelmann distinguishes genuine and egyptianizing works and often refers to material from the Iseum Campense and Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli. Some Herculaneum paintings are also connected with an Egyptian manner of representation. In time, Egypt is followed by Etruria, and in this section the Greek, traditionally called 'Etruscan' pottery gets its right place. The lion's share is dedicated to Greek art. Rome is the culprit of the art's decline in both Greece and

Egypt, although in the imperial era good pieces were still being made. The 'Monumenti' themselves are arranged according to a thematic stemma in four groups: gods, mythical heroes before and during the Trojan War, history (mainly portraits) and antiquarian themes. With this arrangement the work stands in the antiquarian tradition of taxonomy, viz. treatment of archaeological objects as sources for religion, mythology, public and private life. While Winckelmann criticized this approach in his other works, here he adopted this method to analyse some hundred pieces. A couple of examples may suffice to illustrate his work. His no 5 (ch. III) is an archaistic Roman *puteal* in the Capitoline Museums, which Winckelmann considered as Etruscan thanks to its style. The material (marble) and iconography exclude an Etruscan origin: it represents the twelve Olympian gods and Heracles, each of which is briefly analysed iconographically and compared to monuments and descriptions in text sources. No 8 is the very interesting funerary altar of a Cybele priest or *gallus*, which Winckelmann interprets as an image of the goddess herself surrounded by her attributes. His publication is the object's *editio princeps*. The text does not say anything about its function and the combination of bust and attributes, but gives extremely learned elucidations concerning the myth of Cybele and Attis. Two Hellenistic reliefs, seen as representations of Demeter (nos 19 and 20), in fact are a 'Totenmahlrelief' and a votive offering to unknown gods. The Munich copy of Kephisodotos' Eirene (no 54) is interpreted as a Leukotheia; it is recognized as a Greek statue because of its style. Some Egyptian and egyptianizing figures (nos 74-79) conclude the second section. The third part at the beginning of vol. II, deals with mythical heroes like Perseus, Meleager, and disasters like the slaughter of the Niobids occurred before the Trojan War. Second-century sarcophagi are discussed as Greek masterpieces. The Trojan cycle is the following part. The Mars-Rhea Silvia sarcophagus in Palazzo Mattei is interpreted as a depiction of Peleus and Thetis in what the comment characterizes as a 'schlüssig' reasoning (Comm. p. 475). Indeed, one may admire the consequent and well informed reading of this complicated heavily restored relief. As to the sarcophagus in the Villa Albani interpreted by Winckelmann as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (no. 111), one misses a reference to F.G.J.M. Müller's *The So-Called Peleus and Thetis Sarcophagus in the Villa Albani* (Amsterdam 1994). Part III is on Greek and Roman 'history' and starts with a Sardanapallos, while portraits of philosophers, Alexander the Great, Scipio Maior, (alleged) Livia, and Antinoos are a set of strange friends, I would say, *bien étonnés de se trouver ensemble*. Part IV is a similarly wonderful potpourri of objects representing 'riti, costumi ed arti', with, among others, school, music and stage scenes as well as gladiators.

The volume of comments opens with an essay on Winckelmann's Italian by Maria Fancelli and Massimo Fanfani, who observe a free and inventive use of languages (also of his own). His Italian was goods, but idiosyncratic because of the topic and the approach, and he made good use of the suggestions by Italian colleagues for improvement of the text. The conclusion is that Winckelmann wrote an accessible, often modern Italian with a Tuscany touch. The commentary on the preliminary treatise is briefer than the subsequent sections, since Winckelmann's terminology, examples, and quotations are often the same as in the *Geschichte*, so that the editors could refer to the commentary volume of that work.

The comment itself includes reproduction of the 19th-century German translations, but the illuminations themselves refer to the original as printed in the text volume. If an object is not illustrated in the text volume, the comment contains small pictures, which are helpful. The comments as such are very rich of thoughts and will serve the further study of enigmatic monuments. The focus lies on iconography, but other aspects are not forgotten. In some cases Winckelmann did not see that pieces dealt separately belonged to one single monument (e.g. the Achilles sarcophagus nos. 124, 132, and 134; now Paris, Louvre).

A third volume, containing unpublished texts, is announced. The editors cannot but be complemented with this great endeavour which makes it possible to re-assess - or for many to assess - the importance of the *Monumenti*, the title of which was used in a 19th-century series edited by the Instituto di Corrispondenza and in the still running homonymous series of the Accademia dei Lincei, both based in Rome, Winckelmann's second patria.

Eric M. Moormann

MARIO GRIMALDI, *Pompei. La Casa di Marco Fabio Rufo*. Naples: Valtrend Editore, 2014. 398 pp., many figs in color, 14 pls; 31 cm (Collana "Pompei" II). – ISBN 978-88-8623-160.

This book is the sequel to a volume on the buildings in Insula Occidentalis, regions VI and VII, and their decorations, edited by M. Aoyagi and U. Pappalardo in 2006. It concentrates on the house connected with Fabius Rufus (see pp. 27-30 on this owner) and the excavations carried out by a group of scholars and students from the Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa at Naples under the direction of Pappalardo and his former student Mario Grimaldi, who signs as the single author, but has many co-authors. Without clearly presenting the research question and the goal of the book, the reader gets a rather hasty and dense introduction about the house's position on top of the former city walls, between the House of Maius Castricius and the House of the Golden Bracelet. As a matter of fact, finds from the excavations match material encountered in these two adjacent houses as well. First of all, Grimaldi discusses the road that leads to the house's entrance is the prolongation of an east-west artery called Via di Nola, which abruptly stops at the door and must have continued towards a *Porta occidentalis*, now no longer existing. The explorations in the garden and in some lower sections of the house have demonstrated the presence of the city wall as well as the position of this entrance. The erection of the houses on the wall caused problems with the sewer and various openings to conducts and reservoirs were made. There are four building phases: late 3rd/early 2nd century BC, period of the Second Style, 20-60 AD - the house's *flo-*

ruit - and the period post-62 earthquake, when the whole was under reconstruction and the Houses of Castricius and Rufus were separated. Wall and floor decorations from the three last phases are recognizable in various rooms, whereas the previous phase can be established thanks to the study of the architectural remains and the garden excavations. In chapter 2 the five trenches are briefly presented: they display five distinct layers corresponding with the four phases, plus a top layer of 77-79.

The bulk of the book consists of the presentation of the finds in 25 sections, each corresponding with a material category, presented by Grimaldi and his students. The first subchapters deal with architectural material, the later ones with *instrumentum domesticum*, finishing with ceramics. After brief presentations catalogues of the finds are added. The earliest terracottas (chapter 3.1) belong to the beautiful mythical scenes found in the House of the Golden Bracelet in 1974, and form the adornment of some extramural shrine probably not far from this (later) garden, dedicated to an unknown god, possibly Apollo, who is present in some scenes. The largest 'architectural' group are paintings and within this category the fourth phase dominates. Among the mosaic material the preparatory painting ('sinopia', p. 112, fig. 4) of a Second Style meander is an extraordinary find. The marble fragments vary from pieces of *opus sectile* floors with some thirteen sorts of marble from all-over the (ancient) globe to tiny bits of statues. Coins run from Greek pieces from the Baleares, Marseille etc. of the late 3rd century BC to Roman ones of AD 77/78. The ceramics include Attic black- and red-figure from the 6th and 5th centuries, three pieces of bucchero, and contemporary Italic material, which testifies to the activities in the pre-Samnitic town. Miniature cups (6th-2nd century) seem to stem from religious contexts like the sanctuary referred to previously. There is a large mass of 3000 fragments of black gloss, some with graffiti. Among the material of the imperial period there are lamps, fragments of terra sigillata.

Chapter 4 presents some 'interdisciplinary' studies about archaeometrical topics. After a synthesis of the excavation history (with the strange title 'Conservazione'), there are sections on the documentation with laser scanning and, based upon these data, 3d-reconstructions. A brief paper presents the osteological analyses of the thousands of animal bones. An archaeometrical analysis of some paintings concludes the work.

There is a lengthy bibliography, but there are no indices. Grimaldi does not give a synthesis, which would have been a welcome conclusion, in which the first volume should have been taken into account as well. The book has been edited well, with nicely reproduced images, although some are very small. The two volumes together form a good addition to the increasing mass of excavation reports and documentations of important houses in Pompeii and increase our knowledge about the occupation of the western area of the town with its grand houses looking towards the sea.

Eric M. Moormann

MARIA ELISA MICHELI & ANNA SANTUCCI (eds), *Comae – Identità femminili nelle acconciature di età romana*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2011. 154 pp., 150 ills; 27 cm. – ISBN 978-884672727-5.

'Just as every face had its own physiognomy, so did female hairstyles vary along with looks, a woman's age, social status, and public role influenced her choice of coiffure' (E. Bartman, Hair and the artifice of Roman female adornment, *AJA* 105, 2001, 1). In view of this statement it is surprising that Classical Archaeology to date discussed female hairstyles merely in order to construct the chronology of Roman portraiture. *Comae - Identità femminili nelle acconciature di età romana* edited by Maria Elisa Micheli and Anna Santucci is the first in depth study on the iconological meaning of Roman female hairstyles (cf. D. Ziegler, *Frauenfrisuren der römischen Antike. Abbild und Realität*, Berlin 2000, 191–196). It was - conveniently - sponsored by *L´Oréal Italia*. Five Italian contributions discuss the social meaning of female hairstyles by contrasting ancient sources and the archaeological record.

The first chapter by Maria Grazia Sassi (pp. 1-12) is dedicated to the attractiveness of women as transmitted through their hair. Mythological narratives of the coiffures of goddesses in ancient sources are discussed in comparison to visual representations of the goddesses in Roman wall painting and mythological sculpture. Sassi underlines that the hair colour played a major role in the attractiveness of a woman. The second chapter '*La retorica dell'ornato*' (pp. 13-40) by Nicoletta Frapiccini pays attention to the high social status that is transmitted through the complicated and adorned coiffure worn by Roman women. After an initial investigation of the money and time consuming processes of colouring and adorning female hair as described by ancient authors, this chapter assesses to what extent the Latin technical terms mentioned in ancient sources (i. e. *reticulum, vitta, infula)* are reflected in the archaeological record like sculpted female portrait statues and busts, but also wigs and hairpieces found in tombs.

In the third chapter, (pp. 41-48) Maria Cesa looks at the few preserved visual and epigraphic testimonies of female hairdressers/hair slaves (*ornatrices*) from Italy and the Western Provinces. D. Ziegler's work (mentioned above) deals with exactly the same question in her book and even though it is mentioned in the bibliography, it is not quoted once in the footnote. In addition to the famous hairdresser scene on the 'Elternpaarpfeiler' from the necropolis of Neumagen close to Trier, (see already N. Boymel-Kampen, *Images and status of Roman working women. Second and third century reliefs from Ostia*, Ann Arbor 1979, 118-120) and a funerary inscription mentioning an *ornatrix* from Rome are also taken into account. This provides a deeper insight into the social position of female hairdressers in Roman society as well as their relations to their Patrons.

The fourth chapter '*Comae formatae*' (pp. 49-78) by Maria Elisa Micheli looks at the chronological development of female hairstyles from the late Republic to the Severan period. At the heart of the debate are the changing virtues that are transmitted by hairstyles, and those of the empresses in particular. The last Chapter by

Anna Santucci looks at dichotomic visual representations of the hairstyles of Roman women and those of barbarians, warriors, captured and mourning women, prostitutes, female philosophers and actresses.

The volume concludes with a comprehensive international bibliography (pp. 133-142). In general, it would have been helpful to have avoided redundancies in terms of discussions of similar subjects in different chapters or definitions of technical terms (the definition of *vitta,* for example, differs between Chapters one and two). It is somehow surprising that the book as a whole fails to explain in how far female identiy is or is not transmitted by hairstyles. Of particular note is the high quality of illustrations (that are sometimes on the small side, especially those illustrating Roman portraits). For the reader, these illustrations immediately attest to the remarkable achievement of the publication, that is to have taken a wide range of archaeological records of female hairstyles into account, something all earlier research in this field has failed to achieve.

Cristina Murer

LAURENT BRICAULT & RICHARD VEYMIERS (eds), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III. Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 2014. 486 pp., numerous ills; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-2-35613-121-8/ISSN 2118-7614.

This is the third volume in a series that was intended as 'le noeud des publications isiaques', a clearing house for all new information concerning the study of the Egyptian gods at home and abroad during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and their relevant context. This immediately calls for two comments: first, it has been a long-standing tradition to study the Egyptian gods and their cults as diffused throughout the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire disregarding Egypt. Gladly, this quite unfounded and artificial distinction is progressively being left behind, and consequently Egypt gets ever more included - also in the *Bibliotheca Isiaca*; secondly, in order to understand the presence of Egyptian religious culture outside Egypt, one also has to deal with the broader subject of the impact of Egypt outside of Egypt, especially the presence of 'Aegyptiaca' - material culture deriving from Egypt or having Egyptian traits, in the even wider context of ancient exoticism or orientalism in general. Bricault should be praised for broadening the subject in these two ways. This largely increases the usefulness and the importance of his work. Although its full potential has not yet been attained, it has progressed in the right direction. Those not familiar with the French concept of 'les études isiaques' and the recent developments in that field might easily be led astray into thinking that the *Bibliotheca Isiaca* is of a rather more limited scope than the huge subject, or range of subjects, just described and with which it actually seeks to deal.

A first volume of the *Bibliotheca Isiaca* appeared in 2008, a second in 2011, so the aimed for regularity has been achieved, which in itself is a feat - though Bricault undoubtedly has been wise to choose a three-year interval. Even then, the amount of work that must have gone into these volumes is staggering. Bricault has not only, since the second volume, a very energetic young co-editor in the person of Richard Veymiers at his side, but has also brought together a large international team in order to keep this enterprise going. And even extend it: we are promised supplement volumes that in monographic shape will make available those contributions that are too sizeable to fit into the regular *Bibliotheca* - much of it under the umbrella of the *Thesaurus Iconographicus Cultuum Isiacorum*. One may be excused for doubting whether Bricault and his collaborators really can keep up this extremely demanding undertaking of not only producing a *Bibliotheca* volume every few years, but also throwing in a handful of monographs for good measure! Hopefully, many will answer Bricault's plea to assist him in the Herculean task of editing (and in no small part writing) all of these volumes, and keeping an extensive website up to date besides. That website, w3.etudes-isiaques.univ-tlse2.fr, seems to be dormant since 2011-2012; of course, it is more difficult to maintain a website which needs constant attention than to see a volume through the press: a project with a clear end date. The website is, one should add, extremely ambitious, maybe somewhat too ambitious. But if it would work out, and it would be unwise to underestimate the drive of Bricault, the combination of *Bibliotheca* and site would provide us with a truly unique tool. As it is, we have to make do with the *Bibliotheca* - which will take us quite a long stretch towards the ultimate goal.

The third volume in the *Bibliotheca* series is almost 500 A4-size pages, most with two columns of closely printed (but eminently readable) text. Taking also into account that the contents are extremely rich and variegated, any reviewer might find it difficult to do credit to a volume of such size and complexity. There are literally thousands of informative details in these pages, many of which could be addressed critically - not implying negative criticism, but querying their meaning and importance in an essentially co-operative manner. Hopefully, so much use will be made of the *Bibliotheca* volumes that such a detailed examination and discussion of their contents will follow in due course. All I can do here is to discuss what the aim of the volume is, how it seeks to fulfil this, and whether the result is worthwhile.

As already stated, the *Bibliotheca* is supposed to keep us up to date. To this end, every volume consists of three parts. The first is titled 'Nova Isiaca' and offers a number of articles on newly found or newly interpreted sources. The second, 'Suppléments documentaires', consists of supplements to existing corpora of 'Isiaca', not necessarily the same corpora in every volume. The third part is the 'Chronique bibliographique', which consists mainly of a *bibliographie raisonnée* of relevant publications from a four-year period, to which may be added other bibliographic tools that can take different forms.

The Nova Isiaca section in the present third volume comprises nine articles - together only a quarter of the complete book, something of an appetizer before we come to the main course. These articles are partly catalogues in the vein of the EPRO or EPROER (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain) series (Alberto Gavini on Sardinia, Jean-Louis Podvin on the Isiaca of the museum in Boulogne and the same on moulded terracotta medallions with 'Isiac' themes), partly studies of single artefacts, sites or inscrip-

tions (Laurent Bricault on a Ptolemaic dedication from Ephesus, Dan-Augustin Deac and Rada Varga on Isiac cults in Apulum, Emanuele Greco and Valentino Gasparini on an Isis sanctuary at Sybaris, Sander Müskens on a Hathor-support from Rome) or more synthetic papers (Richard Gordon and Valentino Gasparini on Isis and magic, Michel Malaise on the relationship between Anubis and Hermanubis). There is a very strong bias here towards what Bricault and Veymiers call 'la base documentaire'. They defend their choice by pleading in the introduction to the volume for as rich a collection of evidence as possible. According to them, this is the necessary point of departure for any scholar in the field. They warn against grandiose theorizing that is not evidence-based. In a way they are certainly right - even if it remains true that one does not have to know everything in order to know something - but the Nova Isiaca section would certainly gain by including also more synthetic and more theory-driven papers. This is not to say that such elements are now completely absent: I have already singled out Gordon/Gasparini and Malaise as in a more synthetic vein, but also others have important points to make that rise above a mere detailed analysis of the evidence. A case in point is Müskens' paper that moves from a minute investigation of the relevant artefacts to nothing less than a debunking of the category of 'Aegyptiaca' in general. He shows how time and again people have jumped to conclusions that are unwarranted by the evidence - and out goes the supposed 'Egyptian shrine' in the Domus Flavia on the Palatine. One would definitely want to have more papers like that, digging deep and hitting hard.

The Suppléments section in the present volume - the main dish together with the bibliography - consists of three parts: Bricault's third supplement to his own *RICIS* (*Recueil des Inscriptions concernant les Cultes Isiaques*), and his second supplement to his own *SNRIS* (*Sylloge Nummorum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*), and Veymiers' second supplement to his catalogue of gemstones and related objects decorated with Sarapis (there is work in progress on other members of the 'famille isiaque'). The third supplement to *RICIS* offers new information on some 200 inscriptions which were first published in *RICIS* or in the previous two supplements in *Bibliotheca Isiaca* I and II; 25 of these are provided with revised texts, almost 90 are illustrated. In addition, there are about 40 inscriptions not in *RICIS* (but not unedited), with the text of the *editio princeps*, revised if necessary, some 15 illustrated. Texts of some substance are provided with translations. The supplement is fully indexed and provided with concordances. As an epigraphic resource, this can hardly be overrated (Greek and Latin inscriptions from Egypt are not included - as was already said, the full potential of the *Bibliotheca* project and its spin-offs has not yet been realized, and the traditional boundaries between specializations are difficult to overcome. But we are promised that the inscriptions from Egypt will get their own repertory, and in due course their own supplements). The original *SNRIS* listed 35000 coins across 3500 emissions (excluding Roman *Vota Publica* coins and Alexandrian coins - these are also to be published separately). The first supplement here offers some 230 additions and revisions to the original listings, and 80 new series not previously included in *SNRIS*. Both categories are illustrated. Veymiers publishes almost 100 additions and revisions, mostly short bibliographic notices, to entries already in *Ileôs tôi forounti. Sérapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques*, Brussels 2009, and in the first supplement (which was included amongst the papers in *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II, and not amongst the supplements: the threefold division of the volumes was then still being developed). Veymiers also publishes some 140 new additions to his catalogue, fully illustrated.

The bibliographic section covers the years 2009-2012, with supplements for 2005-2008 (already covered in *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II) and also includes a 'bibliographical survey' by Mladen Tomorad of Isiaca in Istria and Illyricum. The 'Chronique bibliographique 2009-2012' has around 345 entries, the commentaries with each title ranging from a few lines to several columns. It is conceived along the lines of the *Inventaire Bibliographique des Isiaca 1940–1969* (*IBIS*), published in four volumes of the EPRO series from 1972 onwards (those four volumes and the bibliography for 1970–1999 are to be made available on Bricault's website, already mentioned above). I might also mention in this context the consolidated bibliography of this volume: 20 two-column pages of small print and a very valuable resource it itself.

All these catalogues and bibliographies: nobody will object to having that at hand. We might, however, not want to produce something like that ourselves: too time-consuming, not prestigious enough. Next, we feel guilty about that sentiment because we do make use of it gladly. We might then try to rid ourselves of that guilt by grumbling that true scholarship does not consist in the making of endless lists of stuff and literature. To no avail: the *Bibliotheca Isiaca* really is useful, helpful, indispensable even: everyone who has an interest in this field will soon find out that one cannot do without this series. Three hoorays for Bricault, Veymiers and their collaborators for taking all that trouble to produce this great tool. Does this imply that there is nothing to criticise? It is difficult to think of something. The decision to restrict the series to sources and to the creation of a kind of portal that guides those interested to the relevant primary and secondary material, gives the volumes coherence and a sense of purpose. As far as I can see, the contents are extremely reliable, the volumes being edited to that high standard that is representative of the best of French scholarship. They are well-printed (including the photographs) for a relatively low price. Each volume even has been provided with an excellent general index, which is not to be taken for granted, especially not for composite volumes such as these, and especially not in France. The addition of an *index locorum* would make things even better.

Which leaves me with just one thing: the issue of language. The articles are in English, French and Italian, the rest of the volume is exclusively in French except for Tomorad's small bibliography and short English summaries with the articles. In part, this is justified as it reflects the pre-eminence of French-speaking scholars in the field, and although it will lessen the accessibility of the *Bibliotheca* (which is a pity as it certainly deserves to reach as wide an international audience as possible), those with an interest in 'les études isiaques' simply will have to learn to read French - or choose something else to work on. But I would like to look at this from another perspective, something I already addressed in

a review of *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II (for *The Classical Review* 2013 - from which I have borrowed freely): it would be a good thing if the *Bibliotheca* would be produced by a group that would include scholars who write in English or German. Especially the *bibliographie raisonnée* might, despite its name, very well be in English, Italian, German as well as in French. Not because this would enable more people to read more of the text, but because it would mean broadening the group of contributors beyond the present group and thus making the *Bibliotheca* more broadly based, better known, more readily integrated into international scholarship. It is certainly true that 'les études isiaques' have a rich French or Francophone tradition and that Bricault and Veymiers are excellent representatives of that tradition - but one would also like to see that French tradition to inspire work in the same field in other countries. This is something one can see reflected in the Colloques Internationals sur les études Isiaques/International Conferences of Isis Studies, of which we have had five between 1999 and 2011, increasingly international over that 10 year period; it is a role that the *Bibliotheca Isiaca* can also play. In the meantime, let us all profit from this ground-breaking series edited by Bricault and Veymiers, and may it continue for many years to come, in whatever form or language.

Frederick G. Naerebout

ANTONIS KOTSONAS (ed.), *Understanding Standardization and Variation in Mediterranean Ceramics: Mid 2nd to Late 1st Millennium BC*. Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA: Peeters 2014. 196 pp., 106 figs, 14 tables, 5 graphs; 27.5 cm (BABESCH Suppl. 25). – ISBN 978-90-429-3091-9.

Largely stemming from a session of the 16th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists of 2010, this volume illustrates well that research on pottery from the ancient Mediterranean has advanced well beyond the agenda of the so-called 'Great Tradition'. The eleven contributions comprising this collection apply a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches to ceramic variability to assemblages of various scales from the Aegean, Phoenicia, Italy and Spain. The timespan covered by the case studies is equally broad, extending from the Middle Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period.

After a short introduction, outlining the scope and contents of the book, in the first chapter the editor, A. Kotsonas, offers an overview of the history of research on standardization and lays out the theoretical premises for the application of this concept in material assemblages from pre-industrial societies. He then summarizes the available methods for assessing and interpreting variability in pottery production and consumption. In the first case study, J. Hilditch investigates the technological standardization of Minoan-type conical cups made at Akrotiri, on Thera, during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. She compares the *chaîne opératoire* of conical cup production to that of other local wares and concludes that the exclusive association of the potter's wheel with this particular shape must attest to the role of the forming technique in enhancing the cups' Minoan connotations. In their contribution, A. Esposito and J. Zurbach focus on local Mycenaean-type pottery from Miletus and the plain of Sybaris. In the case of Miletus, they attribute technological and metrical correspondences between Anatolian- and Mycenaean-type wares to their common provenance from the same workshops. The authors' observation that the repertoire of 'Anatolian' wares is restricted to forms connected with feasting perhaps merits further consideration. With reference to the region of Sybaris, Esposito and Zurbach assume the onsite presence of Aegean potters, who would have worked both in Aegean and local traditions in order to meet the needs of a society under internal transformation. In a paper that challenges the so-called 'standardization hypothesis', J. Hruby examines the unpainted wheel-made pottery from Rooms 18-22 of the Palace of Nestor in Pylos. She demonstrates that the high metrical variation of this assemblage, most vessels of which are attributed to a single potter, did not result from the lack of specialization but from fast-paced production. F.J. Núñez Calvo considers pottery dating from the late 10th to the mid-6th century BC from the cemetery of al-Bass in Tyre. In his view, the relatively high degree of technological and morphological standardization of Phoenician wares from this site must be symptomatic primarily of the potters' motor habits, which would have changed very little over time. Although Núñez Calvo also recognizes a standardized funerary ceramic set, his data could be taken to show considerable variation, which calls for a more nuanced interpretation of pottery functions in the local funerary rites. P. Ilieva's case study pertains to the G 2-3 ware that was produced in the northern Aegean in the 7th century BC. Her analysis reveals that while vessels of this ware coming from different sites display strong similarities on the technological and typological levels, at the same time they evince significant variation especially with regard to fabric. She therefore argues for many small-scale production centers, though she does not exclude the possibility of intraregional mobility of potters. The chapter by F. Pérez Lambán, J. Fanlo Loras, J.V. Picazo Millán and J.M. Rodanés Vicente is devoted to hand-made pottery found at houses at Cabezo de la Cruz, in the northeast Iberian Peninsula. The assessment of the variability of wares from Phases II and III (800-590 BC) allows the authors to draw inferences, on the one hand, on kinship identities developed on the household level, and, on the other hand, on the cultural affiliation between this and other settlements of the Middle Ebro Valley. In his synthesis on the Greek world from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, V. Stissi elaborates on the rather paradoxical co-occurrence of an overall uniformity along with a very high degree of variation in the modes of production and use of clay vessels. While the potential offered by the breadth of this approach cannot be contested, it should be stressed that the actual variability of the wide range of Greek wares known from these periods remains little studied. In fact, the last three papers of the volume are among the first to explicitly tackle the subject. A.C. Smith dis-

cusses the morphological and stylistic uniformity of a group of small-sized Attic red-figure *pelikai*, which were decorated by the Pan Painter in the decade 470-460 BC. She conjectures that this 'episode' of standardization in the painter's career may have transpired at the request of a workshop for a series of more affordable *pelikai*. K. Volioti researches size standardization in a sample of 600 black-figure Haimonian *lekythoi* from the first half of the 5th century BC. Distinguishing three main groups on the basis of height, she explores the ways in which standardization could have facilitated the production and consumption of these vases. Given that the boundaries between her three groups, as they appear in the graphs she provides, are rather fuzzy, some further analysis of the available data would have been welcome. Finally, C. Beestman-Kruyshaar comments on the great variation of drinking vessels from domestic contexts in the 3rd-century BC Thessalian city of Halos. Her evidence belies the idea that the use of fineware *kantharoi* would have been reserved for formal occasions.

This meticulously produced volume will be of use not only to pottery specialists, but also to any other scholar who is interested in the social and economic history of the regions examined in the case studies. The only difficulty for those unfamiliar with this research strand might lie in the fact that not all contributors align consistently with the definition of standardization formulated in the introduction; some tend to conflate this concept with the general uniformity between ceramics of the same ware; others are clearly affected by the term's modern understanding. Even so, the volume as a whole establishes a new path for research on the ancient Mediterranean, which will be hopefully further explored in future studies. A workshop on *Volumetric Standardization in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Stanford University) and a session on *Standardization and the State* (117th Annual Joint Meeting of the AIA and the SCS), both of which took place in January 2016, suggest that this will be, indeed, the case.

Vivi Saripanidi

FRANCESCA PAOLA PORTEN PALANGE & CRISTINA TROSO, *La Terra Sigillata della Collezione Stenico*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2011. 133 pp., 45pls, 23.9 cm (*Archeologica* 165). – ISBN 978-88-7689-264-6.

This book publishes a small collection almost entirely made up of fragments of relief decorated arretine sigillata that was owned successively by two distinguished scholars in the study of this ware. Having been assembled in the late 19th century by Carlo Albizzati, the collection was purchased in its entirety in the mid-20th century by the late professor Arturo Stenico and his wife Maria and is currently kept by their heirs. Its publication has been curated by two former students of the professor, themselves among the current principal specialists in the field of arretine sigillata.

The book has a very straightforward structure. It starts with just over two pages of introduction, discussing the collection's formation history. Although no data regarding the initial acquisition of the artifacts included is preserved, the authors hypothesize that they were bought on the Roman antiquities market, which was flooded in the 1880's with artifacts from a number of large-scale excavations at Arezzo. The exact find location of most of the recorded materials remains unknown, although a number of implements used in the production of relief decorated sigillata must derive from either the town of Arezzo itself or nearby Cincelli, where the workshops producing the ware were situated.

The remainder of the book constitutes a catalogue of the artifacts that make up the collection, of which the lion's share (203 out of a total of 219 fragments) comprises pottery and mold fragments (no complete vessels are preserved) of relief decorated arretine sigillata. The fragments are divided by workshop, to which they are assigned on the basis of stamps, identified figurative cycles and/or secondary decorative motifs. Separate chapters are dedicated to a single fragment of late Italic sigillata, a small collection of appliqués and three production tools (a punch, a plaque containing a decorative model and a stamp of Medusa that would have been used as a negative for a punch). Each fragment is carefully and authoritatively described and accompanied by one or more photographs, contained in a series of plates at the end of the book.

The main value of this publication lies in its completeness of documentation; as such it contributes significant knowledge about a production of which many recovered specimens remain unpublished (which is especially true for the material from the old excavations at Arezzo) or, thanks to the merits of its aesthetic qualities, have ended up in private collections. The fragments belonging to the better known workshops in some cases help to reconstruct decorative schemes that to date are scarcely or incompletely documented. Regarding a number of lesser-known producers, such as C. Memmius (fr. 181) and C. Tellius (fr. 186), the relevant fragments add important information on the decorative programs employed.

At the same time the reader is left with the sentiment that, although the authors may have provided a full and detailed publication of the collection, they have not fully exploited its potential. The strong iconographic focus of the study and the use of many abbreviations of key reference works can make the catalogue hard to fathom for anyone who is not a hard-core specialist on the subject. Also, the choice to limit accompanying illustrations to frontal photographs (that in some cases are somewhat unclear and would have benefited from an accompanying drawing) largely impedes readers from inferring important connections between decorative schemes and formal repertoires. At the same time, the book and its readers would have benefitted greatly from a concluding summary of the results and their implications for our understanding of the production organization and development of the ware altogether, as the collection undeniably contains good starting points for such an assessment (for example the numerous instances of motif sharing or copying).

In conclusion, this work provides a detailed (and at 130 euros rather pricy) source publication of a collection of relief decorated arretine sigillata, that will mainly

appeal to a distinct group of scholars engaged in the study of this particular production and in the study of the origin and diffusion of imagery in a more general sense.

Gijs Willem Tol

Books received

Güler Ateş, *Die rote Feinkeramik von Aizanoi als lokaler Kulturträger. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von lokaler roter Feinkeramik und importierter Sigillata. Aizanoi 2*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2015. 168 pp., figs in text, 76 pls; 30 cm (Archäologische Forschungen 32). – 978-3-95490-065-7.

Barbara Belelli Marchesini/Maria Cristina Biella/Laura Maria Michetti, *Il santuario di Montetosto sulla via Caere-Pyrgi*. Rome: Officina edizioni, 2015. 227 pp., pls, tables; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-88860491305.

Elke Böhr, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland* Band 98, *München, Antikensammlungen, ehemals Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Skulpturensammlung*. Band 18, *Attische bilingue und rotfigurige Schalen*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 159 pp., 91 figs, 21 appendices, 84 pls; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-67748-9.

Larissa Bonfante/Helen Nagy (eds) with the collaboration of Jacquelyn Collins-Climton, *The Collection of Antiquities of the American Academy in Rome*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015. 388 pp., b/w figs; 28.5 cm (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Supplementary Vol. XI). – ISBN 978-0-472-11989-9.

Simonetta Bonomi/Martin A. Guggisberg (eds), *Griechische Keramik nördlich von Etrurien: Mediterrane Importe und archäologischer Kontext* (Internationale Tagung Basel 14.-15. Oktober 2011). Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2015. 228 pp., figs; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-3-95490-072-5.

Dietrich Boschung/Alexandra W. Busch/Miguel John Versluys (eds), *Reinventing 'The Invention of Tradition'? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present*. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015. 262 pp., figs; 23.5 cm (Morphomata 23). – ISBN 978-3-7705-5969-5.

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Francesco de Angelis, *Miti greci in tombe etrusche. Le urne cinerarie di Chiusi*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2015. 455 pp., 53 figs, CLXXXII pls; 32.5. cm (Monumenti Antichi, Serie Monografica VIII). – ISBN 978-88-7689-290-5/ISSN 0391-8092.

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Armin Eich, *Die Söhne des Mars. Eine Geschichte des Krieges von der Steinzeit bis zum Ende der Antike*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 281 pp., 25 figs; 22 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-68229-2.

Irene Favaretto/Alessandra Menegazzi (eds), *Un museo di antichità nella Padova del Cinquecento. La raccolta di Marco Mantova Benavides all'Università di Padova*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2013. 229 pp., figs, 78 pls; 28.5 cm (CMAV 47). – ISBN 978-88-7689-278-3/ISSN 0392-0879.

Gioacchino Francesco la Torre/Fabrizio Mollo (eds), *Finanziade* I. *Scavi sul Monte Sant'Angelo di Licata (2003-2005)*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2013. 564 pp., 336 figs, 15 pls; 30 cm (Archaeologica 172). – ISBN 978-88-7689-279-0/ISSN 0391-9293.

Rune Frederiksen/Elizabeth R. Gebbard/Alexander Sokolicek (eds), *The Architecture of the Ancient Greek Theatre*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitets Press, 2015. 468 pp., figs; 28 cm (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 17). – ISBN 978-87-724-380-2/ISSN 1397-1433.

Marco Giuman, *Archeologia dello sguardo. Fascinazione e baskania nel mondo classico*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2013. 185 pp., 24 pls; 24 cm (Archaeologica 173). – ISBN 978-88-7689-279-0/ISSN 0391-9293.

Raymund Gottschalk, *Spätrömische Gräber im Umland von Köln*. Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2015. 402 pp., 174 figs, 157 pls; 29 cm (Rheinische Ausgrabungen 71). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4956-7.

Linda-Marie Günther, *Kochen mit den Römern. Rezepte und Geschichte*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 208 pp., 36 color figs and maps; 24.3 cm. –ISBN 978-3-406-68145-5.

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Eva Hofstetter-Dolega, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland* Band 97, *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung*. Band 2, *Attische rotfigurige Keramik*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 111 pp., 27 Textabb., 19 Beilagen, 76 Tafeln; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-67747-2.

Janet Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 349 pp., b/w figs; 25 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-920324-6.

Kristine Iara, *Hippodromus Palatii. Die Bauornamente des Gartenhippodroms im Kaiserpalst auf dem Paltin in Rom*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015. 269 pp., 84 figs; 29 cm (Palilia 30). – ISBN 978-3-95490-088-6.

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Stephan Lehmann (ed.), *Authentizität und Originalität antiker Bronzebildnisse: Ein gefälschtes Augustusbildnis, seine Voraussetzungen und sein Umfeld*. Dresden: Sandstein Kommunikation, 2015. 260 pp., 157 figs; 28 cm. – ISBN 978-3-95498-183-0.

Gernot Losansky, *Die Obergeschossareale der Stadthäuser in Herculaneum. Architektonische Anlage, raumkontextuelle Einordnung und häusliches Leben*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015. 256 pp., 15 maps, 281 figs; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-95490-109-8.

Maria Grazia Marzi, *Il Gabinetto delle Terre di Luigi Lanzi.Vasi terrecotte, lucerne e vetri dalla Galleria degli Uffizi al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze.* Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2015. 368 pp., 207 figs, 3 tables; 24 cm (Biblioteca dell'«Archivum Romanicum» I, 420). – ISBN 978-88-222-6263-9.

Maud Mulliez, *Le luxe de l'imitation. Les trompe-l'oeil de la fin de la République romaine, mémoire des artisans de la couleur*. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 2014. 236 pp., 103 figs, 14 tables; 28 cm (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard, 44). – ISBN 978-2-918887-68-3/ISSN 1590-3869.

Orazio Paoletti (ed.) con la collaborazione di Maria Chiara Bettini, *La Corsica e Populonia* (Atti del XXVIII convegno di studi etruschi ed italici. Bastia . Aléria. Piombino . Populonia 25-29 ottobre 2011). Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2015. 602 pp., figs; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7689-286-8/ISSN 1970-5409.

Eleni Papagianni, *Attische Sarkophage mit Eroten und Girlanden*. Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2016. XXII, 196 pp., 10 figs, 64 pls; 28.5 cm (Sarkophag-Studien Band 9). – ISBN 978-3-447-10437-1.

Santo Privitera, *Haghia Triada* III. *The Late Minoan III Buildings in the Villaggio*. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2015. 184 pp., 47 figs, 52 pls; 32 cm (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente XXIII). – ISBN 978-960-93-6863-6.

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Marta Scarrone, *La pittura vascolare etrusca del V secolo*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2015. 320 pp., XX figs, 91 pls; 30 cm (Archaeologica 174). – ISBN 978-88-7689-288-2/ISSN 0391-9293.

Roberto Spadea (ed.), *Kroton. Studi e ricerche sulla polis Achea e il suo territorio*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2014. 564 pp., figs, 137 pls, 8 maps (separate); 29 cm (Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia, quarta serie V). – ISBN 978-88-7689-277-6/ISSN 1592-7377.

Werner Tietz, *Hirten, Bauern, Götter. Eine Geschichte der römischen Landwirtschaft*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 376 pp., 28 figs, 2 maps; 22 cm. –ISBN 978-3-406-68233-9.

Wolfgang Will, *Herodot und Thukydides. Die Geburt der Geschichte*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 280 pp., 2 maps; 22 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-68217-9.

Andrew Wilson/Miko Flohr (eds), *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. 432 pp., 75 figs; 23.5 cm. – ISBN 978-0-19-8748489.

Anne-Maria Wittke (ed.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen. Historisch-archäologisches Handbuch*. Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2015. 1275 pp., 14 maps; 24.5 cm (Der neue Pauly Supplemente 10). – ISBN 978-3-476-02470-1.

Nina Zimmermann-Elseify, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland,* Band 99, *Berlin, Antikensammlungen, ehemals Antiquarium*. Band 16, *Attische Salbgefässe*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2015. 127 pp., 13 figs, 24 appendices, 60 pls; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-3-406-68353-9.4